



## **Terms and Conditions of Use of Digitised Theses from Trinity College Library Dublin**

### **Copyright statement**

All material supplied by Trinity College Library is protected by copyright (under the Copyright and Related Rights Act, 2000 as amended) and other relevant Intellectual Property Rights. By accessing and using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you acknowledge that all Intellectual Property Rights in any Works supplied are the sole and exclusive property of the copyright and/or other IPR holder. Specific copyright holders may not be explicitly identified. Use of materials from other sources within a thesis should not be construed as a claim over them.

A non-exclusive, non-transferable licence is hereby granted to those using or reproducing, in whole or in part, the material for valid purposes, providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. Where specific permission to use material is required, this is identified and such permission must be sought from the copyright holder or agency cited.

### **Liability statement**

By using a Digitised Thesis, I accept that Trinity College Dublin bears no legal responsibility for the accuracy, legality or comprehensiveness of materials contained within the thesis, and that Trinity College Dublin accepts no liability for indirect, consequential, or incidental, damages or losses arising from use of the thesis for whatever reason. Information located in a thesis may be subject to specific use constraints, details of which may not be explicitly described. It is the responsibility of potential and actual users to be aware of such constraints and to abide by them. By making use of material from a digitised thesis, you accept these copyright and disclaimer provisions. Where it is brought to the attention of Trinity College Library that there may be a breach of copyright or other restraint, it is the policy to withdraw or take down access to a thesis while the issue is being resolved.

### **Access Agreement**

By using a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library you are bound by the following Terms & Conditions. Please read them carefully.

I have read and I understand the following statement: All material supplied via a Digitised Thesis from Trinity College Library is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, and duplication or sale of all or part of any of a thesis is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for your research use or for educational purposes in electronic or print form providing the copyright owners are acknowledged using the normal conventions. You must obtain permission for any other use. Electronic or print copies may not be offered, whether for sale or otherwise to anyone. This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

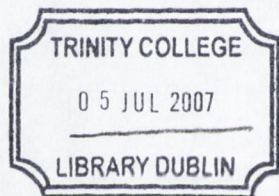


# **James Joyce, Music and Memory**

**Katie Brown**

A thesis submitted to the School of English at the University of Dublin,  
Trinity College, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy

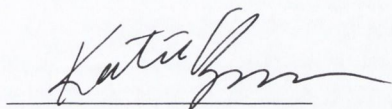
February 2007



THOBSIS  
8103

## **Declaration**

This thesis is entirely my own work and has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other University. I agree that the Library may lend or copy this thesis upon request.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Katie Brown', is written over a horizontal line.

Katie Brown



## **Acknowledgements**

My warmest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr John Nash, for his support, criticism, invaluable academic advice and for so kindly continuing to supervise me from abroad. I would also like to thank Dr Abigail Chantler, my supervisor in the Music department, who was so helpful to me in the initial stages of this thesis. There are several academics at Trinity I must thank, especially Professor Terence Brown who has been so dependable in writing letters of reference for me and supportive about my research. Much thanks is also due to Professor Nicholas Grene and Professor Stephen Matterson, who both served as Head of department, for their support and advice throughout my time at Trinity.

There are several academics from my undergraduate days that I would also like to thank. I am grateful to Professor Ewa Ziarek as her course on Joyce and Critical Theory at Notre Dame helped me to form many of the ideas in this thesis. I owe much to Professor Seamus Deane for his fascinating lectures at Notre Dame and his continued academic advice. I am also very grateful for the friendship and academic support of Luke Gibbons who encouraged me to come to Trinity to work on Joyce and music; a topic that was largely inspired by his wonderful class at Notre Dame.

I am thankful to have had the opportunity to consult so many important libraries including Trinity Library, the Contemporary Music Centre, the National Irish Music Archive, The O'Neill collection at Notre Dame, and especially the National Library of Ireland as their acquisition of new Joyce manuscripts provided a crucial aspect of my thesis. Also, I am most grateful for a scholarship from the Friends of the Zurich James Joyce Foundation which



allowed me to study in the James Joyce library in Zurich for three months. The materials available at the Zurich Foundation were invaluable and I would like to thank Ruth Frehner, Ursula Zeller, Margrit Neukom, Frances Ilmberger and especially Fritz Senn whose friendship and generosity made this possible. I owe my utmost gratitude to the Keogh Notre Dame Centre in Dublin for the opportunity to live in Daniel O'Connell's house and work in the Centre's libraries while I was finishing my thesis.

There are many people in the Joyce community that I would like to acknowledge. I must thank the International James Joyce Foundation for providing me with scholarships and bursaries to attend the International James Joyce Symposia both in Dublin and Budapest. I would like to thank several people in the 'Joyce and Music world,' including John McCourt for making scholarships available for the Trieste James Joyce Summer School, Zack Bowen for his kind support of the young Joyce and music scholars, and Timothy Martin, for his encouragement and for his willingness to sing with me at Joyce conferences! I would also like to thank those who have been so helpful in the field of Joyce and manuscripts including Geert Lernout for being so encouraging to young scholars working on manuscripts and for organising and funding a very useful genetic criticism conference, and Luca Crispi in the National Library for being so helpful in his advice regarding the new manuscripts. My friends in the Joyce world, Ronan Crowley, Christine O'Neill, Conor Wyer, Vike Plock, Ilaria Natali and Eli Lassman deserve utmost thanks for their support and for so many 'kindred spirit' conversations about Joyce.

Of course, throughout this research I have relied on the kindness of my friends in Dublin, especially Francis Lenehan, Áine Larkin, Andrew Power, Padriac White, Jenny McDonnell, Edwina Keown, Ruth Buckley and Martin Dyar. I am also very grateful for my

wonderful friends in America: Emily Snow for her encouragement and her continual advice on musical matters, and BriAnne Woodward and Sarah Seidel who always support me and check up on me. I would particularly like to thank three of my dearest friends. I am indebted to Paris O'Donnell, the best of flat mates, for taking care of me during the final stages of this research, and for so kindly proofreading my thesis. I am so grateful to Sarah Lidwell for her ongoing encouragement and for making the last few weeks of writing up brighter by bringing me sustaining chai lattes and lunches. It has been a wonderful experience to begin and finish this thesis alongside Deirdre Parsons who has been my closest friend and constant tea break companion ever since we had carrels next to each other in the library our first year. I am lucky to have such lovely friends!

Finally, I owe all my love and gratitude to my parents, Roy and Kim Brown, who gave me the gift of music, and my beloved siblings, Gillian and Roy.



*For Roy and Kim Brown*

## Summary

This thesis, *James Joyce, Music and Memory*, explores the connection between music and Irish cultural memory in Joyce's works from *Chamber Music* to the "pure music" of *Finnegans Wake*. Overall, it shows that Joyce's ongoing desire to emulate musical forms must be seen in light of Joyce's wish to come to terms with Irish cultural history, as these are the driving forces that bring about his changes in style.

Against the backdrop of an initial chapter that examines the development of music in Ireland, this thesis argues that Joyce was influenced by the connection between music and memory that stems from Ireland's reputation for being the "Land of Song." In Joyce's early career, especially in *Chamber Music*, I argue that he was emulating musical forms in order to harmonise the dissonances of the past. However, in his more mature works, Joyce gradually abandons this pursuit, most notably in the 'Sirens' episode of *Ulysses*. Joyce claimed to have composed the chapter as a fugue; a musical form that requires a tonal centre and the preparation and resolution of dissonances. However, from an evaluation of the manuscripts of 'Sirens' in the National Library of Ireland, I show that with each draft of 'Sirens' Joyce adds more dissonances and disruptions to the text which have strong resonance with events in Irish history, and this makes the chapter incongruent with the fugal form.

Joyce takes this a step further in *Finnegans Wake* when he creates an "emancipation of dissonance" much like Schoenberg's achievement in music when he abandoned the home-like center of tonality and allowed dissonance to be freed from its obligation to be resolved. Using Adorno's theories on modern music, I argue that Joyce could not make the 'dissonances' of Irish history conform to musical forms that require their resolution. In creating an "emancipation of dissonance" Joyce achieves an artistic liberation that still acknowledges and accommodates the dissonances of the past.



## Contents

Introduction: Music and Memory	1
1 Ireland and the “Music Question”	12
2 “Serving Ireland through Song”: Joyce, Music and the Irish Literary Revival	54
3 Cord, Chords and the “Condition of Music”: Stephen Dedalus and the Harmonisation of History	93
4 “Flight According to Rule”: The <i>fuga per canonem</i> in ‘Sirens’	125
5 Dissonant Unions: Joyce, Adorno and the “Pure Music” of <i>Finnegans Wake</i>	161
Conclusion: From <i>Chamber Music</i> to “Pure Music”	192
Bibliography	199



## Abbreviations

### Works by James Joyce

- CM**            *Chamber Music*. 1907. London: Jonathon Cape, 1971.
- CW**            *The Critical Writings*. 1959. Ed. Richard Ellmann, Ellsworth Mason. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- D**              *Dubliners*. New York: Penguin Books, 1993.
- FW**            *Finnegans Wake*. New York: Penguin Books, 1999.
- Letters**        *Letters of James Joyce*, Vol. I, Ed. Stuart Gilbert. Vol. I. London: Faber and Faber, 1957; Vols. II and III, Ed. Richard Ellmann. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.
- P**              *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Ed. R. B. Kershner. Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- SH**            *Stephen Hero: A Part of the First Draft of a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Ed. Theodore Spencer. London: Paladin Press, 1991.
- U**              *Ulysses. The Corrected Text*. Ed. Hans Walter Gabler. New York: Vintage Books, 1986.

## Introduction: Music and Memory

“Fabled by the daughters of Memory” (U, 3.7)

When asked about Joyce’s musical talent, his European friends recalled his interest in music of all kinds and often recounted the musical evenings they shared with Joyce. Curiously however, when his friends discussed Joyce’s relationship with Irish music, they seemed to take on a more serious tone or at least they conveyed that Joyce took Irish music seriously. For instance, Louis Gillet remembered how often in the evenings Joyce would sit at the piano and “shed his treasury of Irish melodies” and his listeners “remained suspended on the doleful and nostalgic cadences.”<sup>1</sup> Likewise, Jacques Mercanton recalled Joyce’s rendition of “Follow me up to Carlow” in “a voice melodious and vibrant, though a little ragged, accompanying himself with a few chords, he sang a sweet, nostalgic, old Gaelic lament. Moved as he was, his face took on an expression that was both juvenile and sorrowful.”<sup>2</sup> Sylvia Beach also remembered that at the end of a party, Joyce would sing his Irish songs: “his particular way of singing them in his sweet tenor voice, and the expression on his face—these were things one can never forget.”<sup>3</sup> For Arthur Power, these Irish ballads were “the secret source of his inspiration,”<sup>4</sup> and as Gillet also said, “Those who have not heard Joyce in his Irish songs do not know what was most secret within him.”<sup>5</sup> In all of these accounts, hearing Joyce sing his Irish songs made visible a side to him that was not always apparent. His strong attachment to these songs was a secret, yet a key aspect of his

---

<sup>1</sup> Louis Gillet, “James Joyce,” *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington, 1979), p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Mercanton, “The Hours of Joyce,” *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> Sylvia Beach, “Joyce’s Way of Life,” *James Joyce: Interviews and Recollections*, ed. E. H. Mikhail (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1990), p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, ed. Clive Hart (London: Millington Ltd; Dublin: Cahill & Co. Ltd, 1974), pp. 40-41.

<sup>5</sup> Louis Gillet, “The Living Joyce,” *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), p. 181.



personality. As these quotations demonstrate, it seems that for all the physical and critical distance that Joyce put between himself and his country, there were still musical ‘chords’ that tied him to Ireland. This thesis will show that these ‘chords’ are one of the most important aspects of his work.

Of course, Joyce’s love for music of all kinds is well known. If Stanislaus Joyce once said that his brother “has too many futures”<sup>6</sup> it seems that one of these “futures” was a career in singing. Much has been made of Joyce’s brief but impressive start on the Dublin musical scene. In 1904, with the encouragement of John McCormack and Richard Best, Joyce entered the singing competition known as the Feis Ceoil. He would have won the gold medal but when he was asked to sight read a piece Joyce walked off the stage on the grounds that a singer should not have to perform something he has not prepared.<sup>7</sup> The “high point of his musical career”<sup>8</sup> was on August 27, 1904 in the Ancient Concert Rooms when Joyce famously shared a platform with J. C. Doyle and John McCormack, who was to go on to a successful opera career. It seems that the option of singing professionally was also open to Joyce and he certainly toyed with the idea both in Dublin and Trieste. However, the cost of lessons was troublesome and Joyce eventually abandoned singing as a potential career. In the end, it seems that he did not wish to be a vessel for someone else’s compositions. He wanted to be a composer himself. For Joyce, what was more important than music was ‘musical’ language and the ‘sound’ of the text. Joyce’s emulation of musical forms pervades nearly all of his work, from his use of Elizabethan music as a model for *Chamber Music*, to his employment of the fugal form in the ‘Sirens’ chapter of *Ulysses* to his claim while writing

---

<sup>6</sup> In Stanislaus Joyce’s *Book of Days*, dated 5 July, 1907.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, second ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 151-52. See also Morris Beja, *James Joyce: A Literary Life* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1992), p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 168.



*Ulysses* that “Writing a novel was like composing music, with the same elements involved.”<sup>9</sup> Speaking of Joyce’s composition of *Finnegans Wake*, Gillet remembered that Joyce believed “music was a language and perhaps even something more” and that music could be “found in the words, grouping them, guiding them, giving them breath of life. For Joyce, a sentence was not severable from its melodic qualities, for they alone gave existence to it...Joyce’s art is primarily musical.”<sup>10</sup>

As a consequence of Joyce’s determination to make his language ‘musical,’ the field of Joyce and music has been intensively studied. Much valuable work has been done by critics such as Ruth Bauerle, Mabel Worthington, Matthew Hodgart and Zack Bowen in the identification and cataloging of hundreds of songs in Joyce’s works.<sup>11</sup> This painstaking groundwork has led to several full-length studies. For instance, in *Bloom’s Old Sweet Song*, Bowen traces the ways that music is used to build up themes, underscore points in the narrative, add weight to what the characters are saying, and link together segments and episodes in the text.<sup>12</sup> Along similar lines, Jack Weaver’s book, *Joyce’s Music and Noise*, traces the ‘musical themes’ and the musical ‘keys’ that appear in Joyce’s work from *Chamber Music* to *Finnegans Wake*.<sup>13</sup> In *Joyce and Wagner*, Timothy Martin focuses on the musical elements that Joyce borrowed from Wagner, such as his use of the Wagnerian

---

<sup>9</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 450.

<sup>10</sup> Louis Gillet, "The Living Joyce," p. 196.

<sup>11</sup> Ruth Bauerle, ed., *The James Joyce Songbook* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1982); Ruth Bauerle, ed., *Picking up Airs: Hearing the Music in Joyce's Text* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Ruth Bauerle, Hodgart, Matthew J. C., *Joyce's Grand Operoar: Opera in Finnegans Wake* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Mathew J.C. Hodgart, Worthington, Mabel P., ed., *Song in the Works of James Joyce* (New York: Temple University Publications by Columbia Univeristy Press, 1959); Mabel P. Worthington, "Irish Folk Songs in Joyce's *Ulysses*," *PMLA* Vol. 81.No. 3 (1965); Zack Bowen, "Libretto for Bloomusalem in Song: The Music of Joyce's *Ulysses*," *New Light on Joyce from the Dublin Symposium*, ed. Fritz Senn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972); Zack Bowen, *Musical Allusions in the Works of James Joyce: Early Poetry through Ulysses* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974).

<sup>12</sup> Zack Bowen, *Bloom's Old Sweet Song: Essays on Joyce and Music* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995).

<sup>13</sup> Jack W. Weaver, *Joyce's Music and Noise: Theme and Variation in His Writings* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).



*leitmotif* and various themes from *Siegfried* to *Tristan and Isolde*.<sup>14</sup> Aside from full-length studies, dozens of articles on the subject of music in Joyce's works, and articles focused on the decoding of the fugue in 'Sirens' have been published. With the appearance in 1999 of *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*, which includes articles on various aspects of Joyce's musical interests, and an issue of the *James Joyce Quarterly* dedicated to Joyce and Opera, it seems that the study of Joyce and music has become a 'field' in its own right.<sup>15</sup>

Joyce's interest in music and his incorporation of music into his texts is perhaps rivaled by his great attention to the subject of memory. Joyce once said to Frank Budgen that "imagination was memory" and Budgen told Clive Hart that Joyce "prized memory above all other human faculties."<sup>16</sup> Of course, it is well known that Joyce had committed the streets and shops of Dublin to memory from his many walks throughout the city, and there are several accounts of his minute recollections of Dublin from friends such as Phillipe Soupault who recalled that "each day, and each hour of the day" Joyce "thought of Ireland; he lived and relived his memories; thousands of times he mentally traversed the streets and squares of the city, the pathways of the surrounding area."<sup>17</sup> Consequently, dozens of articles on the topic of Joyce and theories of memory have been published. For instance, Robert Adams Day, Daniel Ferrer and Jacques Mailhos discuss Joyce's interest in the Art of Memory—the technique whereby the knowledge that is to be committed to memory is associated with pictorial images which serve as mnemonic aids.<sup>18</sup> Joyce's interest in modern theories of

---

<sup>14</sup> Timothy Martin, *Joyce and Wagner: A Study of Influence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

<sup>15</sup> Sebastian Knowles, ed., *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce* (New York and London: Garland, 1999) and Timothy Martin, ed., *Joyce and Opera*, *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol 38.No. 1 and 2 (Fall 2000 and Winter 2001).

<sup>16</sup> See John S. Rickard, *Joyce's Book of Memory: The Mnemotechnic of Ulysses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Phillipe Soupault, "James Joyce," *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), p. 116.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Adams Day, "Dante, Ibsen, Joyce, Epiphanies, and the Art of Memory," *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 25.No. 3 (Spring 1988); Daniel Ferrer, "Loci Memoriae: Joyce and the Art of Memory," *Classic*



memory has also been explored most notably by Joseph Buttigieg and John Rickard, who both draw attention to the distinction in Joyce's works between voluntary memory, the conscious recollection of knowledge, and involuntary memory, which is memory that is not consciously recalled and can happen upon a person suddenly and without warning. For both Buttigieg and Rickard, Joyce favoured involuntary memory as a means through which imaginative possibilities could be manifested.<sup>19</sup>

While these critics above have focused on how things are remembered in Joyce's works, other critics have focused on the ways in which Joyce engages with the "nightmare" of history. For instance, in *James Joyce and the Language of History: Dedalus's Nightmare*, Robert Spoo offers what he calls a "metahistorical" reading of *Ulysses*. Spoo places Joyce in the context of nineteenth-century European intellectual history and aesthetic theory, and illustrates the ways in which Joyce subverts and disrupts a teleological version of history.<sup>20</sup> Along similar lines, although James Fairhall discusses Joyce's engagement with some events in Irish history in *James Joyce and the Question of History*, his work is primarily focused on how Joyce can be situated in the context of a wide range of nineteenth-century European theories of history. Fairhall shows that in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce transcended, destabilised and subverted the constraints of both Irish and European history, and explored the possibilities that were "ousted" by teleological historical ideologies.<sup>21</sup>

---

*Joyce: Joyce Studies in Italy 6, Papers from the XVI International James Joyce Symposium, Rome 14-20 June 1998*, ed. Franca Ruggieri (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1999); and Jacques Mailhos, "The Art of Memory: Joyce and Perec," *Transcultural Joyce*, ed. Karen Lawrence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>19</sup> Joseph Buttigieg, *A Portrait of the Artist in a Different Perspective* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987); and Rickard, *Joyce's Book of Memory: The Mnemotechnic of Ulysses*.

<sup>20</sup> Robert Spoo, *James Joyce and the Language of History: Dedalus's Nightmare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). See also Robert Spoo, "Tropics of Joycean Discourse: Representations of the Historical Process in the *Critical Writings*," *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 28.No. 4 (Summer 1991).

<sup>21</sup> James Fairhall, *James Joyce and the Question of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).



While Spoo and Fairhall situate Joyce firmly in a European context, much recent scholarship has been focused on evaluating Joyce within the Irish context. It has often been noted that Seamus Deane's *Celtic Revivals*, which compellingly argued that Joyce was strongly influenced by Irish politics and Irish nationalism, inspired much interest in Joyce's engagement with Irish history, nationalism and colonialism. For instance, Emer Nolan's book, *James Joyce and Nationalism*, challenges what was the predominant view that Joyce avidly disapproved of Irish nationalism and preferred a more cosmopolitan aestheticism. Arguing that Joyce's political nationalism and his aesthetic modernism are complementary rather than disparate elements in his works, and by showing some of the ways that Joyce engages sympathetically with events in Irish history, she shows that Joyce *was* a nationalist in some respects even though much of his work repudiates certain aspects of Irish nationalism.<sup>22</sup> Along the lines of interpreting Joyce specifically as an Irish writer, Andrew Gibson's book, *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics and Aesthetics in Ulysses*, also argues against the view that Joyce was primarily a cosmopolitan writer. For Gibson, the innovative styles of *Ulysses* are driven by Joyce's desire to achieve liberation from a long history of colonial power and take his revenge on the coloniser's culture.<sup>23</sup>

This recent interest in Joyce's engagement with Irish history has also led to evaluations of the ways in which Joyce deals with the trauma associated with remembering a painful cultural past. For instance, in *Transformations in Irish Culture*, Luke Gibbons argues that in Joyce's works memories are more often attached to "fugitive" cultural forms such as the street ballad, rather than to public monuments, which would be manifestations of "official memory." Gibbons argues that these "fugitive" forms of memory are characteristic of subaltern cultures because "official memory" is often incongruous with a traumatic colonial

---

<sup>22</sup> Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995)

<sup>23</sup> Andrew Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).



past.<sup>24</sup> In *Joyce, Derrida, Lacan, and the Trauma of History*, Christine van Boheemen-Saaf also addresses the issue of trauma with regard to Joyce's engagement with Irish history, arguing that the shock of the colonial condition in Joyce's works is "unspeakable." Using a strong foundation in theory, she shows that Joyce was trying to find a "voice" for Irish cultural memory that subverts the coloniser's power over language.<sup>25</sup>

Most of the criticism on Joyce and music focuses on the ways in which music can be seen as an interesting enhancement to Joyce's texts. Likewise, the studies on Joyce and memory often neglect or merely touch upon the crucial role that music plays in Joyce's historical consciousness. This thesis brings together Joyce's interest in music and memory and argues that music is more than just an enhancement; it is the most important conduit for memory and plays the most significant role in Joyce's working through of the problems of the past. In my use of the phrase, "Irish cultural memory" I am taking my lead from a strain of thought in Irish Studies that evaluates the ways in which events in Ireland's colonial history are remembered collectively. My use of the phrase must also be seen in the context of Chapter One of this thesis which illustrates the ways in which Irish music was used as a conduit for remembering historical events on a widespread level. My thesis builds upon what has already been said about Joyce's engagement with the traumas of Irish history. However, I diverge from these studies by arguing that Joyce's desire to emulate musical forms and his wish to come to terms with Ireland's colonial past should be viewed in conjunction with one another because they are the driving forces that bring about his various changes in style.

Chapter One, "Ireland and the 'Music Question'" examines Ireland's 'musical' identity which is bound up in its reputation for being the "Land of Song." Focusing on

---

<sup>24</sup> Luke Gibbons, *Transformations in Irish Culture*, Critical Conditions: Field Day Monographs, ed. Seamus Deane, vol. 2 (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996).

<sup>25</sup> Christine Van Boheemen-Saaf, *Joyce, Derrida, Lacan, and the Trauma of History: Reading, Narrative and Postcolonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).



Edward Bunting, Thomas Moore and Thomas Davis and the Young Ireland movement, this chapter addresses the “music question”—the controversy regarding whether Irish music should remain in its original modal form, or if Irish composers should adapt to tonality, the predominant musical form in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries. I argue that the controversy over the “music question” stems from the loss of the Irish language and the attitude that Irish music could be a lively medium for remembering events in Irish history. Consequently, the ‘form’ through which this memory was to be manifested—modal or tonal—was a debate that was never fully resolved. This chapter points to the argument that Joyce’s own reliance on musical forms was influenced by this idea that musical forms were best suited to give voice to Irish history. Joyce, I will argue in subsequent chapters, uses musical forms to explore possibilities for his presentation of Ireland’s colonial past.

Chapter Two, “‘Serving Ireland through Song’: Joyce, Music and the Irish Literary Revival,” argues that the Revival inherits this intimate connection between music and memory in Irish cultural history, and as a result, music becomes one of the most prevalent metaphors in Revival poetry and prose. The incorporation of music into language was often seen as a means through which the dissonances of the past could be resolved into harmony. Although Joyce wished to distance himself from his contemporaries, this chapter explores the ways in which he also desired to resolve dissonances through the creation of ‘musical’ language. Joyce’s pursuit of harmony is especially prevalent in *Chamber Music*; however, in *Dubliners*, Joyce is more critical of this musicality. While many Revivalists saw music as a medium through which cultural regeneration could be achieved, Joyce reveals that music is the most powerful link to painful memory, as is exemplified in “The Dead” when “The Lass of Aughrim” resurrects the ghost of Gretta’s past. In this chapter, I argue that Joyce’s critique of the pursuit of harmony is aimed at the Revival, but it is also significantly aimed at himself and at his own youthful preoccupation with harmony.



Chapter Three, “Cords, Chords and the ‘Condition of Music’: Stephen Dedalus and the Harmonisation of History,” addresses Stephen’s youthful desire to create harmonious art which mirrors Joyce’s own youthful pursuits of harmony. The chapter explores Joyce’s interest in Walter Pater and in his proclamation in *The Renaissance* that all art “aspires towards the condition of music” where matter and form are merged. It traces Stephen’s development from a young artist trying to create the “condition of music” which he believes will provide him with artistic freedom from the ‘nets’ that have hemmed him in, to the disappointed aesthete he has become in *Ulysses*, when he is less certain that harmony will provide him with the emancipation he desires. Although Stephen does not entirely give up on his pursuit of harmony in *Ulysses*, Chapter Three shows that his growing disillusionment with harmony is an important aspect of his artistic development.

Chapter Four, “Flight According to Rule: the *fuga per canonem* in ‘Sirens,’” addresses Joyce’s emulation of the fugue in ‘Sirens’ and the debate as to whether the chapter is better categorised as an episode in the “initial style” or the later style, and whether it can be called a work of harmony or dissonance. The episode is evaluated in light of the manuscripts of ‘Sirens’ held in the National Library of Ireland. I show that the compositional development, which progresses from regressive simplicity to innovative complexity, is significant because with each draft, Joyce also adds more historical references and more ‘dissonances’ to the text which make the episode quite incongruent with the fugal form. Instead of achieving a harmonious union between the form and the content, the ‘dissonant’ historical content is at war with the ‘harmonious’ musical form. I argue that this tension is the driving force that launches Joyce into the more fragmented styles of the second half of *Ulysses*.

Chapter Five, “Dissonant Unions: Joyce, Adorno and the ‘Pure Music’ of *Finnegans Wake*,” argues that in his last great work, Joyce brings to fruition much of what he was trying



to accomplish in 'Sirens' and in so doing, he finally achieves the "condition of music" where matter and form are merged. However, instead of creating the harmonious union of form and content that Pater imagined when he said that all art aspires to the "condition of music," Joyce presents the dissonance of Ireland's colonial past in a dissonant form. In light of Theodor Adorno's theories on modern music, this chapter addresses the ways in which *Finnegans Wake* can be compared to the "emancipation of dissonance" that Arnold Schoenberg achieved in music when he freed dissonance from its obligation to be resolved into harmony. By creating a 'dissonant union' between the form and the content, I argue that Joyce presents the content of Irish history in the 'freest' possible form.

Overall, this thesis shows that music, the strongest link to a painful past, is also the conduit for the kind of artistic freedom that Joyce was striving to achieve all along. Seamus Deane states that Joyce's "primary category is history" and that his aim is to "release fiction" from the bondage of "Ireland's long troubles—her relationship with England, her rebellions, mythologies, her subordination" which are all "included in Joyce's work but do not constitute its subject."<sup>26</sup> In other words, if Ireland's dissonant past makes up the content of Joyce's work, his preferred form for this content is a musical form. In his youth, Joyce was striving to forge a harmonious union between the form and the content, hoping that such unity would provide him with an artistic liberation that would allow him to escape the past. However, this thesis will show that for Joyce, this pursuit of harmony is ultimately more binding rather than freeing. In his mature works, Joyce's awareness that the past cannot be 'harmonised' is apparent when he refuses to make the dissonances of cultural memory conform to musical forms that by definition require their resolution. His career-long pursuit of striving for

---

<sup>26</sup> Seamus Deane, "'Masked with Matthew Arnold's Face': Joyce and Liberalism," *James Joyce: The Centennial Symposium*, ed. Morris Beja, Phillip Herring, Maurice Harmon, David Norris (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986) p. 17.



harmony leads to an emancipation of dissonance, and to the achievement of an artistic liberation that still accommodates and acknowledges the dissonances of the past.

## Chapter One: Ireland and the “Music Question”

It has scarcely been recognised that if there was a language question in Irish cultural affairs, there was also a music question.<sup>1</sup> –Harry White

### I. Music and Society

For musicologists, the field of critical musicology—the study of the connections between social structures and musical structures—is controversial. For some, music exists as an art that is autonomous, and should be studied in isolation, without regard for the influences of society. For serious critical musicologists, however, the discipline of musicology is incomplete without the consideration of how society influences music and how music influences society. Most of the literature surrounding the field of critical musicology is focused specifically on the development of the structures of art music in Western society. The predominant concern is the progression of the build-up and breakdown of tonality and how the gradually developing structures of music can be seen in light of the society that produces them.

Since tonality is central to this study, it is worth providing a brief explanation of its development which will be seen in light of the theories presented by critical musicologists. From the ancient music of Greece up until the medieval period, music was composed using a system of eight modes, each starting on a different tone and each with different patterns of half steps and whole steps depending on the starting pitch of the scale. In the sixteenth-century, four new modes were added and two of them, the major (Ionian) and the minor

---

<sup>1</sup> See Harry White, *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970*, Critical Conditions: Field Day Monographs, ed. Seamus Deane, vol. 6 (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), p. 7.



(Aeolian), came to be used more often than the others.<sup>2</sup> Thus, music progressed in these modes to the exclusion of the others. The modal scale evolved into diatonic major and minor scales where the pattern of whole and half steps remains the same regardless of the starting pitch. This gave rise to the establishment of many different key areas in the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-centuries, as music became more obviously centred around a fundamental tonic key. In the music of Bach, for instance, the centrality of the tonic key opened up the possibility for modulation—that is, a process where the composer sets up another key area or triad that is in competition with the tonic key or triad. This ‘secondary’ tonic creates polarisation which is resolved when the piece finishes in the original key. While in Baroque music this modulation occurred through a highly ornate polyphonic texture in which several different voices are presented simultaneously in counterpoint with one another, in the late eighteenth-century the process of modulation became more tempered with the development of the sonata form which relies more on homophony—music composed with a dominant theme that is supported by harmony. In a tonal composition, dissonant notes in relation to the tonic must be prepared and resolved in a particular way. Likewise, Charles Rosen states that “modulation is dissonance on a large scale.”<sup>3</sup> For instance, the sonata form begins with an exposition in the tonic key, modulates to different keys in the development section, creating large-scale dissonance that is resolved when the piece concludes with a return to the tonic key in the recapitulation. While in the Classical era, this movement from harmony to dissonance to harmony was more formulaic, in the nineteenth-century, composers began to take more liberties with the process of modulation and again, as Rosen states, modulation was “eventually to prove the powerful force that corrupted tonality.”<sup>4</sup> Rosen is alluding to the kind of continuous chromatic modulation that composers were

---

<sup>2</sup> Bryan Simms, Wright, Craig, *Music in Western Civilization* (Belmont: Thomson Schirmer, 2006), p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Rosen, *Schoenberg* (London: Marion Boyars, 1975), pp. 36-37

<sup>4</sup> Rosen, *Schoenberg*, pp. 36-37.



employing in the nineteenth-century which began to loosen the stability of key centres as, for example, in Wagner's later operas. Thus, the requirement for music to end in its original tonic was not always adhered to and several pieces from Schubert onwards begin and end in different keys.<sup>5</sup> The intensity of this process was taken to another level in Mahler's late works and in the early works of Schoenberg. In 1907, Schoenberg wrote the String quartet no. 2 in F-Sharp Minor which begins in sonata form but ends completely atonally. In other words, modulation as large-scale dissonance leads to the eventual abandonment of tonal structures and to the "emancipation of dissonance" in the early twentieth-century.

With these changing structures of music in mind, two of the pioneering figures who began developing the connections between musical and social structures are Max Weber and Theodor Adorno. In his *Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, Weber argues that harmony and counterpoint based on a foundational tonic triad are unique to the West, even though tonal relationships and intervals were studied elsewhere. The reason for the development of music from the modal to the tonal system is the pursuit of rationalisation, which he believes to be one of the most important forces in Western civilisation. Because of its combination of the 'rational' tonic chord and 'irrational' elements, which include the notes and chords that are dissonant in relation to the tonic chord, tonal music achieves a 'triumph' of rationality and harmony in a way that mirrors Enlightenment principles.<sup>6</sup> Theodor Adorno sees Weber's understanding of the rationalisation of music as a key element in the condition of music during the Enlightenment.<sup>7</sup> He argues that during the height of tonality, the sonata form served the *ideological* function of celebrating the values of the middle classes by

---

<sup>5</sup> Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., vol. 25 (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), p. 590.

<sup>6</sup> Max Weber, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, trans. Don Martindale, Johannes Reidel, Gertrude Neuwirth, ed. Don Martindale, Johannes Riedel, Gertrude Neuwirth (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1958).

<sup>7</sup> For a thorough explanation of how Adorno viewed Weber's notion of the increasing rationalisation of art see Max Paddison, *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 138-40.



producing a form of art that 'affirms' dominant power relations, even if this was not done consciously by composers. Since bourgeois society with its pursuit of rationalisation saw itself as a "society in sonata form,"<sup>8</sup> it follows that music does not spring from natural laws but is socially constructed before it is even composed. In that case, Adorno argues that the tensions in society are present in the forms of music, and these forms carry the traces of their historical moment. As he states, "No matter where music is heard today, it sketches in the clearest possible lines the contradictions and flaws which cut through present-day society."<sup>9</sup> In other words, music can be a tool for understanding social reality.

Many contemporary critics have taken their lead from Weber and Adorno in locating various connections between musical and social structures. For instance, John Shepherd sees parallels between the pentatonic scale and the structures of feudal society and Christopher Ballantine sees the replacement of the fugue with the sonata form as directly related to the collapse of late feudalism and its replacement by the bourgeois democratic order.<sup>10</sup> For other critics, the tensions between classes can be located in the structures of music. For instance, Edward Said states that Bach's music "literally fills a social space" by elaborating social hierarchies that preside over the work and by reinforcing "the separation between ruler and ruled."<sup>11</sup> Similarly, Richard Leppert notices that the rise of tonal music, which codified the rationalised movement from chord to chord, is congruent with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century theories of political economy and reinstates "in political terms...a hierarchy of power

---

<sup>8</sup> "Society in Sonata Form" is the title of one of the chapters in Robert Witkin's *Adorno on Music* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 28-49.

<sup>9</sup> Theodor Adorno, "On the Social Situation of Music," trans. Susan H. Gillespie, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California, 2002), p. 391.

<sup>10</sup> John Shepherd, *Music as Social Text* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 109-10 and Christopher Ballantine, *Music and Its Social Meanings* (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1984), p. 5, 36.

<sup>11</sup> Edward Said, *Musical Elaborations* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1991), pp. 64-5.



relations.”<sup>12</sup> These hierarchies are also connected to gender relations for Susan McClary. Picking up on the traditional descriptions of “gendered” themes in music, McClary brings attention to the fact that the main theme in a sonata is often referred to as the “masculine” theme, whereas the theme introduced in the development section is often referred to as the “feminine theme” which “poses a threat to the opening materials.”<sup>13</sup> Within sonata form, this tension is relieved when the “masculine” theme reinstates its power over the “feminine” theme in a way that parallels male-dominated gender relations.<sup>14</sup> Finally, a Foucauldian argument for the connections between music and society comes from Jacques Attali, who believes that societies are fashioned by sounds and their arrangements and that this fashioning is a tool for power: “All music, any organization of sounds is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community, of a totality.”<sup>15</sup> Since music is ‘controlled’ by those in power, Attali states that music’s ability to transform dissonance into harmony is what makes people believe that social harmony is possible.<sup>16</sup>

Given its status as the only country in the world to have a musical instrument as its national symbol and its reputation for being the “Land of Song,”<sup>17</sup> it seems that Ireland would be a perfect case study for critical musicology (as music and society are intrinsically linked). However, it is also a Western country without a strong art music tradition, so it does not fit the general mould. In the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-centuries when tonality was at its peak, music in Ireland had not developed beyond the modal system. In that case, how

---

<sup>12</sup> Richard Leppert, “Music, Domestic Life and Cultural Chauvinism,” Richard Leppert, Susan McClary, ed., *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 77.

<sup>13</sup> Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), p. 68.

<sup>14</sup> McClary, *Feminine Endings*, p. 69.

<sup>15</sup> Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, trans. Brian Massumi (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> For an interesting take on the ‘geography’ of Ireland as the “Land of Song” see G. R. Phippen, *Land of Song: A Geography Drawn from Irish Folk Songs and Ballads* (Grantham: Esher Publishing, 1993).



would the critical musicological arguments above apply to Ireland and its ‘musical’ identity? This chapter does not seek to answer the question through a comprehensive historical study of Irish music, as this is not possible within its constraints. This evaluation is more of a thematic overview that illustrates how music theory played such an important and controversial role in the development of Irish nationalism, and a study of how the structures of music powerfully reflect the structures of society in the Irish colonial context.

## II. Ireland and Music Theory

For many musicologists, it is a mystery that a culture with such a reputation for being musical did not cultivate art music to a greater extent. Many have tried to account for the lack of emphasis on art music, suggesting that it may be due to the circumstances of colonisation, the poverty of the majority, or the lack of music education in Irish schools. Some critics suggest that since tonal music was coming out of imperial society, to compose art music would have been to work under a set of borrowed or ‘un-Irish’ musical techniques. However, Axel Klein points out that the same could be said for any other country on the European periphery. Many continental composers were quick to emulate the predominant musical techniques coming out of Germany, France and Italy, which were the centres for musical development but this was not necessarily considered to be an incorporation of ‘foreign’ musical techniques.<sup>18</sup> Joseph Ryan argues that the attitude that art music was “un-Irish” had a great effect on the cultivation of opera in Ireland. For Ryan, it is strange that

---

<sup>18</sup> Axel Klein, "Roots and Directions in Twentieth-Century Irish Art Music," *Irish Musical Studies 7: Irish Music in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Gareth Cox, Axel Klein, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), p. 169. Klein goes on to say that it is not necessarily that Ireland produced no great composers, it is more likely that the great composers were often ignored, and their music was never brought to the forefront. According to Klein, composers who tried to write art music were often considered to be “West British.”



unlike other Western countries where opera was one of the main conduits for political and nationalist sentiment, the attitude that art music was somehow “un-Irish” was able to stunt the composition of Irish opera:

Opera arose as a heightened form of speech, as the highest collaboration between verse and music...Such a genre was inevitably attractive to any committed political movement. The expectation would reasonably be that Ireland with its increasing awareness of a noble and distinct past would look naturally to opera as a principal means of celebrating this distinction and furthermore that at least some of the operas would go on to proclaim a glorious independent future that resurrected the ideals and forms of the lamented past. Such a convoluted marriage of nationalist sentiment and the pastoral with glorification of the past was the very stuff of high European romanticism.<sup>19</sup>

This is not to say that opera was not popular in Ireland. The opera was well attended, but there was little interest in Irish opera as a means of fostering nationalist fervour.<sup>20</sup> To continue the comparison between Ireland and other Western countries, White offers an evaluation of the attitudes towards art music in Ireland and Poland. He argues that in the nineteenth-century, both Ireland and Poland were colonised, and underwent insurrections and periods of romantic nationalism. However, even though the development of Polish art music suffered in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, it survived this political turbulence and continued to flourish. One of the distinctions White makes between Ireland and Poland is that in Ireland the incorporation of folk music or traditional music into tonal music was discouraged whereas in Poland, there was a positive and supportive attitude towards the cultivation of art music for national purposes. For instance, Frederic Chopin often used elements of Polish traditional music in his compositions and Chopin was “immediately and

---

<sup>19</sup> Joseph J. Ryan, "Opera in Ireland before 1925," *Irish Musical Studies 7: Irish Music in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Gareth Cox, Axel Klein (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), p. 40.

<sup>20</sup> Ryan, "Opera in Ireland before 1925," p. 43.



permanently understood as the essence of the 'Polish soul.'"<sup>21</sup> With these comparisons in mind, it is perhaps the case that more was at stake with regard to art music in Ireland than anywhere else in the West, and it seems that many of these complications can be attributed to the very *intensity* of the link between music and Irish national identity.

The use of music as an identifying feature of Ireland has a long history that is largely focused on the harping tradition.<sup>22</sup> Very little is known about how the ancient harp was played, but it is apparent that the tradition was handed down aurally, and since there was no need to read notes, many of the harpers were blind. Much has been made of Giraldus Cambrensis's account of the skill and dexterity of the harpers in the twelfth-century: "Their skill is beyond comparison and superior to that of any nation I have seen...It is wonderful how in such precipitate rapidity of the fingers, the musical proportions are preserved, and, by their art, faultless throughout."<sup>23</sup> From Giraldus' and other accounts, it seems that the harpers used long fingernails and were engaged in a difficult method of both dampening and plucking.<sup>24</sup> It is also evident that the harpers once held high positions within society, but much of that was lost in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-centuries.<sup>25</sup> After the Statutes of Kilkenny, the suppression of the harp by Queen Elizabeth, and the Cromwellian invasions

---

<sup>21</sup> White, *The Keeper's Recital*, p. 71.

<sup>22</sup> For an informative study of music and Irish national identity see Leith Davis, *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity 1724-1847* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006). For a discussion of music and its power to affect collective identity see Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall, Paul du Gay (London: Sage Publications, 1996).

<sup>23</sup> Cited in Mary Helen Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung: The United Irishmen and the Rise of Irish Literary Nationalism* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994), pp. 83-4.

<sup>24</sup> See Aloys Fleischmann, ed., *Music in Ireland: A Symposium* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1952), p. 3.

<sup>25</sup> See Capt. Francis O'Neill, *Irish Minstrels and Musicians: With Numerous Dissertations on Related Subjects* (Chicago: The Regan Printing House, 1913), p. 23: "Our readers know what immense influence the ancient harpers or bards wielded. They were counselors of their princes and no expedition or feat of war was undertaken without consulting them. They sat in the chair of honor at the festive board, and as the mead or wine-cup went round their plaintive love ditties or martial chants were listened to with delight... They led troops on their march to battle with harp in hand, and sword on high singing the chant of war; and many a swinging blow they struck too. Their skill was a subject of universal wonder; and even the bitterly anti-Irish Giraldus Cambrensis praised the unequalled beauty of their music and playing in the most enthusiastic terms."



when harps were burned and destroyed, the harping tradition suffered, and consequently the harp melodies were less modernised and refined than music in other Western countries.<sup>26</sup> However, in the early eighteenth-century, Turlough O'Carolan's compositions were still receiving much attention. O'Carolan was unique among harpers in that he did not limit himself to the compositional procedures of Irish music, but also took influences from the continental composers such as Vivaldi, Corelli and Geminiani. O'Carolan is often considered to be the last bard of Ireland and after his death in 1738, other harpers did not refine their compositions to the same extent as O'Carolan. Thus, there was little possibility that the harp music would develop in the vein of Western art music.<sup>27</sup>

During the eighteenth-century, the harping tradition was in danger of extinction. In the spirit of preservation, the Belfast Harp Festival was held in July 1792 for the purpose of recording and collecting what was left of the ancient music still practiced by the last of the Irish harpers. The urgency of this endeavour is apparent in the 1791 announcement for the festival:

Some inhabitants of Belfast, feeling themselves interested in everything which relates to the honour, as well as the prosperity of their country, propose to open a subscription, which they intend to apply in attempting to revive and perpetuate the ancient Music and Poetry of Ireland. They are solicitous to preserve from oblivion the few fragments which have been permitted to remain, as monuments of the refined taste and genius of their ancestors.

In order to carry this project into execution, it must appear obvious to those acquainted with the situation of this country that it will be necessary to assemble the Harpers, those descendants of our Ancient

---

<sup>26</sup> An account of the decline of the harping tradition can be found in the "Historical Survey" in Aloys Fleischmann, ed., *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*, pp. 1-9.

<sup>27</sup> For more on O'Carolan's music see Sandra Joyce, "An Introduction to O'Carolan's Music in Eighteenth-Century Printed Collections," *Irish Musical Studies 4: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part One*, ed. Harry White, Patrick F. Devine (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996) and for more on the harp as a symbol of Ireland see Barra Boydell, "The Iconography of the Irish Harp as a National Symbol," *Irish Musical Studies 5: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995, Selected Proceedings: Part Two*, ed. Harry White, Patrick F. Devine (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996).



Bards, who are at present almost exclusively possessed of all that remains of the Music, Poetry and oral traditions of Ireland.<sup>28</sup>

As Mary Helen Thuente points out, the announcement for the festival “referred to the popular view that the harpers possessed what remained of the poetic as well as the musical traditions of ancient Ireland.”<sup>29</sup> The idea was to preserve a tradition that had once been highly influential, but according to Grainne Yeats, the festival itself was not a highly sophisticated affair:

This band of old, crippled players was clearly a pale shadow of that illustrious company that had gone before. For the most part they were poor players and poor singers. They used their finger pads instead of their nails, to pluck the strings, thus depriving the sound of its most distinct characteristic, the clear, bell-like, note.<sup>30</sup>

Only one harper, Denis Hempson, still played with long fingernails in the traditional fashion.<sup>31</sup> Hempson was also the only harper who claimed not to have been affected by the influence of modern music and even believed that O’Carolan’s music was too modern.<sup>32</sup> The other harpers were accused of neglecting the methods of Irish composition and relying too much on ‘foreign’ influences. Already, the desire to preserve what was left of the ancient tradition was challenged by the fact that so much of the harping tradition had already been lost. Even more complications arose with the recording of this music; a task that was allotted to Edward Bunting. Bunting was a musical prodigy who came from an English background on his father’s side and an Irish background on his mother’s side. He studied the organ in the Church of Ireland Cathedral in Armagh while he lived with the family of United Irishman

---

<sup>28</sup> Cited in Charlotte Milligan Fox, *Annals of the Irish Harpers* (London: John Murray, 1911), p. 97.

<sup>29</sup> Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, p. 55.

<sup>30</sup> Grainne Yeats, *The Belfast Harpers Festival 1792* (Dublin: Gael-Linn Toe, 1980), p. 25.

<sup>31</sup> See Colette Moloney, "Style and Repertoire in Gaelic Harp Tradition: Evidence from the Bunting Manuscripts and Prints," *Irish Musical Studies 4: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part One*, ed. Harry White, Devine, Patrick F. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), pp. 311-12.

<sup>32</sup> See Grainne Yeats, *The Harp of Ireland, the Belfast Harpers' Festival, 1792, and the Saving of Ireland's Harp Music by Edward Bunting* (Belfast: Belfast Harpers Bicentenary Ltd., 1992), p. 212.



Henry Joy McCracken.<sup>33</sup> Bunting was urged to record exactly what he heard at the festival, but as a trained musician, he was naturally well acquainted with tonal music, the dominant compositional form at the time. Consequently, even though the harpers' melodies were composed in the ancient modal form, Bunting refined them and preserved them instead in tonal form, making all the necessary changes in order to do so. As a result, instead of developing gradually as music did in other countries, and ironically in an attempt to preserve the ancient modes, tonality was actually *imposed* upon Irish musical culture when Bunting transcribed these melodies.<sup>34</sup>

After the Belfast Harp Festival, music theory was suddenly put at the centre of an important cultural debate—what White calls the “music question.”<sup>35</sup> Just as the language question dealt with the debate as to whether Ireland should cultivate the Irish or the English language, the music question dealt with the debate as to whether modal music or tonal music would be the form that Irish music was to take. Much of this discussion was centred around Edward Bunting's recording of the harpers' music, and as White states, “Bunting struggled to rationalise his duties as an antiquarian with his inclinations as a musician.”<sup>36</sup> On the one hand, Bunting realised that he had to refine or modernise the melodies to a certain extent in order to make them accessible to a modern audience, yet his political sensibilities made him feel that he could only take this refinement so far because he wished the recording of these melodies to be an antiquarian project as well. Caught between the complications of progress and preservation, Bunting, it seems, was unable to reconcile these opposing forces for his audience. For instance, as White points out, in the *Dublin Examiner*, dated August 1816, the

---

<sup>33</sup> See Colette Moloney, *The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting (1773-1843): An Introduction and Catalogue*, Studies in Irish Traditional Music, ed. Nicholas Carolan (Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive, 2000), p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> For further discussion of the results of Bunting's recording of the melodies see Lillis O Laoire, "Irish Music," *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*, ed. Joe Cleary, Claire Connolly (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)

<sup>35</sup> White, *The Keeper's Recital*, p. 7.

<sup>36</sup> White, *The Keeper's Recital*, p. 39.



writer states that Bunting should have refined the melodies even more because it would “surely be better to improve on what so evidently borders on barbarism.”<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, when scholars discuss Bunting’s achievement, it is often discussed in terms of translation. For instance, White states that Bunting’s assumption was that the “communication of this music necessarily involved an act of ‘translation’ into the style and vocabulary of his own day.”<sup>38</sup> Likewise, Seamus Deane states that Bunting’s recording of music in tonal form is a “translation, even transmogrification” of the ancient melodies.<sup>39</sup>

Bunting’s preface to his 1840 edition of *The Ancient Music of Ireland* illustrates his struggle between his antiquarian and musical tendencies and his own internal debate regarding the choice between using the ‘Irish’ modal scale or the Western diatonic scale, which is the foundation for tonal music. Of course, Bunting chose the tonal diatonic scale but he felt he could only use it in a limited context because he still had to preserve the ‘authenticity’ of the melodies as well. Consequently, his writings show a need to insist that despite his use of the diatonic scale, his music is still authentic. This strain of thought is coupled with his need to explain why his use of the diatonic scale is limited and compensate for what his audience might deem to be ‘uncultivated.’ He does this by arguing that there are certain characteristics in this music that make it specifically “Irish” and these characteristics *are not* limited to the modal scale. The important aspect of this argument is that Irish music in its modal manifestation does not have the fourth or the seventh tone that exists in the diatonic scale but many of the melodies included in Bunting’s volumes *do* have the diatonic fourth and seventh tones. Bunting assures his readers that the omissions of the fourth and seventh tones are *not* the distinguishing factors of Irish melody. Irish melody is instead

---

<sup>37</sup> From *The Dublin Examiner*, August 1816, p. 251 in an anonymous review of Moore’s *Irish Melodies*. Cited in White, *The Keeper’s Recital*, p. 39.

<sup>38</sup> White, *The Keeper’s Recital*, p. 39.

<sup>39</sup> Seamus Deane, ed., *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, vol. I (Derry: Field Day Publications, 1991), p. 1053.



distinguished by the presence of the major sixth or the sub-mediante tone. As he states, when one hears this tone, one can “exclaim ‘That is an Irish melody’”.<sup>40</sup>

There may be a hundred genuine Irish airs, some of them defective in the fourth and seventh, some supplying the place of the latter by a flat seventh, and others, again, perfect in all their diatonic intervals; yet let even an indifferent ear catch the strain of any one of them, whether performed by the best orchestra or by the meanest street musician, and it will at once feel thrilled by this searching tone of the emphatic major sixth, and in that touching and tingling sensation will recognise the proper voice of the Land of Song.

The Irish school of Music is, therefore, not a school of omissions and affected deficiencies drawing its examples from the tone of a barbarian bagpipe, but a school of sweet and perfect harmony, proper to a harp of many strings and suited to its intricate and florid character to cultivated ears and civilised assemblies.<sup>41</sup>

Importantly, Bunting uses “defective” to describe the airs that do not incorporate the fourth and the seventh tones and “perfect” when discussing the diatonic scale. In claiming that the Irish school of Music is not a “school of omissions and affected deficiencies” but a “school of sweet and perfect harmony,” Bunting exemplifies his desire that Irish music be fit for “cultivated ears and civilised assemblies.” In order for this to be the case, Irish music cannot be presented in the ‘incomplete’ or ‘wanting’ modes but must take on the diatonic scale to be ‘complete’ and ‘whole.’ To further his point, Bunting engages in a full-length tonal evaluation of these melodies, explaining how “three-fourths” of these melodies begin

with the chord of the Tonic, and proceeds to the Dominant with its major concord; it then returns to the Tonic, from which it progresses to the tone of the Submediante with the major harmony of the Subdominant, or to the Submediante with its minor concord; but the harmony of this peculiar note is most frequently accompanied by the major concord of the

---

<sup>40</sup> Edward Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland Arranged for the Piano Forte to which is Prefixed a Dissertation on the Irish Harp and Harpers Including an Account of the Old Melodies of Ireland* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1840), p. 14. See also Fox’s interpretation of this in *Annals of the Irish Harpers*, pp. 93-4.

<sup>41</sup> Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, pp. 14-15.



Subdominant; the conclusion of the air is generally a repetition of the first part of the tune, with a little variation.<sup>42</sup>

This curious imposition of a tonal structure, in the vein of sonata form coupled with a movement to the submediant which Bunting has just insisted is characteristic of Irish music, shows Bunting's desire to have music both ways: authentic and civilised, unmistakably Irish and tonal at the same time.

It is well known that Thomas Moore took many of the melodies from Bunting's collection and refined them even further in tonal form. Moore certainly credits Bunting for saving the Irish melodies from oblivion, saying that "There can be no doubt that to the zeal and industry of Mr. Bunting his country is indebted for the preservation of her old national airs" and that but for this zeal "the greater part of our musical treasure would probably have been lost to the world."<sup>43</sup> However, despite his praise for Bunting's antiquarian efforts, in a diary entry dated 15 July, 1840, he criticises Bunting's third edition of Irish melodies which he believes to be "a mere mess of trash" and defends his own endeavours to refine Bunting's music. As he states, had he not "ventured on these very admissible liberties many of the songs now most known and popular would have been still sleeping with all their authentic dress about them in Bunting's first Volume."<sup>44</sup> As is evident from this passage, Moore understood that for all his hesitant refinements, Bunting's melodies would still be too archaic for a cultivated musical audience and as a result would be doomed to silence. In his *Essay on the Music of Ireland*, printed in his *Melodies*, Moore states: "Though much has been said of the antiquity of our music, it is certain that our finest and most popular airs are modern."<sup>45</sup> In

---

<sup>42</sup> Bunting, *The Ancient Music of Ireland*, p. 16.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies by Thomas Moore* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), pp. vii-viii.

<sup>44</sup> Fox, *Annals of the Irish Harpers*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas Moore, *Moore's Irish Melodies with the Celebrated and Unsurpassed Symphonies and Accompaniments of Sir John Stevenson, Mus. Doc., and Sir Henry Bishop* (London: Ward, Lock and Co.), p. xvii.



this essay, Moore expresses his doubt that ancient music could have been superior to modern music because “however grand and pathetic the melody of the ancients may have been, it was reserved for the ingenuity of modern science to transmit the ‘light of song’ through the variegating prism of harmony.”<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, he also states that the ancient melodies composed in the modes were lacking in sophistication:

Indeed, the irregular scale of the early Irish (in which, as in the music of Scotland, the interval of the fourth was wanting) must have furnished but wile and refractory subjects to the harmonist. It was only when the invention of Guido began to be known, and the powers of the harp were enlarged by additional strings, that our melodies took the sweet character which interests us at present; and while the Scotch persevered in the old mutilation of the scale, our music became gradually more amenable to the laws of harmony and counterpoint.<sup>47</sup>

In his description of the modal scale as an “irregular scale” that is “wanting” in the fourth interval, and in claiming that for music to be preserved in the “irregular scale” would mean it would be preserved in the “old mutilation of the scale,” Moore uses the same kind of rhetoric as Bunting to promote the necessity for the refinement and modernisation of the ancient melodies. Even though Moore takes refinement to more of an extreme than Bunting, for both, Irish music had to be presented in a form that is seemingly whole and beautiful, rather than lacking or wanting.

This debate over whether to cultivate the ‘wanting’ modal scale or the ‘whole’ diatonic scale continues throughout the nineteenth-century. While Bunting and Moore were more interested in refinement, there was another strain of thought that rejected refinement and advocated the sole preservation of the modal scale. However, if only the ‘Irish’ scale was to be cultivated, there was a need to explain that, contrary to general belief, the Irish scale was only misunderstood and therefore not in any way ‘wanting.’ Michael Conran’s

---

<sup>46</sup> Moore, *Moore's Irish Melodies with the Celebrated and Unsurpassed Symphonies*, p. xvii.

<sup>47</sup> Moore, *Moore's Irish Melodies with the Celebrated and Unsurpassed Symphonies*, p. xvii.



1850 collection of Irish music addresses the reasons why Irish melodies do not have a leading note or a “major seventh, D#, so requisite in modern music.”<sup>48</sup> Conran explains that Irish music had been limited to the modes because the harp tuned to G would not have been able to produce the seventh tone. Furthermore, the Irish scale provides less opportunity for expressive chromaticism, and this can be explained by the highly resonant nature of the Irish harp, which was more conducive to a simpler kind of harmony:

For it is obvious that in most instances the strings would vibrate longer than the exact time required by melodial figure (if not stopped), so that the harpers, availing themselves of those resonant qualities of that instrument, would form those melodial phrases on sounds which would be in harmonic relation to each other, so that the succeeding tones of the melody would naturally produce a species of harmony by the resonance of trembling chords. Hence it would follow, that any two *next* sounds, being inharmonious, would be less used, except as unaccented passing notes. So we find the harmonic intervals of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>, the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, recurring in those airs; and also the peculiar effect of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> with the tonic always so agreeable, and found in the works of the great masters of latter times. The melodies, therefore, would afford a species of simple or natural harmony.<sup>49</sup>

In other words, for Conran, the general opinion that Irish music is a music of “‘omissions’ is of little moment.” Irish music does not “prove the want of a perfect diatonic scale.” Instead, it was the nature of the harp that caused “a knowledge of simple harmony” rather than a more complicated tonal treatment of harmony.<sup>50</sup> The implication is that this simple harmony is more desirable.

In October 1878, the Irish Society of St Cecilia was founded in order to promote the reform of music for the church. Father Henrich Berwerunge, the professor of sacred music in St Patrick’s College Maynooth, was a key figure in this movement. Berwerunge believed

---

<sup>48</sup> Michael Conran, *The National Music of Ireland, Containing the History of the Irish Melodies, the Harp, and Other Musical Instruments of Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London: John Johnson, 1850), p. 62.

<sup>49</sup> Conran, *The National Music of Ireland*, pp. 63-4.

<sup>50</sup> Conran, *The National Music of Ireland*, p. 65.



that the church should cultivate Gregorian chant and sixteenth-century polyphony above what he believed to be the more decadent music of masses by Mozart and other classical composers. According to White, this had a great impact on the state of music in Ireland and introduced another facet to the “music question.”<sup>51</sup> Since the Cecilian movement promoted the modes as the best form of church music, and since Irish music was composed in the modes, this led many to believe that Irish music had retained a kind of integrity that Western music had not. As Ryan says, this link between modal church music and Irish music “suggested that Irish music was more venerable than the modern expression so favoured in fashionable society.”<sup>52</sup> The glamorisation of the modes also provided the opportunity to make claims for the precocious development of ancient Irish music, which was subsequently cut short by historical circumstances. For instance, in W. H. Grattan Flood’s *History of Irish Music*, first published in 1905, Flood quotes Father Berwerunge as stating that Irish music belongs “to a stage of musical development very much anterior to that of Gregorian chant” and that Irish melody reaches “back to a period altogether previous to the dawn of musical history.”<sup>53</sup> Using Berwerunge’s argument and his own research, Flood credits the Irish with the invention of ground bass and pedal point,<sup>54</sup> an early acquaintance with counterpoint, and harmony,<sup>55</sup> and states that

the ancient Irish were acquainted with the ogham music tablature in pre-Christian ages; they had their battle-marches, dance tunes, folk songs, chants, and hymns in the fifth century; they were the earliest to adopt the *neums* or neumatic notation, for the plainchant of the Western Church; they modified, and introduced Irish melodies into, the Gregorian Chant; they had an intimate acquaintance with the diatonic scale long before it was perfected by Guido of Arezzo; they were the first to employ harmony

---

<sup>51</sup> See White, *The Keeper's Recital*, pp. 77-78.

<sup>52</sup> Joseph J. Ryan, "Assertions of Distinction: The Modal Debate in Irish Music," *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*, ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), p. 67.

<sup>53</sup> Cited in W. H. Grattan Flood, *A History of Irish Music*, (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970), p. 7.

<sup>54</sup> Flood, *A History of Irish Music*, p. 67.

<sup>55</sup> Flood, *A History of Irish Music*, pp. 10-11.



and counterpoint; they had quite an army of bards and poets; they employed blank verse, elegiac thymes, consonant, assonant, inverse, burthen, dissyllabic, trisyllabic, and quadrisyllabic rhymes, not to say anything of *caoines*, laments, elegies, metrical romances, etc.; they invented the musical arrangement which developed into the sonata form, they had a world-famed school of harpers, and, finally, they generously diffused musical knowledge all over Europe.<sup>56</sup>

Since Irish music has such a venerable history, for Father Berwerunge the Irish scale is an “inestimable treasure” that should never be exchanged for the “achievements of modern music.” Such an exchange

would be a very bad bargain...I think very few, even of the most patriotic Irishmen, will, without any hesitation, decide in favour of the Irish scale...By all means, then, let us make an effort to study and understand the peculiarity of the real Irish Music; and if we find that it possesses advantages which modern music cannot come up to, we will preserve it, and perhaps, fructify modern music by it.<sup>57</sup>

From these arguments, it seems that more energy was being put into the “music question”—the controversy regarding the use of the Irish modal scale or the Western diatonic scale—than into the process of composition. In this debate, refinement was both necessary and unacceptable. In the end, for anyone involved in the complications of the “music question,” White’s statement is highly applicable: “just as Gaelic, according to Seamus Deane, could survive in English in ‘celtic’ form, the underlying assumption...is that Gaelic melody could likewise survive only in a ‘tonal’ form.”<sup>58</sup> However unsupportive the collectors were of tonality, the collected and preserved melodies were written nonetheless in tonal form. A debate such as this is quite unique in the history of Western music and it is worth delving further into the reasons why the “music question” provoked so much anxiety.

---

<sup>56</sup> Flood, *A History of Irish Music*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>57</sup> Henrich Berwerunge, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 4th series, VIII (July-Dec. 1900), pp. 153-4 Cited in Ryan, "Assertions of Distinction: The Modal Debate in Irish Music," p. 73.

<sup>58</sup> White, *The Keeper's Recital*, p. 39.



### III. Music, Memory and Irish Nationalism

Both White and Ryan argue that music's intense connection to nationalism had the result of making art music static in Ireland.<sup>59</sup> Building on this argument, I would suggest that it is more specifically music's connection to cultural memory that had a profound effect on the state of music in Ireland. Of course, cultural memory is an important aspect of Irish Nationalism, and music was often the vehicle through which it was communicated. Going back to White's comparison between Ireland and Poland, although Poland and Ireland underwent many of the same historical conditions, Poland did not lose its native language, and this is perhaps one of the reasons that art music continued to flourish despite historical trauma. If the Irish language was rapidly dying, the general opinion, or at least the general hope was that ancient music *had* survived when so much of the culture had been lost.<sup>60</sup> In that case, it was possible that Irish music could be a lively substitute for the Irish language as the conduit for cultural memory and an aesthetically beautiful medium for the expression of Irish history. One example of the importance of music as a communicative means comes from Charles Hamilton Teeling, a member of the United Irishmen who wrote about his experience of the 1798 rebellion. As he states, during the time surrounding the uprising, the Irish often turned to music, an art that "speaks the native language of their soul."<sup>61</sup> To claim that music is the native language of the soul is almost to put music on a higher pedestal than a

---

<sup>59</sup> This argument runs throughout *The Keeper's Recital* and can also be found in Joseph J. Ryan, "Nationalism and Irish Music," *Irish Musical Studies 3: Music and Irish Cultural History*, ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), p. 102.

<sup>60</sup> See Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, p. 46: "The surviving music, a living link with a heroic past, was a source of cultural pride and national identity." See also Michael Monahan, *Nova Hibernia: Irish Poets and Dramatists of Today and Yesterday* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), pp. 197-8: "Scattered over a period of about three hundred years, born of an oppression without parallel and a resistance without precedent, of a struggle ever renewed and ever defeated, this ballad literature of Ireland, of the Irish soil and of the Irish heart, is the priceless treasure of a people that has lost everything beside."

<sup>61</sup> Charles Hamilton Teeling, *History of the "Irish Rebellion" of 1798: A Personal Narrative* (London: Stationers' Hall Court; Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson, 1876), p. 11.



native language, and Teeling's account is just one of the many that elevates music as the best means for national expression in the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries. In the end, the "music question" was more than just a debate about musical form, it was bound up in a question of what 'form' cultural memory was to take: modal or tonal. On the one hand, if Ireland was to compete with the sophisticated music of other Western countries, it had to embrace tonal form and allow refinement to be a part of what was considered to be specifically Irish music. On the other hand, refinement would mean the loss of the original modal form in which the songs were composed and would advocate a kind of 'translation' from modal to tonal. The concern seemed to be that since the Irish language had already been translated, it was important that Irish music escape such a fate. Between these two poles, Irish music had little room to progress as *actual* music, but as a metaphor, music seemed to thrive in nationalist discourse.

As the United Irishmen were well aware, the forging of a nation requires a celebration of cultural memory upon which the nation is to be built, so it is not surprising that the Belfast Harp Festival was not just a music festival, it was a politically charged preservation of cultural memory.<sup>62</sup> Just before the harp festival took place, the United Irish Society at their first meeting in October 1791 adopted the harp as a symbol of cultural regeneration. Following William Drennan, a United Irishman whose 1785 *Letter of Orellana* calls patriots to "add new strings to the Irish Harp" and to "awake, arise,—For if you sleep you die!", the rhetoric was filled with references to the restringing and retuning of the Irish harp. Their new motto was "It is new strung and shall be heard."<sup>63</sup> Suddenly music and politics were linked in a national image, and re-tuning of the Irish harp and the salvaging of

---

<sup>62</sup> See Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 6: "All beginnings contain an element of recollection. This is particularly so when a social group makes a concerted effort to begin with a wholly new start."

<sup>63</sup> Barra Boydell, "The Iconography of the Irish Harp as a National Symbol," p. 139.



Irish music from oblivion coincided with the re-tuning of the political harp and the forging of a nation. The remainder of the announcement for the festival stresses this intimacy between music, politics and memory as it couples music and poetry with the patriot and the politician:

An undertaking of this kind will undoubtedly meet the approbation of men of refinement and erudition in every country. And when it is considered how intimately the spirit and character of a people are connected with their national Poetry and Music, it is presumed that the Irish patriot and politician will not deem it an object unworthy his patronage and protection.”<sup>64</sup>

The United Irishmen promoted and publicised the Belfast Harp Festival in the *Northern Star* and many of them also attended.<sup>65</sup> Among them was Wolfe Tone, whose attendance is perhaps coloured by his famous statement entered in his journal, 13 July, 1792: “The Harpers again. Strum strum and be hanged.”<sup>66</sup> Whether or not he liked the music, he did believe the retuning of the harp was an important political image, and this was an attitude that inspired the composition of many political songs and ballads. In a political songbook entitled *Paddy’s Resource*, first published by the United Irishmen in 1795 and later reprinted with various changes in 1798,<sup>67</sup> the anonymous compilers used many songs that were played at the harp festival and set them to politically rousing words. On the first page of the 1795 songbook, there is a picture depicting the maiden harp of Erin with chains at her feet and a message that states, “Tun’d to Freedom. Irishmen Unite—Tear off your chains and let millions be free.”<sup>68</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Cited in Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, pp. 97-8.

<sup>65</sup> Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, p. 8.

<sup>66</sup> In Theobald Wolfe Tone, *Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, Founder of the United Irish Society*, ed. William T. W. Tone, vol. II (Washington, D. C.: Gales and Skaton, 1826), p. 157. Cited in Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, p. 6.

<sup>67</sup> *Paddy’s Resource, or the Harp of Erin Attuned to Freedom; Being a Collection of Patriotic Songs; Selected for Paddy’s Amusement*, (Dublin: 1798). The date is not printed in the songbook, but according to the National Library of Ireland’s catalogues, it was printed in 1798. There were four United Irish songbooks called *Paddy’s Resource* printed in 1795, 1796, 1798, and 1803. See Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, p. 3.

<sup>68</sup> *Paddy’s Resource: Being a Select Collection of Original and Modern Patriotic Songs, Toasts and Sentiments, Compiled for the Use of the People of Ireland*, (Belfast: 1795).



The themes of the songbook include unity between Catholics and Protestants, which is especially evident in the songs “Advice to Paddy”<sup>69</sup> and “Unite and be Free,”<sup>70</sup> the awaking of the nation, as depicted in songs such as “Swains Awake”<sup>71</sup> and “Slumbering Ireland,”<sup>72</sup> and the “Harp of Erin tuned to Freedom,”<sup>73</sup> which is the title of the first song in the 1798 version.

However, very little attention is paid to actual harmony or actual music. In the 1795 and 1798 versions the music is not printed with the words, but the title of the tune to which they are to be sung is provided. From such a presentation, it is evident that these songbooks were not as concerned with the music as they were with the political sentiment attached to the music. In other words, harmony was a metaphor for re-forging cultural memory from something painful into something heroic, from something divided into something whole, united and harmonious. Even though cultural memory is painful and dissonant, as “HIBERNIA’S HARP indignant lay,/ And curs’d with ev’ry string the day,/And mourn’d her dearest birth-right lost,/ When Despots landed on her coasts,” the song provides the certainty that “Her Harp shall be/ By Liberty/Soon tun’d to Freedom’s sound.”<sup>74</sup> This song is just one example of how *Paddy’s Resource* sought to “tune” painful memory into the “harmony” of freedom. Also important, is the fact that the political songbooks coming out of the eighteenth-century clearly present victory and harmony together, as if such ‘tuning’ is *essential* in order for freedom to be accomplished. This is especially apparent in another political songbook, tellingly entitled *The Political Harmonist*:

---

<sup>69</sup> *Paddy’s Resource* (1795), pp. 49-50.

<sup>70</sup> *Paddy’s Resource* (1795), p. 7

<sup>71</sup> *Paddy’s Resource* (1798), p. 11.

<sup>72</sup> *Paddy’s Resource* (1798), p. 95.

<sup>73</sup> *Paddy’s Resource* (1798), pp. 1-3.

<sup>74</sup> *Paddy’s Resource* (1795), pp. 52-53.



In those countries where Liberty predominates, Harmony is cherished with the utmost freedom, and their popular airs are chaunted with a degree of enthusiasm by people of every description. The Americans obtained their liberty by the heart-cheering (sic) sound of *yankee doodle*, and the French by the more exhilarating ones of *ca ira* and the Marseillois (sic) Hymn; such charming and inspiriting Harmony is sufficient in itself to inspire men with a love of Liberty, particularly when under such musical influence they have achieved the salvation of their country.<sup>75</sup>

In other words, musical harmony and political harmony go hand in hand, and this musical harmony should be in a major key so as to provide “enthusiasm” in “heart chearing” and “exhilarating” strains.

The influence of these United Irish songs on Thomas Moore is well known. Some of the melodies and themes that Moore used were derived from these songs. Much of the sentiment present in his *Melodies* was influenced by his close friendships with United Irishmen Robert Emmet and Edward Hudson.<sup>76</sup> It seems that Moore also adopted from the United Irishmen the belief that music was the most effective link to memory. As he says in his *Essay on the Music of Ireland*, “Such are the features of our history and characters, which we find so strongly and faithfully reflected in our music; and there are many airs which, I think it is difficult to listen to without recalling some event to which their expression seems peculiarly applicable.”<sup>77</sup> Likewise, Moore’s preface to the *Irish Melodies* begins and ends with the theme of “recollection.” Moore states that Hudson was the friend who in 1797 introduced him to Bunting’s first volume of *Ancient Music of Ireland* and he recounts the political energy that these songs awakened: “Robert Emmet used sometimes to sit by me, when I was thus engaged; and I remember one day his starting up as from a reverie, when I had just finished playing that spirited tune called the *Red Fox*, and exclaiming, ‘Oh, that I

---

<sup>75</sup> From the Preface to *The Political Harmonist*, 1794, p. v. Cited by Thuente, *The Harp Re-strung*, p. 151.

<sup>76</sup> See Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, p. 179.

<sup>77</sup> Moore, *Moore’s Irish Melodies with the Celebrated and Unsurpassed Symphonies*, p. xvii.



were at the head of twenty thousand men, marching to that air!”<sup>78</sup> After relating the rebellious enthusiasm, the tone of Moore’s narrative becomes more melancholy when he explains that these melodies had now become a vehicle of remembrance of these friends. For instance, the death of Robert Emmet is memorialised in “Oh Breathe not his Name” and the memory of Sarah Curran “who shared with Ireland his last blessing and prayer” is remembered in “She is Far from the Land.”<sup>79</sup> Although Moore does not mention “The Origin of the Harp” in this essay, it is well known that this song was inspired by Moore’s visit to Hudson in Kilmainham jail, where he was imprisoned in 1798 for his involvement with the United Irishmen. Hudson had drawn a Siren changing into a harp on the wall of his cell and this image became the subject of his song.<sup>80</sup> As these examples show, music’s power to recall the past is apparent in almost all Moore’s songs, none perhaps more so than “On Music” where he ranks music above language as a higher form of communication and a powerful conduit for memory:

So, when pleasure’s dream is gone,  
Its memory lives in Music’s breath.  
Music, oh, how faint, how weak,  
Language fades before thy spell!  
Why should Feeling ever speak,  
When thou canst breathe her soul so well?  
Friendship’s balmy words may feign,  
Love’s are even more false than they;  
Oh! ‘tis only music’s strain  
Can sweetly soothe, and not betray.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> Moore, *Irish Melodies by Thomas Moore*, pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>79</sup> Moore, *Irish Melodies by Thomas Moore*, pp. xii-xiii

<sup>80</sup> See Robert Welch, *Irish Poetry from Moore to Yeats* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1980), p. 38 and James W. Flannery, *Dear Harp of My Country: The Irish Melodies of Thomas Moore* (Nashville: J.S. Sanders and Company, 1997), p. 59.

<sup>81</sup> Thomas Moore, *Moore’s Irish Melodies with Symphonies and Accompaniments by Sir John Stevenson and Sir Henry Bishop* (Dublin: Gilbert Dalton, 1981), p. 86.



As was true for the United Irishmen, music surpasses language in power. However the United Irish tendency of presenting music as the means through which painful memory can be resolved into heroic harmony does not appear in Moore's *Melodies*. Moore's songs are more often focused on chords of ruin, silenced harps, and strings broken by tyranny. While the United Irish songs were to be sung to lively and inspiring tunes, Moore's *Melodies* are often composed in the minor keys or at least convey a message of sadness. In fact, there is a sense in which there is a burden of melancholy that keeps the harp in bondage. For instance, "My Gentle Harp Once More I Waken" describes how the harp can "show the world in chains and sorrow,/ How sweet thy music still can be." Even "Mid desolation" the harp is "tuneful still."<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, "The Origin of the Harp" describes how a grief-stricken Siren is changed into a harp doomed to perpetuate the sadness of her loss through beautiful and melancholy music, or through "sorrow's sad tone."<sup>83</sup> Finally, in "Dear Harp of my Country" the harp has so often "echoed the deep sigh of sadness,/ That even in thy mirth it will steal from thee still."<sup>84</sup> With the burden of melancholy evident in many of these songs, Moore often depicts the harp waiting in slumber until it is finally freed from its bondage and can be heard. For instance, in "The Minstrel Boy" the harp is torn apart because its "chords were made for the pure and free/ They shall never sound in slavery."<sup>85</sup> Likewise, in "Dear Harp of My Country" the harp must be put to sleep until "touched by some hand less unworthy"<sup>86</sup> than the speaker's. Yet, unlike the United Irish songs, Moore does not promise that this

---

<sup>82</sup> Moore, *Moore's Irish Melodies*, p. 192.

<sup>83</sup> Moore, *Moore's Irish Melodies*, p. 59.

<sup>84</sup> Moore, *Irish Melodies by Thomas Moore*, p. 124.

<sup>85</sup> Moore, *Moore's Irish Melodies*, p. 116.

<sup>86</sup> Moore, *Moore's Irish Melodies*, p. 124.



'wait' will lead to a kind of heroic harmony when the dissonances of the past will one day be 'tuned.'<sup>87</sup>

Because of Moore's use of the minor chords and melancholy strains, his music has the air of an acceptance of the sadness of the colonial condition, especially in comparison with the music of the United Irishmen.<sup>88</sup> However, as many critics have pointed out, there is a side to Moore that is slightly more rebellious. For instance, Terence Brown states that Moore's *Melodies* may not have been intended to incite violent political fervour in Ireland, but their performance in England "could remind to useful effect, for all their charm, of the monster that someone else might awaken if England did not supply good government in the new century."<sup>89</sup> In a similar vein, Luke Gibbons brings attention to Moore's *Essay on the Music of Ireland* where Moore explains how there is a "tone of defiance" in Irish music that is strong enough to alarm those in high places, suggesting that Moore's attribution of victory and defeat was not so settled:

What is notably absent in Moore is the air of fatalism and resignation that characterises so-called 'Celtic melancholia'. Mourning is indeed in evidence, but there is no sense of the inevitability of defeat, or of imperial destiny. The melodies rather, are pervaded by a constant awareness of what might have been, or what could have been otherwise.<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> For more on Moore's relationship to nationalism, see the chapter entitled "Moore: A Reputation" in Terence Brown, *Ireland's Literature: Selected Essays* (Mullingar: The Lilliput Press, 1998), pp. 14-28; Seamus Deane, ed., *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, vol. I (Derry: Field Day Publications, 1991), pp. 1053-56; Tom Dunne, "Haunted by History: Irish Romantic Writing 1800-50," *Romanticism in National Context*, ed. Roy Porter, Mikulas Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); and Joep Leerssen, *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, Critical Conditions: Field Day Monographs, ed. Seamus Deane, vol. 4 (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996).

<sup>88</sup> For a discussion of the reception of Moore during his lifetime and after his death see Anthony Cronin, *Heritage Now: Irish Literature in the English Language* (Dingle: Brandon Book Publishers Ltd., 1982), pp. 31-35.

<sup>89</sup> Terence Brown, "Music: The Cultural Issue," *Music in Ireland 1848-1998*, ed. Richard Pine (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1998), p. 41.

<sup>90</sup> Luke Gibbons, "'Tis Songs That Is Most to Be Dreaded': The United Irishmen and Moore's Melodies." Introduction to *Romancing the Rebellion: 1798 and the Songs of Thomas Moore*, CD of Kathleen Tynan, Soprano, and the Irish Piano Trio.



In both Brown's and Gibbons's arguments, there is a suggestion that Moore located a certain amount of power in music—a power that Moore did not see as necessarily connected with violent uprising, but rather a more abstract kind of latent power that is always in danger of threatening the coloniser's authority.

The subject of the power of music was especially relevant to the Young Ireland movement which grew out of a newspaper called *The Nation*, established 15 October, 1842 by Charles Gavan Duffy, Thomas Davis and John Blake Dillon. Political songs were frequently printed in *The Nation* and, in 1843, they were compiled into a political songbook entitled *The Spirit of the Nation*, which was modelled after the United Irish *Paddy's Resource* songbooks.<sup>91</sup> Like Moore, the Young Irelanders also believed that cultural memory lived most effectively through music, but they were quite impatient with Moore's presentation of this memory in the minor keys and melancholy strains. As Thomas Davis says in his *Essay on Irish Songs*, Moore was a great poet in some respects, but too often his music is “deficient in vehemence, does not speak the sterner passions, spoils some of his finest songs by pretty images, is too refined and subtle in his dialect, and too negligent of narrative.”<sup>92</sup> If memory was to live in music, Davis wanted the form of the music to portray the character of heroism rather than defeat. As he says in the Preface to the *Spirit of the Nation*:

The greatest achievement of the Irish people is their music. It tells their history, climate, and character; but it too much loves to weep. Let us, when so many of our chains have been broken—when our strength is great, and our hopes high, cultivate its bolder strains—its raging and rejoicing; or if we weep, let it be like men whose eyes are lifted, though their tears fall.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, p. 194.

<sup>92</sup> *Essay on Irish Songs* appears in Michael Joseph Barry, ed., *The Songs of Ireland* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1845), p. 31.

<sup>93</sup> *The Spirit of the Nation, Ballads and Songs by the Writers of “The Nation” with Original and Ancient Music, Arranged for the Voice and Piano Forte* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1845), p. vi.



In order to render the spirit of this “raging and rejoicing,” the Young Irelanders often set new words to traditional songs and as Thuente states, “When there were not enough ‘bolder strains’ among traditional Irish tunes, the Young Irelanders wrote ‘original’ music. Twenty-five percent of the tunes in the 1845 *Spirit of the Nation* were original and described in the preface as ‘of a proud and fierce character.’”<sup>94</sup>

Like the United Irishmen, Davis and the Young Irelanders also faced the problem of how to make a traumatic history heroic, and the hope was that such a transformation *could* take place through music. As is apparent in the preface to Davis’s *National and Historical Songs*, history presented in ballad form as opposed to prose form has the potential to be more malleable:

The object of the work we project will be to make Irish History familiar to the minds, pleasant to the ears, dear to the passions, and powerful over the taste and conduct of the Irish people in times to come. More events could be put into prosed history. Exact dates, subtle plots, minute connections and motives rarely appear in ballads and for these ends the worst prose history is superior to the best ballad series; but these are not the highest ends of history. To hallow the scenes of glory and honour, to deplore the incidents of shame and sorrow; to give to the imagination the life of other days; to lead us to love the virtues of self-denial, of justice, of beauty, of valour, of generous life and proud death; and to set up in our minds the memory of great men—these are the highest duties of history, and these are best taught by a ballad history.<sup>95</sup>

This sentiment is also present in Duffy’s 1845 *Ballad Poetry of Ireland*:

When all our stories are gathered and arranged—when we can read the native songs on the Danish *raids*, on the English Invasion, on the penal laws, on the Jacobite struggles, and compare them with Scandinavian *skalds*, the poetry and literature (native or imported) which flourished inside the Pale, the songs that were sung in Cromwellian bawns, in the invasions of the Orange squirearchy, and in the farm houses of the

---

<sup>94</sup> Thuente, *The Harp Re-Strung*, p. 204.

<sup>95</sup> Thomas Davis, *National and Historical Ballads, Songs and Poems by Thomas Davis*, New and Revised ed. (Dublin: James Duffy and Co. Ltd.), p. 144.



Orange yeomanry, we shall have attained insights into the heart of History which a tower full of state papers could not afford.<sup>96</sup>

The superiority of ballad history as opposed to prose history continues to appear in subsequent publications. In the 1869 version of *The Book of Irish Ballads*, Denis MacCarthy states that “the ballads of a people are more influential than their laws, and...more valuable than their annals”<sup>97</sup> and in the fifty-ninth edition of *The Spirit of the Nation* published in 1934, J. P. Dalton reminds readers of Andrew Flichen of Sultoan’s remark that if he were “given the right of making a nation’s ballads, he cared but little who should make its laws.”<sup>98</sup> While prose history is caught up in particular details of exact dates, times and facts about the outcomes of rebellions, ballad history can give more of an essence of history. In ballad form, history could be manipulated in order to focus on a more heroic and united essence rather than something defeated and dissonant. The songs would not tell of defeat, but victory in the midst of defeat, and history however painful or telling of loss could be transformed into something powerful. The best example of this is, of course, “The Memory of the Dead,” also known as “Who fears to speak of ’98.” This ballad, written by John Kells Ingram and included in *The Spirit of the Nation*, takes for its subject the 1798 rebellion, a colossal defeat in Irish history, and glorifies it. Instead of giving the particulars of the rebellion, the song focuses on the heroism of those who fought:

Who fears to speak of ‘Ninety-eight?’  
Who blushes at the name?  
They rose in dark and evil days  
To free their native land  
And kindled then a living blaze

---

<sup>96</sup> Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, ed., *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*, 14th ed. (New York: Scholars Facimiles and Reprints, 1973), p. 35.

<sup>97</sup> Denis Florence MacCarthy, ed., *The Book of Irish Ballads* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1869), p. 15.

<sup>98</sup> *The Spirit of the Nation: Or Ballads and Songs by Writers of the Nation, Forward by J.P. Dalton*, 59th ed. (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., Ltd., 1934), p. 4.



That nothing shall withstand;  
Alas, that might should conquer right,  
They fell and passed away  
But true men, like you, man,  
Are plenty here today.<sup>99</sup>

While music was a way of re-inventing the past, it was also a device with which the Young Irelanders hoped they could manipulate the future. Many of the songs in *The Spirit of the Nation* present a picture of the nation that the authors hoped Ireland would one day achieve. For instance, “Orange and Green will Carry the Day,” written by Thomas Davis, tells how Ireland should rejoice and that England should be anxious because “Faction and feud are passing away” and when Catholics and Protestants unite in the cause of freedom, the “Orange and Green will carry the day.”<sup>100</sup> Likewise in “The West’s asleep!”, another song by Davis, Ireland is described “in slumber deep” but the nation is roused from this sleep when “a voice like thunder spake,/ The West’s awake! the West’s awake!/ Sing, Oh! hurrah! Let England quake,/ We’ll watch till death for Erin’s sake!”<sup>101</sup>

What becomes interesting is that the rhetoric present in these songbooks simultaneously concerns what has been achieved and what is *still* left to be achieved, and much of this is done in terms of “chords.” For instance, according to another Young Irelander, Martin MacDermott in his 1847 *New Spirit of the Nation*, Davis and Duffy’s efforts had

struck a chord there which has been vibrating ever since;—a chord responsive, not to the poetic merits of the verses alone, but to the patriotic spirit which they breathe. For it must be remembered that in the national creed of Young Ireland, poetry was only a means;—the end and purpose of every ballad and song being, to rouse the nation into enthusiasm for Ireland as a Nation, and for the cause of national freedom. There is scarcely a verse in this collection through which this purpose does not

---

<sup>99</sup> *The Spirit of the Nation* (1845), pp. 46-47.

<sup>100</sup> *The Spirit of the Nation* (1845), pp. 318-319.

<sup>101</sup> *The Spirit of the Nation* (1845), pp. 72-73



shine; and therefore in claiming for Young Ireland a larger share of Poetical inspiration than any other political movement has called forth, I should add that all the strings of the Young Ireland harp have but one burthen—and that is—*love of country*.<sup>102</sup>

In other words, before the chord had been struck and before *The Spirit of the Nation*, Ireland was fragmented and lacking in the common spirit of nationality. The implication is that since then the nation began to unite, and after the songbook's publication "there was a great change."<sup>103</sup> MacDermott goes to great lengths to describe this change that 'resounded' through the nation:

The true facts of Irish history rose again from their long sleep of oblivion, and assumed life and form in such ballads as the 'Lament for Owen Roe,' and the 'Rising of the North.' The dishonouring figments of English historians were torn away, and the heroic figures of our past began to emerge in their real proportions and perspective. The spirits of the brave men, who had made the last struggles for freedom in Ireland—Owen Roe and Sarsfield, Grattan and Wolfe Tone, came back to us. We were taught to look beyond and behind the Union, the penal laws, and the Cromwellian settlement, for the real Ireland of our race—eminent in knowledge, arms and arts, before the Saxon or the Norman had emerged from barbarism. And when we came to the politics of the day—the scene of Irish journalism appeared to have suddenly shifted, the dramatis personae had altered. It was no longer a question of English Whigs or Tories—but whether Ireland, as Ireland, was to have an independent future. Would the Orange and Green unite? That was the question of questions; not whether to this or that section of English politicians were to be given the power of misruling Ireland. A spirit of nationality was held up as the bond of union, the healer of dissensions, the seal of peace. All this and much more having the same purpose, which there is not time to glance at here, will be found in these early verses which went to make up the SPIRIT OF THE NATION.<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup> Martin MacDermott, ed., *The New Spirit of the Nation or Ballads and Songs by the Writers of 'The Nation': Containing Songs and Ballads Published since 1845*, 2nd ed. (London: T. Fisher Unwin Paternoster Square, 1896), p. ix.

<sup>103</sup> MacDermott, ed., *The New Spirit of the Nation*, p. xi.

<sup>104</sup> Martin MacDermott, *Songs and Ballads of Young Ireland, with Portraits of Authors and an Introduction, Biographical Sketches, and Critical Notes by Martin MacDermott* (London: Downey & Co., Ltd., 1896), p. xiii.



In this important passage, MacDermott states that this music was able to get to what he believes to be the ‘truths’ of history, the “real Ireland,” instead of being subjected to the “figments of English historians” or to prose history which would tell of defeat rather than the heroism of the past. MacDermott claims that the spirit of unity and nationality had been introduced to Ireland at a crucial time. However, even though the “right chord had been struck,”<sup>105</sup> and “deep down in the heart of every young Irishman, you will find the ‘Spirit of the Nation,’”<sup>106</sup> the writers and collectors of these ballads were still waiting for a national movement that would heed the call presented in the songbook. There was a sense in which the final chord of harmony had yet to be sounded. As the anonymous editor of *National and Historical Ballads* states, “until a spirit of Nationality has arisen in the land and spread from sea to sea, and was not only talked of, but became an abiding principle in our lives, how could we hope to have a manly book, or a manly being among us?”<sup>107</sup> He calls upon the youth of Ireland to internalise this “Psalter of Nationality” and fulfill their ‘manly’ duty to make Ireland free of colonial rule.<sup>108</sup>

As is apparent in these passages, metaphorical chords of harmony that could ‘unite’ the nation were more important to the Young Irelanders than *actual* chords of harmony and actual music was not as important as the idea of music as a metaphor for cultural regeneration and political harmony. Of course, these ballads are, for the most part, written in the major keys, but for Davis, to refine music was to subject it to Anglicisation, and he often left the ancient songs from Bunting’s and other collections unaltered but with new words. This was done in the spirit of preservation but it was also due to Davis’s belief that “music should be

---

<sup>105</sup> Davis, *National and Historical Ballads, Songs and Poems by Thomas Davis*, p. 14.

<sup>106</sup> MacDermott quotes William O’Brien in MacDermott, ed., *The New Spirit of the Nation*, p. xiii.

<sup>107</sup> Davis, *National and Historical Ballads, Songs and Poems by Thomas Davis*, p. 24.

<sup>108</sup> Davis, *National and Historical Ballads, Songs and Poems by Thomas Davis*, p. 27.



cultivated *expressly* to foster a climate of political opinion.”<sup>109</sup> However, because of this lack of refinement, there was also an anxiety that the ballads might be seen as crude and uncultivated. Consequently, the Young Irelanders felt the need to explain the reasons for this lack of musical sophistication. This Duffy tries to do in his *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*, a collection that, as he says, was made in order to “vindicate the character of native ballads, long and strangely misunderstood”:<sup>110</sup>

And these rude ballads, with nearly all the faults of their class, have also a natural, unprecedented beauty essentially their own. They are not works of art, but, what is higher and rarer, works of nature. Spontaneous poetry, struck out like sparks in the heat and clash of strange events.<sup>111</sup>

However, while the Young Irelanders refused to refine music in tonal form, the rhetoric of these ballads actually mirrors the structure of tonal music. For instance, “A Nation once again!” implies that at one time Ireland had been a nation and was brought into dissonance by colonisation but “righteous men” will make Ireland “A nation once again!” This movement from harmony to dissonance to harmony again is very like a tonal musical structure imposed upon a social one. However, if harmony is associated with victory and dissonance with defeat, the nation was still waiting in dissonance for the final chord of harmony that was promised in “A Nation Once Again.” In Davis’s music, there is a sense in which such heroic harmony would only be possible when the final chord of *political* harmony had been achieved, and his ballads in their unrefined and uncultivated state seemed not to live up to the kind of heroism that Davis hoped the words would inspire.<sup>112</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> White, *The Keeper's Recital*, p. 56.

<sup>110</sup> Duffy, ed., *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*, p. 18.

<sup>111</sup> Duffy, ed., *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*, p. 30.

<sup>112</sup> For more on Davis and his efforts to use music in the call to nationalism see Maura Cronin, “Memory, Story and Balladry: 1798 and Its Place in Popular Memory in Pre-Famine Ireland,” *Rebellion and Remembrance in Modern Ireland*, ed. Laurence M. Geary (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001); Harry White, “Music, Politics and the Irish Nation,” *Music in Ireland 1848-1998*, ed. Richard Pine (Dublin: Mercier



#### IV. Tonality: The Cultural Issue

The attitude of the Young Ireland movement towards Moore's music is best summed up by MacDermott, who associates Moore's *Melodies* with the Act of Union and with the surrendering 'freedom':

After the Union came Moore; but Moore's 'Melodies' have been well described by Duffy as 'the wail of a lost cause.' The poet has relinquished in them the very accent of freedom, besides being, so far as words or style go, more English than the English themselves. For these reasons, and others which cannot be discussed here, Moore never did, and never could, reach the heart of the Gaelic people.<sup>113</sup>

For MacDermott, subjecting Irish music to the laws of tonality is almost commensurate with subjecting the nation to the oppressive laws of the coloniser and consequently, he criticises Moore for relinquishing the "very accent of freedom" by refining these melodies in tonal form. Harking back to the issue of critical musicology, it is an interesting historical coincidence that the imposition of tonality in 1792 took place only eight years before the Act of Union, which was meant to bring Ireland closer into the rule of England. With this in mind, Deane makes an insightful analogy when he states that "in the nineteenth century, the prevailing English attitude towards Ireland gave assistance to the notion of continuity and coherence by emphasising English internal harmony and respectability against the contrasting dissonances and disorderliness of Irish experience and of Irish people."<sup>114</sup> This distinction between the 'harmony' of the English and the 'dissonance' of the Irish is an important

---

Press, 1998); and Malcolm Brown, *The Politics of Irish Literature from Thomas Davis to W. B. Yeats* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972).

<sup>113</sup> MacDermott, ed., *The New Spirit of the Nation*, p. viii.

<sup>114</sup> Seamus Deane, *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Literature 1880-1980* (London: Faber and Faber, 1985), p. 19.



element in furthering the kind of imperial harmony that something like the Act of Union promotes. Also, it becomes a staple element in the condition of “Celticism.”

In the study of music theory, dissonance is considered to be an expression of pain and the minor chords are considered to be an expression of sorrow. Furthermore, due to the half step lowering of the third tone of the tonic chord, the minor keys are considered to be more ‘dissonant’ than the major keys and it is this degree of dissonance that makes the chord ‘sad’ rather than ‘happy.’ To make a parallel between tonal structures and the society of colonial Ireland, the stipulations of “Celticism” require that Irish music contain this element of dissonance. Beginning with a discussion of the ancient modes, Joseph Cooper Walker states that after the invasion of the English the “sprightly Phrygian” mode gave way to the “soft Lydian measure” because “the subjection to which the kingdom was reduced affected [the bards] with the heaviest sadness. Sinking beneath the weight of sympathetic sorrow, they became a prey to melancholy.”<sup>115</sup> For Ernest Renan, the “delicious sadness” of Irish music is “one long lament...If at times it seems to be cheerful, a tear is not slow to glisten behind its smile; it does not know the strange forgetfulness of human conditions and destines which is called gaiety.”<sup>116</sup> As colonial invasion seems to have ‘stamped out’ the sprightly major chords, Matthew Arnold defines the ‘Celtic’ chord as a “chord of penetrating passion and melancholy”<sup>117</sup> that is bound up in an essential expression of pain and loss. With this necessary melancholy in mind, Joep Leerssen makes an important point when he states that

---

<sup>115</sup> Joseph Cooper Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (London: T. Payne and Son and G.G.J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster-Row, 1786), pp. 125-6. In this passage Walker seems to be insinuating that the change from the Phrygian to the Lydian mode is a change from a major to a minor mode. It is worth noting that the Lydian mode is more often considered to be a major mode, but there seems to be some ambiguity in this respect. For instance, according to Hanslick’s influential text in the nineteenth-century, the Lydian mode “signified mourning and sadness.” See Dr. Eduard Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music: A Contribution to the Revisal of Musical Aesthetics*, trans. Gustav Cohen (London: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1891), p. 133.

<sup>116</sup> Ernest Renan, *The Poetry of the Celtic Races, and Other Studies by Ernest Renan*, trans. William G. Hutchison (New York and London: Kennikat Press, 1970), p. 7.

<sup>117</sup> Matthew Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature* (New York and London: Kennikat Press, 1970), p. 127.



one of the main differences between Orientalism and Celticism is that while Orientalist discourse functioned “against the background of a deafening silence...the Celtic regions of Europe (including Ireland) were to some extent in a position to let a native voice be heard.”<sup>118</sup> In other words, the Celtic voice is to be heard but according to Celticism, it is only available in the minor chords and melancholy strains because it *must* reflect the pain of memory.

Dissonance as an expression of pain and sorrow, however, is entirely essential to a musical composition; otherwise, music would exist in a state of undeveloped harmony. As Rosen states, “The primary means of musical expression is dissonance” and all other devices such as rhythm, tone colour and accent are “subordinate to dissonance and to some extent are dependent on it.”<sup>119</sup> To make the connection between musical and social structures again, according to Arnold, the most important characteristic of the Celtic voice is its expressive element. The “Celtic note”<sup>120</sup> is a sentimental and emotional note that enhances the music of humanity and “brings Ireland” beautifully “into the indo-European concert!”<sup>121</sup> The same can be said for Ernest Renan who contends that “in the great chorus of humanity” no race equals the Irish race “for penetrative notes that go to the very heart.”<sup>122</sup> In these examples, the “Celtic note” is a note within a greater composition that provides the necessary emotion. The implication is that those with political power are in charge of the harmony, and to further the point, Arnold’s ideas actually play into the issues surrounding the “music question.” For instance, Arnold suggests that the Celt’s over-reliance on emotion is the reason that art music did not develop as it did in imperial cultures because the Celt does not have the patience required for “steadily developing his musical feeling with the science of a Sebastian Bach or

---

<sup>118</sup> Joep Leerssen, “Celticism,” *Celticism, Studia Imagologica: Amsterdam Studies on Cultural Identity* 8, ed. Terence Brown (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), p. 13.

<sup>119</sup> Rosen, *Schoenberg*, p. 32.

<sup>120</sup> Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 140.

<sup>121</sup> Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 70.

<sup>122</sup> Renan, *The Poetry of the Celtic Races*, p. 2.



a Beethoven.”<sup>123</sup> In Arnold’s thought, that kind of stable large-scale harmony belongs to imperial culture and, much like the role dissonance plays in tonal music, the melancholic nature of the “Celtic note” becomes an essential expressive element in this ‘imperial concert.’ However, because the Celt is “undisciplinable, anarchical, and turbulent by nature”<sup>124</sup> its voice must be contained, highly controlled, and eventually resolved in order for harmony to reign.

The implications of this rhetoric are considerable when it comes to the issue of political power. Tia De Nora argues that in everyday life “music has power”<sup>125</sup> because it can greatly influence peoples’ behaviour and emotions in society. Therefore, if “music has an affect on the shape of social agency, then control over music in social settings is a source of social power.”<sup>126</sup> Along these same lines, Jacques Attali argues that the organisation of sound into music is “what links a power center to its subjects” and is “an attribute of power in all of its forms.”<sup>127</sup> In many respects, this is what Celticism was all about: a way to control the ‘soundtrack’ of society, ensuring that the colonised voice is always the dissonant voice in need of imperial resolution, and is confined to the more ‘dissonant’ minor chords and melancholy strains. Furthermore, to require that the “Celtic note” be a minor note is to imply that the imperial note is major. In this sense, the process of colonisation can also be seen as the ‘harmonisation’ of a subaltern or ‘dissonant’ culture. As Arnold states, the elements of this ideal genius must “be in the highest state of power” with “a law of measure, of harmony, presiding over the whole.”<sup>128</sup> Such stipulations are certainly a source of control.

---

<sup>123</sup> Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 87.

<sup>124</sup> Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 91.

<sup>125</sup> Tia DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 17.

<sup>126</sup> DeNora, *Music in Everyday Life*, p. 20.

<sup>127</sup> Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, p. 6.

<sup>128</sup> Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 90.



However, despite the fact that ‘dissonance’ in musical compositions was highly controlled, from the burgeoning of tonality until the loss of tonality in the twentieth-century, there is a discernible strain in treatises on harmony that acknowledges the potential power of dissonance. In Rameau’s *Treatise on Harmony* (published in 1722), one of the founding treatises which was to remain basic for music during the next two centuries, there is an anxiety that composers would over-indulge their treatment of dissonance. Rameau warns that “Dissonance should be employed only with great discretion”<sup>129</sup> and goes on to explain the correct manner of the preparation and resolution of dissonances. In the early twentieth-century, when many composers were abandoning the rules described by Rameau, Arnold Schoenberg explains some of the reasons that tonality could no longer be sustained in his *Theory of Harmony*. For Schoenberg, the careful preparation and resolution of dissonance that had been practiced for centuries is simply “a pair of protective wrappers in which the dissonance is carefully packed so that it neither suffers nor inflicts damage.”<sup>130</sup> In other words, “Dissonance was accepted, but the door through which it was admitted was bolted whenever excess threatened.”<sup>131</sup> One of the interesting aspects of Schoenberg’s theory is the way in which he puts music into terms of the ruler and the ruled. For Schoenberg, the fundamental tone, or the tonic chord, is described as a “sovereign will,”<sup>132</sup> the “tyrant”<sup>133</sup> or “the patriarchal ruler” whose “coat of arms was displayed at the most conspicuous points, especially at the beginning and ending.”<sup>134</sup> As Schoenberg indicates, within music, the ruling tonality must be placed in danger of losing its sovereignty, while its subjects are allowed to rebel to a certain extent. These rebels “attack and plunder” and achieve small victories

---

<sup>129</sup> Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, trans. Philip Gasset (New York: Dover Inc., 1971), p. 155.

<sup>130</sup> Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, trans. Roy E. Carter (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), p. 49.

<sup>131</sup> Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, p. 48.

<sup>132</sup> Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, p. 151.

<sup>133</sup> Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, p. 152.

<sup>134</sup> Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, p. 129.



throughout the piece, and these small victories are essential in the composition because they make the final victory of the fundamental at the end “so much the more dazzling”.<sup>135</sup>

The means that the principal tone has to employ to assert its sovereignty over them must be still stronger, more aggressive, commensurate with the more aggressive nature of those that seek emancipation. And the greater the lead the more impetuous must be the seven-league strides with which it overtakes and captures them. The greater this exertion, the more overwhelming the effect of victory.<sup>136</sup>

Schoenberg’s likening of musical structures to the structures of hierarchical societies equates harmony with power and dissonance with a process of rebellion and submission. Importantly, this movement between rebellion and submission also appears in works on the subject of Irish music. For instance, in his *Essay on the Music of Ireland*, Moore states:

It has often been remarked, and oftener felt, that our music is the truest of all comments upon our history. The tone of defiance, succeeded by the languor of despondency—a burst of turbulence dying away into softness, the sorrows of one moment lost in the levity of the next—and all that romantic mixture of mirth and sadness, which is naturally produced by the efforts of a lively temperament to shake off or forget the wrongs that lie upon it. Such are the features of our history and character, which we find so strongly and faithfully reflected in our music.<sup>137</sup>

In this brief passage, Moore links the Irish voice to the “tone of defiance,” the “burst of turbulence” and the “sorrows of one moment” which are all resolved into the “languor of despondency,” “softness” and “levity” in a way that mirrors the sounds of dissonance that are resolved into harmony in tonal music. As this passage illustrates, Moore takes the similarities between musical structures and the Irish colonial situation as a given, and insists that Irish music convey the sadness of Irish history. This sentiment also appears in a letter to Sir John Stevenson in which he expresses his hope that Ireland will come “to a better period

---

<sup>135</sup> Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, p. 152.

<sup>136</sup> Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, p. 152.

<sup>137</sup> Moore, *Moore's Irish Melodies with the Celebrated and Unsurpassed Symphonies*, p. xvii.



of both politics and music; and how much they are connected, in Ireland at least, appears too plainly in the tone of sorrow and depression which characterises most of our early songs.”<sup>138</sup>

Along these same lines, the ‘sorrowful tone’ also appears in his Preface to the *Irish Melodies*:

The language of sorrow, however, is in general best suited to our Music, and with themes of this nature the poet may be amply supplied. There is scarcely a page of our annals that will not furnish him a subject, and while the national Muse of other countries adorns her temple proudly with trophies of the past, in Ireland her melancholy altar like the shrine of Pity at Athens, is to be known only to the tears that are shed upon it...Surely, if music ever spoke the misfortunes of a people, or could ever conciliate forgiveness for their errors, the music of Ireland ought to possess these powers.<sup>139</sup>

In this passage, Moore insinuates that heroic harmony is for countries that have heroic memory whereas the “language of sorrow” is the means best suited for Irish music.

On the one hand, Moore’s insistence that the structures of music reflect the colonial situation shows a rather servile side as he allows the dissonance to be resolved into a more powerful harmony and maintains that Irish music reflect the sadness of Irish history. Yet despite this, there is also a sense that music composed in the way Moore insists it be composed, possesses a certain power. Throughout his Preface to the *Irish Melodies*, Moore states that the events of the 1798 rebellion found a “voice in my country’s music”<sup>140</sup> and, at first glance, it seems that the embodiment of this rebellion is manifested in the musical dissonance that resolves into harmony. However, an important aspect of this dissonance for Moore is its power to alarm, to disturb, to take liberties and to cause fear. As he says in his *Essay on the Music of Ireland*, the “tone of defiance” and the “sorrows of the moment” and the “languor of despondency” have the power to affect the English or, as he says, those who

---

<sup>138</sup> Wilfrid S. Dowden, ed., *The Letters of Thomas Moore* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), vol. I, pp. 116-17. Cited in White, *The Keeper's Recital*, p. 36.

<sup>139</sup> In “Mr Moore’s suppressed Preface to the *Irish Melodies*,” dated October, 1807 and published in *The Dublin Examiner*, June 1816, pp. 107-9. Cited in White, *The Keeper's Recital*, pp. 40-41.

<sup>140</sup> Moore, *Irish Melodies by Thomas Moore*, p. xxiii.



are “alarmed by the faintest gleam of liberality that threatens to disturb their darkness” and those “whose nerves may be now and then alarmed with advantage, as much more is to be gained by their fears than could ever be expected from their justice.”<sup>141</sup>

From a comparison of the writings of Moore with Davis and the Young Irelanders, it seems that both understood that harmony and victory go hand in hand. However, since ‘victory’ was not yet a political condition, Davis insists on forging harmony for Ireland and on working towards a final chord of harmony, whereas Moore insists that music reflect the social condition, allowing ‘heroic’ harmony to belong to the victor and dissonance to the defeated. For Davis, the imagined harmony was to be in a major key, whereas for Moore, the minor keys best suited Irish music because they could express the sadness of the past. At the same time, however, Moore seemed to suspect that there was great potential for rebellion in the connection between dissonance and national expression, and it seems that the theme of waiting that appears in his songs is focused more on freeing the harp from the ‘bondage’ of imperial harmony. Coincidentally, the more refined the music, the more potential there is to create the anxiety that such harmony may not prevail. For instance, in the mid to late nineteenth-century, dissonance was becoming more of a ‘threat,’ as the rules for the neat resolution of dissonance into harmony were being abandoned for new compositional styles. Of course, this led up to the “emancipation of dissonance” in the atonal compositions of composers such as Schoenberg, Webern and Berg. It is almost as if Moore, consciously or unconsciously, felt that hope for rebellion lay not in physical rebellion but in music, and more specifically in the emancipation of dissonance, even if he did not bring this to its full potential himself.<sup>142</sup> Joyce’s lifelong fascination with Moore, his simultaneous

---

<sup>141</sup> Moore, *Moore's Irish Melodies with the Celebrated and Unsurpassed Symphonies*, p. xviii.

<sup>142</sup> For an interesting discussion of Moore and the issue of political dissonance see Emer Nolan, "Irish Melodies and Discordant Politics: Thomas Moore's *Memoirs of Captain Rock* (1824)," *Field Day Review* Vol 2 (2006).



disparagement and love for his songs perhaps stems from this complicated version of Irish history that Moore presents, which is servile on the one hand with its full embrace of the tonal form that continually allows for the suppression of the dissonant voice, but also slightly rebellious, as it is attentive to the subversive power of dissonance. There is a part of Moore that sees potential in the expression of defeat and this, I will argue, is something that Joyce later takes up.

Although this critical musicological approach is not uncontested, the connections between music and society, and music and memory in Ireland are an important cultural study. With regard to the “music question,” and the speculation as to why art music did not flourish in Irish culture, it may be that due to this link between dissonance and the Irish voice on the one hand and harmony and the victor on the other, a kind of heroic harmony may not have rung true to a culture where there was no political stability, or at least the *illusion* of political stability. Against the backdrop of the cultural history presented in this chapter, this thesis will show that Joyce and many writers of the Revival were significantly affected by the “music question” in Ireland and the process of waiting for political ‘harmony’ that Irish music provides. Joyce’s emulation of musical forms, I would argue, stems from this idea that fostered the “music question”—that music was the most effective link to Irish cultural memory when so much, including the Irish language, had been lost.



## Chapter Two: “Serving Ireland through Song”: Joyce, Music and the Irish Literary Revival

Let our poets take their own way, and choose their own music: more than one melody can be played upon the Irish harp, and the more, the better. We have but the right to ask of them, that whatever they do, they do it with all their might; with all the patience, all the passion, that the thought of serving Ireland through song can give them. They are preparing the way for the triumph song, that the poets of a day to come will chaunt, with every splendour, every richness, every loveliness and grace, that Irish music has ever known.<sup>1</sup>

As is evident from Lionel Johnson’s appeal to Irish poets in his essay “Poetry and Patriotism” (first published in 1894), music, or at least the metaphor of music, was indispensable to the Irish Literary Revival. In encouraging poets to play the Irish harp, Johnson calls writers to be *instrumentalists* in this Revival; to create literary ‘music’ in the English language that would work for the benefit of national expression and achieve the “triumph of song.”

The complications of the “music question” discussed in Chapter One, continued to be an issue in the early twentieth-century during Ireland’s cultural renaissance. Again, considering the intense bond between music and Irish national identity, it would seem natural that art music should have a place in the Irish Revival, but the composition of art music at the level of the proficiency that was being shown in literature was not encouraged. For instance, Arnold Bax, a composer and writer who moved in Revival circles, entertained the idea of composing music that would coincide with the goals of the Revival but found that there was little interest in the composition of art music among his friends, especially Yeats and George Russell. As he remembers, “There was no talk of music whatever” in these literary circles,

---

<sup>1</sup> Lionel Johnson, “Poetry and Patriotism,” *Poetry and Ireland: Essays by W. B. Yeats and Lionel Johnson* (Dundrum: Cuala Press, 1908), p. 53.



and he regrets that Ireland had not yet established “a musical culture worthy of her wonderful folk heritage.”<sup>2</sup>

While there may have been little talk of actual music in the literal sense, the metaphor of music was absolutely central to literature and an enormous amount of energy was being put into composition of musical texts. As White states, “To sing in the usage of the revival was exclusively a question of metaphor”<sup>3</sup> and during the Revival, art music could only exist as “something other than itself.”<sup>4</sup> In other words, the “language question” and the “music question” coincide in a crucial way during the Revival. If, as was explored in Chapter One, art music could not survive in the outdated modes but also could not thrive through a ‘translation’ into tonality, music was incorporated into language and flourished as a cultural metaphor. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, an idea that prevailed throughout the nineteenth-century was that the Irish language was a highly musical language. Michael Conran’s 1850 *National Music of Ireland* describes the “harmonious expression of the Irish language”<sup>5</sup> and the “exceedingly harmonious” sounds of the Irish tongue.<sup>6</sup> Since Irish was no longer the language through which a national revival could take place, but English as a foreign language was also not suitable for literature that was to be essentially Irish, at least the musicality of the Irish language, the rhythms, cadences and intonations, could be preserved in the English language. It seems that language needed musical ‘notes’ and ‘tones’ to capture an essential ‘Irishness’ and music needed language for its survival in high art.

---

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arnold Bax, “Master of the King’s Music,” *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*, ed. Aloys Fleischmann (Cork: Cork University Press, 1952), p. iv.

<sup>3</sup> Harry White, *The Keeper’s Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970*, Critical Conditions: Field Day Monographs, ed. Seamus Deane, vol. 6 (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998), p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> White, “Music and the Irish Literary Imagination,” *Irish Musical Studies 3: Music and Irish Cultural History*, ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), p. 213.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Conran, *The National Music of Ireland, Containing the History of the Irish Melodies, the Harp, and Other Musical Instruments of Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London: John Johnson, 1850), p. 79.

<sup>6</sup> Conran, *The National Music of Ireland*, pp. 78-79.



Johnson's assertion above that "more than one melody can be played upon the Irish harp" is a fair one considering how many different approaches writers took to the incorporation of 'notes' and 'tones' in their work. However, the general hope was that this metaphorical music, as a link to the Irish language and one of the most important conduits for memory, would be a means through which Ireland could transcend the conditions of a defeated culture and out of the ruins create something harmonious. Furthermore, if Ireland was the "Land of Song," and if poets were being called to serve Ireland through song, it seems that Irish writers were in some way *obliged* to represent the nation through 'musical' poetry and prose. Again, at the turn of the century, music as the crucial element in the creation of Irish literature puts Ireland in a unique position in the history of Western musical development. While many composers in other Western countries were abandoning tonality as a way to express the instability of modern life, the Irish Revival was still seeking to forge a kind of 'tonality' not as actual music but as a literary metaphor for the creation of cultural stability and harmony.

Seen in light of the Revival, the idea that more than one melody can be played applies to Joyce as well. While Joyce wished to distance himself from Revival pursuits, like his contemporaries, he also desired to create literary 'music' that would resolve the dissonances around him. While the pervasiveness of music as a metaphor in the poetry and prose of the Revival is a topic too large to be contained adequately within the limits of a chapter, a broad evaluation of the Revival's preoccupation with music gives an interesting perspective on Joyce's own 'musicality' and how it is situated within the literary movement as a whole.



## I. Celtic “Notes” and “Tones”

The antiquarian project of saving music from oblivion is something that precedes the Belfast Harp Festival. In her 1789 *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, Charlotte Brooke translated ancient Irish songs with the hope of rescuing “from oblivion a few of the invaluable reliques” of Ireland’s “ancient genius.”<sup>7</sup> Her translations include the Irish text and the English text together with the purpose of creating a certain ‘harmony’ between the two languages. As she states in the preface to her collection:

The British muse is not yet informed that she has an elder sister in this isle; let us then introduce them to each other! together let them walk abroad from their bowers, sweet ambassadresses of cordial union between two countries that seem formed by nature and joined by every bond of interest and of amity.<sup>8</sup>

As this passage seems to suggest, a sweeter harmony results from this union than from the separation of the languages. However, it is stressed that the benefits of this harmony would be more for the English language, for as she admits: “I put it in the power of the public to form some idea of them, by clothing the thoughts of our Irish muse in a language with which they are familiar, at the same time I give the originals as vouchers for the fidelity of my translation.”<sup>9</sup> In that sense, Brooke provides a kind of precursor to Arnoldian Celticism which also argues for the enhancement the English language by the “Celtic note.” Crucially, it is the translation of *song* that provides the medium for this unity and harmony, and the idea was that the notes and tones of these songs could still ‘sing’ through the English language. Seamus Deane states that Brooke’s translations “made the Gaelic note available in English”

---

<sup>7</sup> Charlotte Brooke, *Reliques of Irish Poetry (1789) by Charlotte Brooke and a Memoir of Miss Brooke (1816) by Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour* (Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1970), p. vii.

<sup>8</sup> Brooke, *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, pp. vii-viii.

<sup>9</sup> Brooke, *Reliques of Irish Poetry*, p. vii



and it was her work which seemed to show that “Gaelic could survive in English only in a ‘Celtic’ form.”<sup>10</sup>

This kind of cordial union that Brooke introduces becomes highly important a century later during the Literary Revival when poets were trying to discover a method for Irish writing. As Katharine Tynan, Yeats’s friend and precursor, writes in an 1886 commentary in *The Irish Fireside*:

By the Irish note I mean that distinctive quality in Celtic poetry the charm of which is so much easier to feel than to explain...Some of the parts which go to make up its whole are a simplicity which is *naïve*—a freshness, an archness, a light touching of the chords as with fairy-finger tips; a shade of underlying melancholy as delicately evanescent as a breath upon glass which yet gives its undertone and its shadow to all; fatalism side by side with buoyant hopefulness; laughter with tears; love with hatred; a rainbow of all colours where none conflict; a gamut of all notes which join to make perfect harmony.<sup>11</sup>

This dreamy idea of all the elements of Irish literature coming together to make “perfect harmony” was also adopted by Yeats during the time of the “Celtic Twilight” and played a large role in his pursuit of the “Celtic note.”<sup>12</sup> According to Roy Foster, even Yeats’s early poems composed around 1882 were written to the accompaniment of his own humming and he claimed that his early “folk” poems conformed to “actual little tunes.”<sup>13</sup>

In 1893, the Gaelic League was founded by Douglas Hyde in order to encourage the use of Irish as the primary language in Ireland. That same year Hyde also published his translations of *The Love Songs of Connaught*, which, like Brooke’s translations a century before, provided both the Irish and the English texts together. However, Hyde was against

---

<sup>10</sup> Seamus Deane, ed., *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, vol. I (Derry: Field Day Publications, 1991), p. 962.

<sup>11</sup> In “The Poetry of William Allingham,” *The Irish Fireside* (30 October 1886), pp. 261-62. Cited in Richard Fallis, *The Irish Renaissance: An Introduction to Anglo-Irish Literature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1977), pp. 56-57.

<sup>12</sup> See Roy Foster, *W. B. Yeats: A Life: The Apprentice Mage 1865-1914*, vol. I (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 53.

<sup>13</sup> Foster, *W. B. Yeats: A Life: The Apprentice Mage 1865-1914*, pp. 35, 266.



the kind of harmonisation of the Irish and the English language that Brooke advocated. In his 1892 essay, "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland," Hyde uses musical imagery to lament that the "Irish intonation" had been 'translated' into "something English" and his hope was that separation of the two languages would prevent any kind of cordial union.<sup>14</sup> Yet, for all his encouragement for the sole cultivation of the Irish language, Hyde's translations, as Declan Kiberd states, only "had the effect of making a national literature in English seem all the more plausible."<sup>15</sup> Hyde included some prose translations along with his translations of the songs, where he twisted the English to conform to Irish syntax and style. Since Yeats had no knowledge of the Irish language, he realised that there was something powerful about Hyde's Hiberno-English and saw great potential in it for the creation of a literary revival.<sup>16</sup> In other words, instead of a more vague notion of harmony, Hyde opened up the possibility that the actual rhythms, cadences, notes and intonations of the Irish language could be preserved in English.

Inspired by Hyde's translations, Yeats spent much of his early career cultivating the kind of "vocable beauty"<sup>17</sup> of the Irish peasant through English. As Yeats says in the preface to a 1914 collection of his poems, "Before men read, the ear and tongue were subtle, and delighted one another with the little tunes that were in words."<sup>18</sup> This is an interest that he shared with Lady Gregory, who also tried to capture the intonations of the peasant's speaking voice through the Hiberno-English of the Kiltartan dialect.<sup>19</sup> In a review of Lady Gregory's *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* in "The Speaker," 7 June 1902, J. M. Synge discusses her use of

---

<sup>14</sup> "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland" is reprinted in Mark Storey, ed., *Poetry and Ireland since 1800: A Source Book* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), p. 80.

<sup>15</sup> Declan Kiberd, *Irish Classics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 310.

<sup>16</sup> Kiberd, *Irish Classics*, p. 310.

<sup>17</sup> Lloyd R. Morris, *The Celtic Dawn: A Survey of the Renaissance in Ireland, 1889-1916* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1970), p. 20.

<sup>18</sup> In appendix IV in vol. II of *The Poetical Works of William Butler Yeats*, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914). Cited in Morris, *The Celtic Dawn*, p. 19.

<sup>19</sup> See Norman Vance, *Irish Literature since 1800* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), p. 119.



the “peasant note” and states that her language has a “rich tone that has a cadence of the palace, and not the cadence of men who are poor.”<sup>20</sup> Synge was highly qualified to give this musical interpretation as his background in music was extensive. He was a violinist and a composer and from 1893 to 1894 he studied to be a professional musician in Germany.<sup>21</sup> However, after his training, he decided to abandon music as a career. As he states in “Etude Morbide,” “Music is the finest art, for it alone can express directly what is not utterable, but I am not fitted to be a composer.”<sup>22</sup> Instead, Synge turned his energies towards literature and towards the composition of ‘musical’ language. In the opening of his *Autobiography*, he explains the importance of music in his writing:

Every life is a symphony, and the translation of this life into music, and from music back to literature or sculpture or painting is the real effort of the artist. The emotions which pass through us have neither end nor beginning—are a part of the sequence of existence—and as the laws of the world are in harmony it is this almost cosmic element in the person which gives great art, as that of Michelangelo or Beethoven, the dignity of nature.<sup>23</sup>

For Synge, the translation of “life into music” often consisted of his attempts to capture the rhythms, cadences and intonations of the Irish peasant in his work. In *The Aran Islands*, Synge often mentions the ‘musical’ vocal qualities of the islanders, saying that they speak with “a delicate exotic intonation”<sup>24</sup> or with an “exquisite purity of intonation.”<sup>25</sup> In one passage, he recalls an old woman who recites a verse from the *Love Songs of Connaught* with “exquisite musical intonation, putting a wistfulness and passion into her voice that seemed to

---

<sup>20</sup> John Millington Synge, *J. M. Synge Collected Works, Prose*, ed. Alan Price, vol. II (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 367-68.

<sup>21</sup> A. Norman Jeffares, *Anglo-Irish Literature*, (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982), p. 264.

<sup>22</sup> Under the 22 February heading of “Etude Morbide” or “An Imaginary Portrait” in Synge, *J. M. Synge Collected Works, Prose*, p. 35.

<sup>23</sup> Synge, *J. M. Synge Collected Works, Prose*, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup> John Millington Synge, *The Aran Islands*, ed. Robin Skelton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Synge, *The Aran Islands*, p. 10.



give it all the cadences that are sought in the profoundest poetry.”<sup>26</sup> For Synge, it was within these intonations or “some old fragment of melody” that the “real spirit of the island” lay.<sup>27</sup> Consequently, Synge would often mark the margins of his plays with instructions about the musical effects that he wanted to create,<sup>28</sup> and in rehearsals he would insist that the actors repeat phrases until the desired rhythms and sounds were achieved.<sup>29</sup>

For Yeats and George Russell, getting poetry down to its vocal elements also involved a lot of musical experimentation. One of their experiments included writing down the ‘notes’ that they had in mind while composing their poems. With the aid of Edward Martyn these notes were played on the organ and “turned into something like a Gregorian hymn if one sang them in the ordinary way.”<sup>30</sup> Together, Yeats and Russell also acquired a psaltery, a lute-like musical instrument created by Arnold Dolmetsch. In March of 1902, Florence Farr and Dorothy Paget performed chants of Yeats’s poetry to the accompaniment of the psaltery.<sup>31</sup> Yeats’s interest in the psaltery was an ongoing one, but his ideas about musical poetry went through many changes. In 1904, Russell published *New Songs*, a collection of poetry from young and upcoming poets. The idea was to add more ‘songs’ to the burgeoning canon of Irish poems. When the book was published, however, Yeats wrote to Russell telling him that he had come to think that the kind of sentimental beauty which the poems exemplify is “unmanly.” In the letter he states, “I fled from some of this new verse

---

<sup>26</sup> Synge, *The Aran Islands*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>27</sup> Synge, *The Aran Islands*, p. 36.

<sup>28</sup> Ann Saddlemyer, "Synge's Soundscape," *Interpreting Synge: Essays from the Synge Summer School 1991-2000*, ed. Nicholas Grene (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2000), p. 190.

<sup>29</sup> Saddlemyer, "Synge's Soundscape," p. 190. For more on Synge’s insistence that the actors of his plays recite with a “musical lilt” see Declan Kiberd, *Synge and the Irish Language*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd., 1993), p. 212. Synge’s interest in music also involved the incorporation of keening into his plays. See Angela Bourke, "Keening as Theatre: J.M. Synge and the Irish Lament Tradition," *Interpreting Synge: Essays from the Synge Summer School 1991-2000*, ed. Nicholas Grene (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000).

<sup>30</sup> See Morris, *The Celtic Dawn*, p. 100.

<sup>31</sup> See Terence Brown, *The Life of W.B. Yeats: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999), p. 132.



you have gathered as from much verse of our day knowing that I fled that water and that breath.”<sup>32</sup> As water and breath, and sea and wind were often portrayed by poets of the Celtic Twilight as elements of the earth in harmony with one another, it seems that Yeats was also fleeing from the more tranquil harmony of his early poems, and was ready to cultivate a new and bolder harmony. Of course, musical experimentation continued to play a large role in this endeavour, and as Foster states, “The echoes of Florence Farr’s voice and Dolmetsch’s psaltery still sounded seductively down the years.”<sup>33</sup> In his letter to Edmund Dulac dated 15 July, 1937, Yeats expresses the importance of music to his later style:

All my life I have tried to get rid of modern subjectivity by insisting on construction & contemporary words & syntax. It was to force myself to this that I used to insist that all poems should be spoken (hence my plays) or sung. Unfortunately it was only about a year ago that I discovered that for sung poetry (though not for poetry chanted as Florence Farr chanted) a certain type of ‘stress’ was essential...It was by mastering this ‘stress’ that I have written my most recent poems which have I think, for me, new poignancy.

I want to get back to the simplicity & can best do it—I believe—by working for our Irish unaccompanied singing. Every change I make to help the singer seems to improve the poem. A man of my ignorance learns from action.<sup>34</sup>

As is apparent from this passage written towards the end of his life, Yeats never gave up on his pursuit of harmony. When he was honoured at the Irish Academy dinner in August 1937, he gave a speech that touched upon the importance of song for Ireland. After studying paintings on display in the Municipal Gallery, he mentioned that he saw Ireland “in the glory of her passions” and describes his country as “that great pictured song.”<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> W. B. Yeats, *The Letters of W.B. Yeats*, ed. Allan Wade (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954), pp. 434-35. Cited by Fallis, *The Irish Renaissance*, p. 127

<sup>33</sup> R. F. Foster, *W. B. Yeats: A Life: The Arch-Poet 1915-1939*, vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 562.

<sup>34</sup> From Foster’s research at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas. In Foster, *W. B. Yeats: A Life: The Arch-Poet 1915-1939*, p.589.

<sup>35</sup> Foster, *W. B. Yeats: A Life: The Arch-Poet 1915-1939*, p. 596.



From all of these accounts, it is obvious that there were many different notions of 'musical' literature during the Revival. However, from Tynan's dream of the Irish note resounding in "perfect harmony," to Synge and Lady Gregory's emulation of the highly 'musical' Irish language, through to Yeats and Russell's chanting to the psaltery, it seems that all of this literary 'musicality' was supposed to be moving towards what Russell describes in his 1899 essay "Nationality and Cosmopolitanism in Literature" where he calls young poets to "reveal Ireland in clear and beautiful light" so that "social life and politics must in the end be in harmony."<sup>36</sup> If successful, such an endeavour would *finally* provide a means through which the dissonances of the past could be 'harmonised.'

## II. The Call to Compose

While much of the energy of the Revival was put into the creation of musical texts, there was also a call for more poets to do the same: to create a literary harmony that would provide a reconciliation for the past. As is said in Ethel Goddard's 1903 *Dreams for Ireland*, the wind spoke to the Irish artists saying "Be mindful of your message of sympathy; speak of men's miseries if you will, yet show the resolving of the discord."<sup>37</sup> The resolution of discord is one of the main themes of Lionel Johnson's "Poetry and Patriotism," which calls Irish poets to bring "verse to a perfection of music"<sup>38</sup> and to tap into the musicality of the Irish Bardic tradition:

---

<sup>36</sup> George Russell, "Nationality and Cosmopolitanism in Literature," *Literary Ideals in Ireland* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1899), p. 83.

<sup>37</sup> Ethel Goddard, *Dreams for Ireland* (Dublin: Hogges, Figgis, & Co. Ltd., 1903), p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> Johnson, "Poetry and Patriotism," p. 51.



An Irish poet of today may lack a thousand Irish virtues: but if he give a devoted care to the perfecting of his art, he will have at least one Celtic note, one characteristic Irish virtue. While he is intent upon the artful turns and cadences of his music and the delicate choice of his words, striving to achieve the last graces and perfections possible to his work, he is at one in spirit with the poets of old Ireland.<sup>39</sup>

Johnson suggests that a disciplined incorporation of the “Celtic note” by Irish poets has the potential to bring Ireland to a kind of utopian final harmony. To illustrate his point he alludes to a story of Saint Patrick, who created a “mystical, sacred silence” when he gave a speech to the high King Leaghaire at Tara. Johnson hopes for a recurrence of this miracle when, out of a “silence from lamentation and from conflict,” painful memory will be replaced by the harmonious sounds of the “Irish Muses, reigning in their own home; and the voices of the Irish people, speaking peace and goodwill, through all our loved and holy Ireland.”<sup>40</sup>

Music and images of harmony are similarly treated in Michael Monahan’s *Nova Hibernia: Irish Poets and Dramatists of Today and Yesterday*, published in 1914. Monahan begins his work with a discussion of what he calls the “Cave of Harmony,” a dream that he describes as “something to have lived for if we shall see that People take its rightful place after how much oppression and scorn and weary misdirected effort!”<sup>41</sup> As Irish poetry and music so often lament the past, Monahan hopes that the poets of the day will set their work “to the new tune of hope and promise!”<sup>42</sup> and describes Irish writers as “the choir of happy songsters that have truly made spring in the winter of our memories.”<sup>43</sup> Through the

---

<sup>39</sup> Johnson, "Poetry and Patriotism," pp. 22-23.

<sup>40</sup> Johnson, "Poetry and Patriotism," pp. 53-54.

<sup>41</sup> Michael Monahan, *Nova Hibernia: Irish Poets and Dramatists of Today and Yesterday* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), p. 9.

<sup>42</sup> Monahan, *Nova Hibernia*, p. 8.

<sup>43</sup> Monahan, *Nova Hibernia*, pp. 200-01.



cultivation of this harmony “the winter is over once more, the bare branch again puts forth green leaves, and the dewy Irish heaven is filled with the glory of song!”<sup>44</sup>

Ernest Boyd’s depiction of the “Celtic note” in *Ireland’s Literary Renaissance* is less utopian in manner, but nevertheless similar in its insistence that musical language is the key to cultural regeneration. While he recognises that melancholy “mournful notes” pervade the poetry of the day, he still believes that through the accomplishment of ‘musical’ texts, Irish poetry will lead to the “unfolding of the perfect flower of national and spiritual greatness”<sup>45</sup> and “produce a literature in harmony with the great traditions [Ireland] created”.<sup>46</sup>

While Johnson, Monahan and Boyd draw heavily on images of music and harmony in their criticism, music is the central issue in Thomas MacDonagh’s *Literature in Ireland*, where he evaluates Irish literature in terms of Irish music. MacDonagh expresses his belief that Irish literature must be in the English language, but even though it has been “modified by the change of language from Gaelic to English,” this literature is still “individually Gaelic, spiritually, morally, socially (in all the ways that matter in literature), filled with the memories of old Gaelic literature, moving to the rhythm of Irish music (a thing that matters very much to the metric of the new poetry).”<sup>47</sup> According to MacDonagh, writers such as Moore, Mangan, Ferguson, Hyde, and Yeats have cultivated this music and made “a contribution of melody, a music that at once expresses and evokes emotion”<sup>48</sup> which corresponds directly to “the structure of Irish musical compositions of the highest antiquity.”<sup>49</sup> MacDonagh brings attention to the problem of painful history, saying that “we cannot rid our memories of the glories and calamities of our story” but suggests that poets can

---

<sup>44</sup> Monahan, *Nova Hibernia*, p. 200.

<sup>45</sup> Ernest A. Boyd, *Ireland’s Literary Renaissance* (Dublin: Maunsel and Co. Ltd., 1916), p. 62.

<sup>46</sup> Boyd, *Ireland’s Literary Renaissance*, p. 64.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas MacDonagh, *Literature in Ireland: Studies in Irish and Anglo-Irish* (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1916), p. 23.

<sup>48</sup> MacDonagh, *Literature in Ireland*, p. 81.

<sup>49</sup> MacDonagh, *Literature in Ireland*, pp. 133-34.



still get to the heart of Irish tradition and create national harmony by cultivating and incorporating the notes, tones and rhythms of Irish music into their language.<sup>50</sup>

Importantly, however, MacDonagh also draws attention to a complication with the musicality of the Revival, which is the problematic link between the musical elements of Irish literature in the English language and the condition of Celticism. In an effort to preserve the musicality of Irish writing while distancing it from its association with Matthew Arnold and imperialism, MacDonagh proposes a solution:

Matthew Arnold in his essay *On the Study of Celtic Literature*, largely a work of fiction, has written interestingly of the Celtic Note, using the name in a sense of his own. He has been rather apprehended than understood; and with later writers the meaning has become vaguer. This is due, at least in part, to the vagueness of the two terms, 'Celtic' and 'Note.' I propose, in my study of the metrical effect of poems like *Cashel of Munster*, to use instead my term, the Irish Mode. With the rhythm goes a certain emotion, as distinctly Celtic or Irish, no doubt; but emotions alone are unsafe guides.<sup>51</sup>

MacDonagh is arguing for the same kind of harmonisation of the Irish and English language that is evident in Arnoldian Celticism, but he feels compelled to change the term from the "vague and illogical Celtic Note"<sup>52</sup> to the "Irish Mode." While Arnold's "Celtic note" would be a note that specifically enhances the English language, MacDonagh is arguing that the "Irish Mode" is meant to be an Irish term coined from an Irish perspective and a means through which the Irish poet could repossess the English language and make it 'Irish.' It is significant that he puts the Irish poet in the position of an instrumentalist saying that the "Irish Mode" which began to ring in the nineteenth-century has "tuned the harp that is now ringing to the hands of many."<sup>53</sup> In other words, MacDonagh wants poets to be in charge of

---

<sup>50</sup> MacDonagh, *Literature in Ireland*, p. 8.

<sup>51</sup> MacDonagh, *Literature in Ireland*, p. 56.

<sup>52</sup> MacDonagh, *Literature in Ireland*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>53</sup> MacDonagh, *Literature in Ireland*, p. 8.



the harmony, and such a distinction must be made in order to distance the “Irish mode” from imperial paradigms. Similar anxieties about the “Celtic note” surface in Boyd’s writing as well. Boyd seems to imply that the imperial stipulations of the Celtic note are problematic, but he defends Yeats’s adoption of the ‘melancholic’ nature of the “Celtic note” by reiterating Yeats’s belief that the melancholy in Irish literature is not necessarily something racial, but is the condition of all ancient civilisations:<sup>54</sup>

If Yeats accepts the too familiar judgments of Arnold and Renan on Celtic literature, he does so on condition of defining their now stereotyped terms. The ‘glamour’ and ‘melancholy,’ the ‘magic’ and ‘reaction against the despotism of fact’ are obviously not the peculiar prerogatives of the Celt, but spring from causes common to all ancient peoples. It happens that, for various reasons partly suggested in the course of this work, Ireland has retained more of these primitive qualities, which have been preserved by the presence of a language uninfluenced by modern conceptions of life.<sup>55</sup>

In other words, the “Celtic note” is something that is already a characteristic of ancient people, and was therefore *already* a part of this civilisation before Matthew Arnold could have placed the definition himself.<sup>56</sup>

It is important to recognise that just as subjecting music to the laws of tonality was often seen as subjecting it to the laws of the coloniser, there was also an anxiety that to compose with the “Celtic note” was to do the same. Of course, the ‘harmonisation’ of the English and the Irish language stipulates that the English language be in control of the ‘harmony.’ For instance, Arnold, using Wales as an example, argues that the Welsh language must disappear as the language of everyday life for the benefit of Wales and most of all to the

---

<sup>54</sup> Yeats states this in his 1897 essay, “The Celtic Element in Literature,” reprinted in Storey, ed., *Poetry and Ireland*, p. 113.

<sup>55</sup> Boyd, *Ireland's Literary Renaissance*, p. 180.

<sup>56</sup> See Marjorie Howe’s insightful evaluation of Yeats’s Celticism in terms of gender in Marjorie Howes, *Yeats's Nations: Gender, Class, and Irishness* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). See also Gregory Castle, *Modernism and the Celtic Revival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 47-53. For a thorough discussion of Arnold’s affect on the Revival as a whole see David Cairns, Richards, Shaun, *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), pp. 44-49.



benefit of England: "For all serious purposes in modern literature...the language of a Welshman is and must be English."<sup>57</sup> This harmonisation of Irish and English to the benefit of the English language was exactly what Hyde wished to avoid by keeping the languages separate and cultivating the Irish language above English. In order for a "cordial union" of "perfect harmony" to exist between the languages, the "Celtic note" must be a marginalised element of the English language. If it is, as Arnold states, a note that expresses pain, sadness or the "chord of penetrating passion and melancholy"<sup>58</sup> it is much like a dissonant note or chord in a composition that requires a resolution into harmony. However, for the writers of the Revival who believed that the resuscitation of Irish was not possible, the hope was that Ireland could, as Deane states, "Hibernicize the English language rather than be Anglicized by it."<sup>59</sup> Consequently, the idea of the Irish poet as an instrumentalist, evident in Johnson's appeal to serve Ireland through song and MacDonagh's call for poets to incorporate the "Irish mode," is an image meant to counteract the possibility that to play into Celticism is to allow imperial stipulations to control this 'harmony.' While the image of the Irish poet as an instrumentalist creating regenerative 'notes' and 'tones' was the ideal, the problem was that these 'notes' and 'tones' were also *substitutes* for a lost language, and the embodiment of an incredible lack in national expression; an almost ghostly lingering of the essence of the Irish language, when the language itself is lost. In other words, this 'music' was the mode through which Irish writing in the English language could thrive, but it was also a reminder of an enormous void, and an expression of the memory of this loss. This dilemma is addressed by Synge in his essay "Le Mouvement Intellectuel Irlandais," where he describes his experience of attending a performance of *Diarmuid and Grainne*:

---

<sup>57</sup> Matthew Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature* (New York and London: Kennikat Press, 1970), p. 11.

<sup>58</sup> Arnold, *The Study of Celtic Literature*, p. 127.

<sup>59</sup> Seamus Deane, ed., *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, vol. II (Derry: Field Day Publications, 1991), p. 5.



So at the opening of the first piece, it was hard not to smile on seeing around the hall the fine-looking women of the Gaelic League chattering in abominable Irish to some of the young clerks and shop assistants who were quite pale with enthusiasm. But it happened that during an interval of *Diarmuid and Grainne*, as was the custom in the theatre, the people in the Gallery began to sing some of the old popular songs. Until that moment, these songs had never been so heard, sung by so many people together to the old, lingering Irish words. The whole auditorium shook. It was as if one could hear in these long-drawn-out notes, with their inexpressible melancholy, the death-rattle of a nation. First one head, then another, was seen to bend over the programme notes. People were crying.

Then the curtain went up. The play restarted in a deeply emotional atmosphere. For an instant, we had glimpsed, hovering in that hall, the soul of a nation.<sup>60</sup>

In this passage there is a distinct transformation from national “enthusiasm” to the “inexpressible melancholy” of a national “death rattle” and significantly, music provides this transition. Synge’s account brings attention to the point that while ‘notes’ and ‘tones’ were seen as the keys to harmonising a painful past, they were also one of the main conduits for the expression of cultural loss.

### III. “Distant Music” in *Chamber Music*

It is well known that the young Joyce desired to distance himself from the artistic ambitions of the Revival so it is not surprising that many of the critics of his poems point out the differences between his work and the literary movement. For instance Arthur Symons, in a review of *Chamber Music* published in the *Nation*, 22 June, 1907, states that Joyce is “a

---

<sup>60</sup> From J.M. Synge’s “Le Mouvement Intellectuel Irlandais” in Synge, *J. M. Synge Collected Works, Prose*, pp. 381-82. Cited and translated in Harry White, “Nationalism, Colonialism and the Cultural Stasis of Music in Ireland,” *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture, 1800-1945* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), p. 257.



young Irishman who is in no Irish movement, literary or national, and has not even anything obviously Celtic in his manner.”<sup>61</sup> Likewise, in a review of the poems in the *Freeman's Journal*, dated 1 June, 1907, Thomas Kettle states that “there is no trace of folklore, folk dialect, or even national feeling that have coloured the work of practically every writer of contemporary Ireland.”<sup>62</sup> However, when it comes to musicality, the distinctions between Joyce’s poems and those of the Revival become blurred. As with his contemporaries, art also *had* to be musical for Joyce and it was very important that this ‘musical’ art have the power to reconcile dissonance. As he states in his 1898 essay entitled “Force,” the failure to resolve these dissonances throws the artist into a condition of chaos:

We improve in strength when we husband it, in health when we are careful of it, in power of mental endurance when we do not over-tax it. Otherwise in the arts, in sculpture and painting, the great incidents that engross the artist’s attention would find their expression in huge shapelessness or wild daubs; and in the ear of the rapt musician, the loveliest melodies outpour themselves, madly, without time or movement, in chaotic mazes, ‘like sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh’ (CW, 22).

In this passage, Joyce associates dissonance with “huge shapelessness” and “wild daubs” and the implication is that the pursuit of harmony and stability is the effort of the artist. However, in order to escape the musicality of the Revival and the constraints of the “Celtic note,” Joyce self-consciously tries to make a *different* kind of music. In *My Brother's Keeper*, Stanislaus Joyce recalls the many hours Joyce spent in the National Library studying and copying the music of Dowland and “whatever Elizabethan song-books he could find.”<sup>63</sup> He observes that Joyce, “surfeited with the tawdry melancholy of patriotic Irish poets...used

---

<sup>61</sup> Robert H. Deming, ed., *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, vol. I (London and New York: Routledge, 1970), p. 38.

<sup>62</sup> Deming, ed., *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, p. 37.

<sup>63</sup> Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, ed. Richard Ellmann (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), pp. 167-68.



to say that Ireland contributed nothing but a whine to the literature of Europe” and that he located this “whine” specifically in Irish music.<sup>64</sup> While many of his contemporaries looked to Irish music for their ‘harmony,’ Joyce looked to Elizabethan songs as a model for his ‘music.’<sup>65</sup> However, what was perhaps even more important to Joyce than emulating Renaissance music was the concept of the harmony of the spheres which was particularly popular in that time. As he states in his 1902 essay, “James Clarence Mangan”:

Every age must look for its sanction to its poetry and philosophy, for in these the human mind, as it looks backward or forward, attains to an eternal state. The philosophic mind inclines always to an elaborate life—the life of Goethe or of Leonardo da Vinci; but the life of the poet is intense—the life of Blake or of Dante—taking into its centre the life that surrounds it and flinging it abroad again amid planetary music (CW, 82).

It must have been of interest to Joyce that planetary music was conceived as a system of order for all the knowledge of heaven and earth. According to Frances Yates in her study of the Art of Memory in the Renaissance, the spheres of the universe were often mapped onto elaborate memory systems, which were systems where particular knowledge that was to be remembered was associated with pictorial images. It was a means through which the elusive properties of memory could be linked to something stable that would aid the mnemonist in recalling these facts at will.<sup>66</sup> Joyce is known to have had a keen interest in the Italian

---

<sup>64</sup> Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, pp. 167-68.

<sup>65</sup> For a discussion of Joyce's emulation of Elizabethan music see Myra T. Russel, "Chamber Music: Words and Music Lovingly Coupled," in *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*, ed. Sebastian Knowles (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999); Myra T. Russel, "The Elizabethan Connection: The Missing Score of James Joyce's *Chamber Music*," *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 18. No. 2 (Winter 1981); and Jack W. Weaver, *Joyce's Music and Noise: Theme and Variation in His Writings* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

<sup>66</sup> For more on Joyce's interest in the art of memory see Robert Adams Day, "Dante, Ibsen, Joyce, Epiphanies, and the Art of Memory," *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 25.No. 3 (Spring 1988); Daniel Ferrer, "Loci Memoriae: Joyce and the Art of Memory," *Classic Joyce: Joyce Studies in Italy 6, Papers from the XVI International James Joyce Symposium, Rome 14-20 June 1998*, ed. Franca Ruggieri (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1999); and Jacques Mailhos, "The Art of Memory: Joyce and Pereg," *Transcultural Joyce*, ed. Karen Lawrence (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). For a discussion of his interest in planetary music see Timothy Webb, "'Planetary Music': James Joyce and the Romantic Example," *James*



Hermeticist Giordano Bruno who devised a series of “memory wheels” upon which he believed all knowledge could be contained. Through memorisation of this knowledge, one could have access to celestial harmony and achieve a magical ascent to the heavens within.<sup>67</sup>

This ordering of memory and knowledge, and the power to achieve ascent into heavenly harmony, would have been attractive to the young Joyce so it is not surprising that ideas of universal harmonies pervade his early poems. Often in these poems, Joyce uses the image of the harp to convey what he calls “distant music” or “planetary music.” For instance, Joyce’s 1901 *Shine and Dark* poems include the lines: “Faster and faster! strike the harps in the hall!/ Woman, I fear that this dance is the dance of death!/Faster!—ah, I am faint...and, ah, I fall./The distant music mournfully murmureth.”<sup>68</sup> Such distant music also plays a large role in *Chamber Music*, especially in Poem I, where Joyce harmonises the sky and the earth together:

Strings in the earth and air  
    Make music sweet;  
Strings by the river where  
    The willows meet.

There’s music along the river  
    For Love wanders there,  
Pale flowers on his mantle,  
    Dark leaves on his hair.

All softly playing,  
    With head to the music bent,  
And fingers straying  
    Upon an instrument (CM, 9)

Poem III also displays this sentiment, as exemplified in the last stanza: “Play on, invisible

---

*Joyce and Modern Literature*, ed. W. J. McCormack, Alistair Stead (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982); and Thomas Jackson Rice, “The Distant Music of the Spheres,” *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*, ed. Sebastian Knowles (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999).

<sup>67</sup> Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Pimlico, 1966), p. 225.

<sup>68</sup> Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 82.



harps, unto Love,/ Whose way in heaven is aglow/ At that hour when soft lights come and go,/ Soft sweet music in the air above/ And in the earth below” (CM, 11). Even though Joyce was determined to avoid using the “Celtic note,” this platonic unity of the elements apparent in Joyce’s poetry also appears in many Revival poems and was very much a part of “serving Ireland through song.” For example, the first stanza of George Russell’s “On the Waters” contains the line “At harmony are the sky and sea”<sup>69</sup> and Eva Gore-Booth’s “From East to West” describes how the “wind sings a song with a golden lilt/ And the air flows by in silver streams.”<sup>70</sup> Likewise, in “The Golden Joy,” Thomas MacDonagh describes the trees as “a dome of song, / Song in the waters, in the sea-born wind.”<sup>71</sup> Finally, Seumas O’Sullivan’s poem entitled “Praise” contains the lines “Sweet you are praised in a silence,/ sung in a sigh.”<sup>72</sup> This poem has sentiments almost identical with those in a line from Joyce’s poem XIV: “The odorous winds are weaving/ A music of sighs” (CM, 22). Examples like these are numerous, and along these same lines, the reception of *Chamber Music* is full of admiration for Joyce’s musical achievements. Kettle also states that Joyce is “playing with harps”<sup>73</sup> and likewise, Symons states that Joyce’s poems are “like a whispering clavichord that someone plays in the evening” and “ghostly old tunes” that are “played on an old instrument.”<sup>74</sup> Of course, “playing with harps” is exactly what Johnson would have wanted in his call to serve Ireland through song, and several evaluations of Revival poems contain this same kind of musical praise, such as Ernest Boyd’s description of how Yeats “attunes his instrument”<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> George Russell, *Collected Poems by A.E.* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1920), p. 233.

<sup>70</sup> George Russell, ed., *New Songs: A Lyric Selection Made by A.E. From Poems by Padraic Colum, Eva Gore-Booth, Thomas Keohler, Alice Milligan, Susan Mitchell, Seumas O’Sullivan, George Roberts, and Ella Young* (Dublin: O’Donoghue & Co., 1904), p. 17.

<sup>71</sup> Thomas MacDonagh, *The Poetical Works of Thomas MacDonagh* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1919), pp. 56-57.

<sup>72</sup> Seumas O’Sullivan, *Poems* (Dublin: Maunsel and Company, Ltd., 1912), p. 9.

<sup>73</sup> Deming, ed., *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, p. 37.

<sup>74</sup> Deming, ed., *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*, p. 39.

<sup>75</sup> Boyd, *Ireland’s Literary Renaissance*, p. 132.



and creates “beautiful melodies” and “delicate harmonies that haunt the ear.”<sup>76</sup> To make musical matters converge even more, on 16 June, 1904, Joyce wrote to Dolmetsch, who had made the psaltery for Yeats, to inquire if he would be able to make him a lute. Joyce’s intention was to perform English songs to the lute on a tour of the English coast. Although Dolmetsch refused Joyce’s request, Joyce’s convergence with Yeats on the issue of instrumentality displays an interesting side to his attitude towards the musicality of the Revival. Yeats asked Dolmetsch to create an instrument that would further national harmony, Joyce asked for an instrument that symbolises the Renaissance ideals of universal harmony.

While it seems that Joyce was serious about his poems at the time of their composition, when they were published in 1907, his letters indicate that he had come to disparage his verses. As he wrote to Stanislaus on 1 March: “I don’t like the book but wish it were published and be damned to it. However it is a young man’s book. I felt like that. It is not a book of love-verses at all, I perceive. But some of them are pretty enough to be put to music. I hope someone will do so, someone that knows old English music such as I like” (*Letters*, II, 219). It is possible that Joyce’s own criticism of his poems comes from an awareness that for all his attempts to be different—to create distant music that would evade the constraints of the Revival and the forging of national harmony—the ‘musical’ similarities between himself and his contemporaries were still numerous. Perhaps his insistence that his verses be set to music resembling English songs specifically is an element of this realisation. It seems that his faith in distant music had failed to provide heavenly ascent within, and as Richard Ellmann states, the poems of *Chamber Music* were “spurts” of Joyce’s “lost, bird-

---

<sup>76</sup> Boyd, *Ireland's Literary Renaissance*, p. 143.



like aspiration.”<sup>77</sup> Ironically, music, the thing that was to provide him with flight into “planetary music,” is the very thing that ties him most strongly to the national Revival.

#### IV. *Dubliners* and the ‘Harmonisation’ of History

On 18 December 1902, after receiving a copy of what was probably “O Sweetheart, hear you”<sup>78</sup> Yeats wrote a letter to Joyce that seems to have made an impression:

I think that the poem you have sent me has a charming rhythm in the second stanza, but I think it is not one of the best of your lyrics as a whole. I think that the thought is a little thin. Perhaps I will make you angry when I say that it is the poetry of a young man, of a young man who is practising his instrument, taking pleasure in the mere handling of the stops (*Letters*, II, 23).

In this letter, Yeats puts Joyce very much into the rhetoric of the Revival, and in a phrase reminiscent of Johnson’s call for Irish poets to be instrumentalists, he compares Joyce to an instrumentalist who is in charge of harmony and the creator of notes and tones. Of course, instrumentality certainly plays a large role in *Chamber Music*, especially in the first and third poems where the universe is ‘harmonised’ in the fashion of an Aeolian harp. In *Dubliners*, however, Joyce presents a slightly more complicated version of instrumentality, especially in “Two Gallants” when Lenehan and Corely encounter the harp outside the Kildare Street Club:

They walked along Nassau Street and then turned into Kildare Street. Not far from the porch of the club a harpist stood in the roadway, playing to a little ring of listeners. He plucked at the wires heedlessly, glancing quickly from time to time at the face of each new-comer and

---

<sup>77</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 165.

<sup>78</sup> See Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper*, p. 209.



from time to time, wearily also, at the sky. His harp too, heedless that her coverings had fallen about her knees, seemed weary alike of the eyes of strangers and of her master's hands. One hand played in the bass the melody of *Silent, O Moyle*, while the other hand careered in the treble after each group of notes. The notes of the air throbbed deep and full.

The two young men walked up the street without speaking, the mournful music following them. When they reached Stephen's Green they crossed the road. Here the noise of trams, the lights and the crowd released them from their silence (D, 48).

This much analysed passage is perhaps one of the most pivotal in all of *Dubliners* and Joyce believed it to be a highly important element in the scheme of his work. As he wrote in a letter to Stanislaus, dated 25 September 1906, "And after all Two Gallants—with the Sunday crowds and the harp in Kildare street and Lenehan—is an Irish landscape." (*Letters*, II, 166). Not surprisingly, this passage is often read as a harsh critique of the Revival. The harp as a symbol of Irish art is shown not as an image of cultural regeneration but as a weary woman, a prostitute who debases herself to serve strangers and conquerors, producing beautiful music for the benefit of her master.<sup>79</sup> That the harp is playing a melody by Thomas Moore is also important in that the song, "Silent, O Moyle," is about Fionnuala, one of the daughters of Lir who was changed into a swan by a curse and only freed at the moment of her death. The swan relates her sadness by "murmuring mournfully" in beautiful music. As was discussed in Chapter One, Moore's harp is often burdened by sadness but its compensation is that it produces beautiful melodies. With this image of the harp that 'gratefully' sings amid its oppression, Joyce's accusation of the Dubliners as "gratefully oppressed" (D, 35) ties in nicely and as Vincent Cheng states, "in the *Dubliners* stories, the Moyle seems truly silent, and the Irish harp seems very much a harlot who, before the eyes of strangers, has heedlessly, willingly, and even gratefully let her coverings fall to her knees."<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> Vincent J. Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 114-15.

<sup>80</sup> Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, p. 127.



Drawing on the peripatetic movement through the city, Luke Gibbons makes an illuminating parallel when he states that Joyce's characters often encounter Dublin with the "somatic intensity of the *flaneur*."<sup>81</sup> Gibbons is making the comparison between the *flaneur* in Benjamin's *The Arcades Project* and Joyce's Dublin wanderer in that both are subjected to the montage of memory in the modern city. A crucial element in this correspondence is the image of the harp, which Gibbons states acts as a "conduit between public and private, between culture and the body."<sup>82</sup> However, there is an important distinction to be made when it comes to the issue of the harp as a conduit between culture and the body in imperial and colonial cultures as the *flaneur* and Joyce's Dublin wanderer experience the memory of the city in quite different ways. This distinction is especially apparent in a quotation of Ferdinand Lion that Benjamin includes in *The Arcades Project*:

Whoever sets foot in a city feels caught up as in a web of dreams, where the most remote past is linked to the events of today. One house allies with another, no matter what period they come from, and a street is born. And then insofar as this street, which may go back to the age of Goethe, runs into another, which may date from the Wilhelmine years, the district emerges...The climactic points of the city are its squares: here, from every direction, converge not only numerous streets but all the streams of their history. No sooner have they flowed in than they are contained; the edges of the square serve as quays, so that already the outward form of the square provides information about the history that was played upon it...Things which find no expression in political events, or find only minimal expression, unfold in the cities: they are a superfine instrument, responsive as an Aeolian harp—despite their specific gravity—to the living historic vibrations of the air.<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> Luke Gibbons, "'Where Wolfe Tone's Statue Was Not': Joyce, Monuments and Memory," *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*, ed. Ian McBride (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 157. For other criticism about Joyce's use of the *flaneur* figure, see Karen Lawrence, "Bloom in Circulation: Who's He When He's Not at Home?," *Joyce on the Threshold*, ed. Anne Fogarty, Timothy Martin (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005) and Enda Duffy, *The Subaltern Ulysses* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 90

<sup>82</sup> Gibbons, "'Where Wolfe Tone's Statue Was Not': Joyce, Monuments and Memory," p. 142.

<sup>83</sup> Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland, Kevin McLaghlin (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1999), p. 435.



With this link between the city's "historic vibrations" and the harmony of the Aeolian harp, the *flâneur's* encounter with the city is very much like a modern Art of Memory applied to the landscape of a metropolis. However, while the medieval and early modern Art of Memory was more often conceived as a way to organise memory onto a pictorial system that would provide stasis and stability for the evasiveness of memory, the *flâneur's* encounter with memory is associated with the *movement* of walking through the city, the mutability of modernity, and the possibility of experiencing involuntary memory. For Benjamin, voluntary memory is "in service of the intellect" and can be recalled as will, whereas involuntary memory is memory that is not consciously conjured and can happen upon the wanderer in sudden flashes and without warning. Benjamin explains this in "Proustian terms": "this means that only what has not been experienced explicitly and consciously, what has not happened to the subject as an experience, can become a component of the *memoire involontaire*."<sup>84</sup> Yet, even with the possibility of experiencing involuntary memory, from the quotations that Benjamin includes in *The Arcades Project*, there is still a sense in which the *flâneur* can maintain control amid the unpredictable and often 'dissonant' metropolis. For instance, it is crucial that the sites of memory that he encounters are *consciously* defined, as in the above quotation where certain streets associated with the age of Goethe converge with streets from the Wilhelmine years. Furthermore, even though the metropolis is a place of mutability and change, the *flâneur* exerts control over it through the process of memorisation. Quoting Pierre Larousse, Benjamin shows that the *flâneur* would be able to tell "if Goupil or Deforge have put out a new print or a new painting, and if Barbedienne has repositioned a

---

<sup>84</sup> Walter Benjamin, "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire," trans. Harry Zorn, *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt (London: Pimlico, 1999), p. 157. For more on involuntary memory in *Dubliners* see Carle Bonafous-Murat, "Disposition and Pre-Disposition: The Art of Involuntary Memory in *Dubliners*," *Classic Joyce, Joyce Studies in Italy 6, Papers from the XVI International James Joyce Symposium, Rome 14-20 June 1998*, ed. Franca Ruggieri (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1999). For insightful discussions on Joyce's use of voluntary and involuntary memory see Joseph Buttigieg, *A Portrait of the Artist in a Different Perspective* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987), pp. 32-39 and John S. Rickard, *Joyce's Book of Memory: The Mnemotechnic of Ulysses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 61-64.



vase or an arrangement; they know all the photographers' studios by heart and could recite the sequence of signs without omitting a single one."<sup>85</sup> In other words, "There is an effort to master the new experiences of the city"<sup>86</sup> and the history that is "played upon" the Aeolian harp of the city is "contained," controlled and eventually harmonised by the *flâneur*. In fact, the *flâneur* is actually described as a composer or a conductor who orchestrates the city's "historic vibrations." As is shown by Benjamin in a quote from Larousse "a noise, insignificant to every other ear, will strike that of the musician and give him the cue for a harmonic combination."<sup>87</sup> Importantly, the *flâneur's* ability to harmonise is evident in Baudelaire's conception of the *flâneur* as well. For Baudelaire, "tonal scale and general harmony are all strictly observed"<sup>88</sup> and "all the raw materials with which memory has loaded itself are put in order, ranged and harmonized."<sup>89</sup> The result of this harmonisation is the resolution of dissonance into a kind of triumphant harmony:

He marvels at the eternal beauty and the amazing harmony of life in the capital cities, a harmony so providentially maintained amid the turmoil of human freedom. He gazes upon the landscape of the great city...He delights in fine carriages and proud horses, the dazzling smartness of the grooms... the sinuous gait of the women, the beauty of the children, happy to be alive and nicely dressed—in a word, he delights in universal life.<sup>90</sup>

Of course, this passage provides a more celebratory image than what would be found in Benjamin's work, but for both Benjamin and Baudelaire, the anxieties and dissonances

---

<sup>85</sup> Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 451.

<sup>86</sup> Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 447.

<sup>87</sup> Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, p. 453. See also David Frisby, "The Flâneur in Social Theory," *The Flâneur*, ed. Keith Tester (London and New York: Routledge, 1994). Frisby argues that the *flâneur* is like a detective, or a historical investigator listening carefully to the sounds and the conversations that unfold in the city. He does this in order to arrange what he collects into something meaningful. Frisby likens the *flâneur* to what Benjamin is describing in "Excavation and Memory," in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith, vol. II (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 576.

<sup>88</sup> Charles Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays by Charles Baudelaire*, ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1964), p. 18.

<sup>89</sup> Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," p. 12.

<sup>90</sup> Baudelaire, "The Painter of Modern Life," p. 11.



present in the modern city *can* be controlled, memorised and harmonised by the *flaneur*. However, this is not necessarily the case for the Dublin wanderer. In Dublin, the “streams of history” seem to flow unbridled through the squares and streets and there is no sense that these streams are “contained,” or that the wanderer has the control of a conductor or a composer. Also, there is no indication that Lenehan is consciously aware of the historic significance attached to the sites of memory that are surrounding him. Gibbons draws attention to Lenehan’s encounter with Duke’s Lawn of Leinster house, the family home of Lord Edward Fitzgerald which he states is a “key site of memory in the popular imagination.”<sup>91</sup> The walk along Nassau Street is perhaps also significant as the street is named after Henry Nassau Count and Lord of Auverquerque who fought at the Boyne on the side of William of Orange in 1690.<sup>92</sup> Lenehan also encounters places such as Trinity College founded by Elizabeth I but limited, for the most part, to Protestants; The Kildare Street Club, a club only open to the Protestant ascendancy; and City Hall, the government building connected to Dublin Castle, the headquarters of the British administration. Whereas the squares for the *flaneur* contain “climactic” or often victorious “moments of history,” Rutland Square, mentioned in “Two Gallants” (named in 1791 for Charles Manners, Duke of Rutland and once the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland), is a site that memorialises colonial rule.<sup>93</sup>

In other words, there is not a sense of control, but rather a lack of control, and instead of becoming an instrumentalist or a composer that is able to produce harmony out of these “historic vibrations,” the effect of this montage of memory is quite different on the Dubliner:

Now that he was alone his face looked older. His gaiety seemed to forsake him and, as he came by the railings of the Duke’s Lawn, he allowed his hand to run along them. The air which the harpist had played began to control his movements. His softly padded feet played the

---

<sup>91</sup> Gibbons, “Where Wolfe Tone’s Statue Was Not’: Joyce, Monuments and Memory,” p. 143.

<sup>92</sup> See notes to *Dubliners*, (D, 262).

<sup>93</sup> In Notes to *Dubliners*, (D, 259).



melody while his fingers swept a scale of variations idly along the railings after each group of notes (D, 50).

In this passage, Lenehan becomes like an instrument, and *allows* himself to be controlled by the music, or the “historic vibrations” that surround him. Crucially, it is not the kind of “amazing harmony” that Baudelaire speaks of, but it is rather the “mournful music” of “Silent O, Moyle” to which Lenehan surrenders his volition. In his instrumental state, Lenehan actually produces silent ‘notes.’ His “eyes noted approvingly” (D, 49) the slavey’s appearance, he takes “note of the many elements of the crowd” (D, 50), he takes “note of the shop mentally” (D, 51) and a “note of menace” (D, 54) pierces through his voice when he finally speaks with Corley. If this image is Joyce’s “landscape,” the obvious conclusion is that Lenehan’s condition as an instrument-body is a condition of Dublin and of the Revival itself. Joyce shows Lenehan and by extension all of the Dubliners to be instruments of the colonial situation, compelled to produce melancholy ‘notes’ that reflect the painful and rather ‘dissonant’ memories that they encounter on their daily walks through the city.

What becomes interesting, however, is that several characters throughout *Dubliners* try to put themselves in the position of the *flâneur* in the sense that they are genuinely trying to control and harmonise their surroundings. For instance, beginning with “Araby” Joyce presents a young boy who weaves through the “dark muddy lanes behind the houses” where the “odours arose from the ashpits, to the dark odorous stables,” but he imagines that such a scene can be harmonised and notices that the coach man “shook music from the buckled harnesses” of the horses (D, 21-2). The boy, smitten with Mangan’s sister, imagines that her image accompanies him “even in places the most hostile to romance” including market where he walks through

flaring streets, jostled by drunken men and bargaining women, amid the curses of labourers, the shrill litanies of shop-boys who stood on guard by



the barrels of pig's cheeks, the nasal chanting of street-singers, who sang a *come-all-you* about O'Donnovan Rossa, or a ballad about the troubles in our native land (D, 23).

Again, the boy believes that these chaotic streets and this encounter with ballads telling of rebellion and defeat can be harmonised into "a single sensation of life" (D, 23), and as he says regarding the feelings he has for Mangan's sister, "my body was like a harp and her words and gestures were like fingers running upon the wires" (D, 23).<sup>94</sup> However, his anticipation of the bazaar that Mangan's sister urges him to attend and his efforts to harmonise are thwarted by his late arrival and the deserted platforms of the bazaar which only bring him feelings of frustration and disappointment.

Such harmonisation is also a main feature in "A Little Cloud" as Little Chandler tries to harmonise the burden of memory, or "the burden of wisdom which the ages had bequeathed to him" (D, 66). When he looks out the window of his office, he notices:

The glow of a late autumn sunset covered the grass plots and walks. It cast a shower of kindly golden dust on the untidy nurses and decrepit old men who drowsed on the benches; it flickered upon all the moving figures—on the children who ran screaming along the gravel paths and on everyone who passed through the gardens. He watched the scene and thought of life; and (as always happened when he thought of life) he became sad. A gentle melancholy took possession of him (D, 65-6).

In this passage, Little Chandler attempts to cover the untidiness, the decrepit figures and screaming children with "a shower of kindly golden dust," hoping that these transformations within his head will make the unpleasantness he encounters into something beautiful. What becomes apparent, particularly in "A Little Cloud," is that such harmonisation is a defense mechanism against memory surfacing in a painful or involuntary way. For instance, when

---

<sup>94</sup> For an interesting interpretation of this passage see Allan Hepburn, "Noise, Music, Voice, Dubliners," *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*, ed. Sebastian Knowles (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), pp. 192-93.



Little Chandler leaves and makes his way “deftly through all that minute vermin-like life and under the shadow of the gaunt spectral mansions in which the old nobility of Dublin had roistered,” the narrator makes it clear that “No memory of the past touched him, for his mind was full of a present joy” (D, 66). Importantly, the narrator states that Little Chandler has evaded the threat of memory, but only a sentence before it explains the history attached to these houses in Henrietta street—that they were once inhabited by the old nobility of Dublin. In other words, memory of the past *does* touch Little Chandler, but he has ‘harmonised’ it. Later, as he crosses Grattan bridge, he imagines that the “poor stunted houses” along the quay are merely a group of dirty tramps in “old coats covered with dust and soot” that in the sunset would be called by the “first chill of night to bid them arise, shake themselves off and begone” (D, 68). Again Little Chandler ‘harmonises’ what he deems to be poor, stunted and dirty into a romantic image that dispels such unpleasantness, and he wonders if he could “write a poem to express his idea” (D, 68).

The key elements in this ‘harmonisation’ are, of course, Celtic notes and tones. However, Joyce’s incorporation of Celtic notes and tones into the story is obviously done in order to ridicule Little Chandler’s efforts to harmonise:

Melancholy was the dominant note of his temperament...If he could give expression to it in a book of poems perhaps men would listen. He would never be popular: he saw that. He could not sway the crowd but he might appeal to a little circle of kindred minds. The English critics, perhaps, would recognise him as one of the Celtic school by reason of the melancholy tone of his poems; besides that, we would put in allusions. He began to invent sentences and phrases from the notices which his book would get. *Mr Chandler has the gift of easy and graceful verse...A wistful sadness pervades these poems...The Celtic note* (D, 68-69).

While Little Chandler entertains dreams of harmony that will control and harmonise his world, Joyce’s ‘Celtic tones’ are almost threatening to Little Chandler’s romantic notions. For instance, Little Chandler who has already been comparing his own “sober inartistic life”



(D, 81) with Ignatius Gallaher's many 'adventures,' meets his friend who relates to him in a "calm historian's tone" (D, 73) and later in a "calmer tone" (D, 77) the excitement of cities such as Paris and Berlin that Little Chandler has never experienced. When Little Chandler tells Gallaher that he will get married some day and settle down, just as he has done himself, he realises that the "had slightly emphasised his tone and he was aware that he had betrayed himself" (D, 76). Disconcerted about his own life in comparison with Gallaher's, Little Chandler again turns to harmonisation and wonders if he could "express the melancholy of his soul in verse" (D, 79), but when his child's crying disturbs him from his reverie, he feels himself to be a "prisoner for life" (D, 79-80) and in the spirit of Celticism, the story ends appropriately in "tears of remorse" (D, 81).

This kind of disappointed harmonisation is also a key element in "A Mother"; a story in which Joyce is quite obviously belittling the characters involved in the *Eire Abu* or the "Ireland to Victory" society as they try to arrange a series of concerts in an effort to provide a kind of 'harmony' for the burgeoning nation. Like Little Chandler, Mrs Kearney has high expectations for these concerts, and since she "never put her own romantic ideas away" (D, 134-135) she imagines that they will be a great affair. She goes to great expense in Brown Thomas to buy her daughter a "lovely blush-pink charmeuse" (D, 136) for the occasion, but her anticipation is disappointed when she arrives on the first night and realises that the *artistes* had no talent and she "began to regret that she had put herself to any expense for such a concert" (D, 138). There are many notes throughout the story, but they are all seen as inadequate. Mr Holohan's "notes" for the organisation of the concerts are described as "dirty pieces of paper" (D, 134), Mrs Kearney takes "angry note" of Mr Fitzpatrick's conduct (D, 138), Madam Glynn sings *Killarney* with "high wailing notes" (D, 145) that the audience mimics, and the "banknotes" (D, 145) paid to Kathleen do not fulfill the contract. Most importantly, while the musical 'notes' in the story are meant to revive Irish culture and give



Ireland a voice through music, Joyce provides an example of the failure to create the kind of heroic harmony that many during the Revival felt that Irish music possessed. In the story, Joyce seems to be drawing on his own experience of singing in the Antient Concert Rooms on 27 August, 1904 with John McCormack and J. C. Doyle. According to Joseph Holloway, Joyce was compelled to accompany himself when the original accompanist disappeared and the substitute was unable to play his music. Holloway's account of the event leads him to a conclusion with which Joyce would probably have agreed: "The Irish Revivalists are sadly in need of a capable manager."<sup>95</sup>

In these three stories, characters such as the boy in "Araby," Little Chandler and, to a certain extent, those involved in the "Ireland to Victory" society are genuinely trying to cope with the burden of memory through harmonisation. However, instead of achieving the "triumph of song"—of becoming instrumentalists as in the case of the *flâneur* or the kind of instrumentalists that Johnson and MacDonagh call poets to be—the Dubliners are more often *instruments* of the colonial situation, the condition of Arnoldian Celticism, and the pressures of the Revival, and the notes and tones that are produced are linked to failure and disappointment. Of course, by exposing this problem, Joyce is presenting a highly critical rendition of the pathetic conditions of Dublin life and its "gratefully oppressed" (D, 35) citizens, but at the same time, the stories are not entirely without sympathy for the characters. In the colonial city, the "historic vibrations" always threaten to bring the sadness of the past to the surface, and for the most part, the characters go about their lives trying to evade the threat that memory might surface in an involuntary or painful way, as it finally does in "The Dead"—the story that, as Joseph Buttigieg states, shows "how the past can burst into the present and shatter it."<sup>96</sup> Of course, music is the medium through which this painful memory

---

<sup>95</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 168.

<sup>96</sup> Joseph Buttigieg, *A Portrait of the Artist in a Different Perspective*, p. 31.



resurfaces, and the disappointment that is linked to the notes and tones of the previous stories seems to culminate in “The Dead.”

## V. “Distant Music” in “The Dead”

It is possible that, to a certain extent, Joyce may have been making amends for some of the harshness in *Dubliners* in his last story, “The Dead.” In his letter dated 25 September, 1906 he wrote to Stanislaus saying that throughout *Dubliners* he had been “unnecessarily harsh” and had not reproduced Ireland’s “ingenuous insularity and its hospitality” or its “beauty” (*Letters*, II, 166). Although Joyce only mentions making amends for these virtues, it is highly significant that music plays one of the most important roles in his transition into “The Dead.” The story is actually centred around music and music is treated much more seriously than in the previous stories. For instance, unlike in “A Mother” where most of the musicians are incompetent, Joyce describes Aunt Kate, Aunt Julia and Mary Jane as “The three Graces of the Dublin musical world” (D, 205). They are accomplished musicians and music teachers and many of the guests at the party are their pupils and proficient musicians themselves.

Throughout the story, Joyce subtly draws attention to the “music question.” Most of the music that is played or sung is tonal music such as the Academy piece that Mary Jane plays or Bellini’s “Arrayed for the Bridal” sung by Aunt Julia; both of which are full of “runs and difficult passages” (D, 186). Likewise, when the conversation turns to music at the dinner table, it is centred around high art music such as “the grand old operas” (D, 200), the great singers of the past, and the days when “there was something like singing to be heard in Dublin” (D, 199-200). Gabriel’s thoughts sometimes turn to music throughout the story and



it seems that he has at least a basic understanding of the structures of music. For instance, even though Mary Jane's Academy piece "had no melody for him" (D, 186), Gabriel knows enough about the structures of tonal music to understand that "Mary Jane must be near the end of her piece for she was playing again the opening melody with runs of scales after every bar" (D, 187). Joyce seems to be juxtaposing Gabriel's awareness of the tonality of this piece with his understanding that the "The Lass of Aughrim" is composed in the modes or in the "old Irish tonality" (D, 211); something that becomes highly significant later in the story.

The sound of music playing is almost continuous throughout the party and references to notes and tones and music appear in abundance. Joyce's first musical pun is that "never once" had the Misses Morken's annual dance "fallen flat" (D, 175). Gabriel's "friendly tone" (D, 177) and "wrong tone" (D, 179) with Lily are mentioned, as well as Miss Ivors "soft friendly tone" (D, 189). Mr Browne tells a story in an "undertone" (D, 185), and Mrs Malins makes a statement in "an indistinct undertone" (D, 202). Tone is involved in the discussion between Mary Jane and Aunt Kate about Browne (D, 207), and Aunt Julia's voice is described as "strong and clear in tone" without missing "even the smallest of grace notes" (D, 193). Laughter is also coloured with 'music' as "the three young ladies laughed in a musical echo" (D, 183), Freddy Malins laughs "heartily in a high key" (D, 185) and produces "high-pitched bronchitic laughter" (D, 186). Finally, the group joins in "melodious conference" (D, 206) to sing to the hostesses. It seems that these allusions to music and the repetitive mentioning of notes, tones, and pitches that pervade the story lead up to the singing of "The Lass of Aughrim," a ballad importantly in "the old Irish tonality" (D, 211); hence the many repetitions of 'tone.'

Like several of Joyce's Dubliners, Gabriel is all too aware that the past is painful and he spends much of his time trying to exert control over his memories. For instance his disconcerting conversation with Lily "cast a gloom over him" which he tries to "dispel by



arranging his cuffs and bows of his tie" (D, 178-79). Later, after he quarrels with Miss Ivors about travelling to the Aran Islands, he tries to "banish from his mind all memory of the unpleasant incident with Miss Ivors" (D, 191). The amount of control Gabriel tries to exert over his own personal memories seems to extend into a wider issue, as he attempts to distance himself from cultural memory as well. He claims to Miss Ivors that "Irish is not my language" (D, 189), he states that he is "sick of Ireland," and he refuses to travel to the West, but even though he has tried to disassociate himself from the language and from national affairs, it is significant that 'tones' are still a source of anxiety for him.<sup>97</sup> For instance, as he frets over whether or not to incorporate a quotation from Browning that he fears his audience will not understand, he worries that his speech will fail and that he will take up the "wrong tone" (D, 179) as he had already done with Lily moments before. Later, while Gabriel runs over the lines of his speech which include "sad memories" he repeats the phrase he had written in his book review for the *Daily Express*: "*One feels that one is listening to a thought-tormented music*" (D, 192) in a way that shows him trying to harmonise these sad memories.<sup>98</sup> In this passage, it is apparent that for Gabriel, as for Joyce himself, what would be the 'right tone' would involve a kind of "distant music" that would order and harmonise his world.

Appropriately, Gabriel's dinner speech is an ardent attempt to control the past and banish anything unpleasant. He states that, "Our path through life is strewn with many such sad memories" but he is intent upon harmonising what he calls a "thought-tormented age" and refuses to "linger on the past" (D, 205). From Gabriel's almost obsessive need for

---

<sup>97</sup> For a discussion of Joyce's negotiation between politics and aesthetics see Michael Levenson, "Living History in 'The Dead'," *James Joyce 'The Dead,'* ed. Daniel R. Schwarz, Case Studies in Contemporary Criticism (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1994).

<sup>98</sup> For an interesting reading of the text's obsession with the phrase, "*One feels that one is listening to a thought-tormented music*" and Gabriel's obsession with his own "quotability" see Margot Norris, *Suspicious Readings of Joyce's Dubliners* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 220.



control, it becomes apparent throughout the story that he has a great deal of anxiety invested in the fear that painful memory might surface, as it does when the memory of Michael Furey is powerfully resurrected in Gretta's mind. The threat of Michael Furey's ghost is presented several times throughout the course of the story as when Mary Jane states that she will get Mr D'Arcy to "sing later on" (D, 184) and when Gretta claims that she is "trying to get that Mr D'Arcy to sing" (D, 191). Just before the singing of "The Lass of Aughrim," the guests' departure is bound up in references to almost ghostly tones. The narrative voice describes Mary Jane's laughter at Aunt Kate's "tone," Aunt Kate's reply in the "same tone" and the description of Mr Browne "laughing as if his heart would break" (D, 207) which all set up the singing in the "old Irish tonality" and the 'heart break' that is to come. However, without understanding that Gretta is remembering Michael Furey as the ballad is being sung, Gabriel harmonises his experience as he watches her listening on the stairs:

He stood in the gloom of the hall, trying to catch the air that the voice was singing and gazing up at his wife. There was grace and mystery in her attitude as if she were a symbol of something. He asked himself what is a woman standing on the stairs in the shadow, listening to distant music, a symbol of. If he were a painter he would paint her attitude. Her blue felt hat would show off the bronze of her hair against the darkness and the dark panels of her skirt would show off the light ones. *Distant Music* he would call the picture if he were a painter (D, 211).

Gabriel's attempt to harmonise Gretta into a portrait of "distant music" is yet another effort to organise and control the past and this is something that continues as they leave the party and make their way to the hotel. For Gabriel, memories of Gretta "burst like stars upon his memory" (D, 214) and he tries to erase anything displeasing and remember only the happy moments of their "secret life together" (D, 214) such as "the first touch of her body, musical strange and perfumed" (D, 216):



Like the tender fires of stars moments of their life together, that no one know of or would ever know of, broke upon and illumined his memory. He longed to recall to her those moments, to make her forget the years of their dull existence together and remember only their moments of ecstasy. For the years, he felt, had not quenched his soul or hers. Their children, his writing, her household cares had not quenched all their souls' tender fire. In one letter he had written to her then he had said: *Why is it that words like these seem to me so dull and cold? Is it because there is no word tender enough to be your name?*

Like distant music these words that he had written years before were borne towards him from the past (D, 215).

However, at the very moment Gabriel is trying to create "distant music," the music of the ballad is the very thing that shatters his illusion of harmony and brings painful memory to the surface.<sup>99</sup> All of the notes, tones and musical references throughout the story and perhaps throughout the collection as a whole seem to be charged with the memory of Michael Furey and by extension, with cultural memories of loss as well. As many critics have pointed out, the song not only brings back the ghost of a dead lover. The "Lass of Aughrim" is also a ballad that has resonances with the Battle of the Boyne, and the Battle of Aughrim; a battle that marks the loss of the Irish language and the solidification of English rule in Ireland.<sup>100</sup> The fact that the ballad is in the old tonality but with English words is also significant. With the loss of the language, only the notes and tones of an old uncultivated tonality are left to express what would be 'Irish.' Of course, for many during the Revival, this music was the model for the metaphorical notes and tones that that were to bring cultural regeneration, but

---

<sup>99</sup> For a discussion about women as figures of memory in *Dubliners* see Baccolini, "She Had Become a Memory": Women as Memory in James Joyce's *Dubliners*," *Rejoycing: New Readings of Dubliners*, ed. Rosa M. Bollettieri Bosinelli, Harold F. Mosher Jr. (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1998).

<sup>100</sup> See Cheng, *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, pp. 143-45. According to Robert Tracey, "Michael Bodkin, the prototype for Michael Furey, was buried at Ragoon graveyard in Galway City, not at Oughterard. Joyce placed Furey in Oughterard because the village was associated with nationalist and linguistic issues, especially in Pearse's writings. There had been bitter struggles nearby during the Land War. It had remained Irish-speaking until the early years of the twentieth century, and Gaelic Revivalists deplored its gradual surrender to English; at the same time, in the village community hotels were being built for English-speaking visitors." See Robert Tracy, *The Unappeasable Host: Studies in Irish Identities* (Dublin: University of Dublin Press, 1998), p. 170. For more on the history of the song see Hugh Shields, "The History of the Lass of Aughrim," *Irish Musical Studies I: Musicology in Ireland*, ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990).



in Joyce's story, the actual notes and tones of "The Lass of Aughrim" bring devastation, or as Terence Brown states, an "atavistic burden of betrayal, loss and pain."<sup>101</sup>

*Chamber Music* was published in 1907, the same year that Joyce was completing *Dubliners* and just before its publication, Joyce expressed a need to criticise his verses in a letter to Stanislaus, dated 18 October, 1906:

The reason I dislike *Chamber Music* as a title is that it is too complacent. I should prefer a title which to a certain extent repudiated the book, without altogether disparaging it...I went through my entire book of verses mentally on receipt of Symons' letter and they nearly all seemed to me poor and trivial: some phrases and lines pleased me and no more. A page of *A Little Cloud* gives me more pleasure than all my verses. I am glad that the verses are to be published because they are a record of my past but I regret that years are going over and that I cannot follow the road of speculation which often opens before me. (*Letters*, II, 182)

It is significant that Joyce chooses to name "A Little Cloud," his story that is most disparaging of the "Celtic note" and of the Revival's preoccupation with harmonisation, as the one that he prefers over all of his verses. In April 1907, Joyce seriously considered cancelling the publication of *Chamber Music* because he had come to think that "All that kind of thing is false" and that he "did not wish to stand behind his own insincerity and fakery."<sup>102</sup> What is significant is that even though the young Joyce strove for harmony in a universal rather than a national sense, the very 'harmonisation' that Joyce notices among his contemporaries and criticises in *Dubliners* can be easily located within the verses of *Chamber Music*.

From these circumstances, it seems likely that in "The Dead," Joyce very subtly makes amends for his harshness when it comes to the issue of harmonisation. The notes and tones that appear in "The Dead" are spectral elements that keep threatening to bring the

---

<sup>101</sup> Terence Brown, "Music: The Cultural Issue," *Music in Ireland 1848-1998*, ed. Richard Pine (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1998), p. 39.

<sup>102</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 260.



ghosts of the past to the surface. In the story, Joyce is implying that the notes and tones of the Revival are similar—sanitised versions of the more devastating notes and tones that a ballad such as “The Lass of Aughrim” can bring; or like the notes and tones of the song that Synge recalls hearing in the intermission of *Diarmuid and Grainne* (quoted earlier in this chapter) when he experienced the “death rattle of a nation.” In other words, the notes and tones that the Revival hoped would bring Ireland into harmony, Joyce exposes to be the most poignant links to painful memory. While Joyce slightly ridicules these notes and tones in the previous stories, he takes them far more seriously in “The Dead,” in a way that suggests that he was also affected by the sadness that these notes and tones inevitably bring. Gabriel’s efforts to harmonise painful memory are just as unsuccessful as Little Chandler’s efforts, even though they are doing it with different harmonic ideals in mind. Even more importantly, the kind of distant music that Joyce had pursued so ardently in his early career is exactly the kind of music that Gabriel tries to create, but Gabriel keeps getting it wrong. His illusions of harmony could not be farther from the truth, and his attempts to create distant music are only efforts to keep the ghosts of the past from surfacing in a painful way. Of course, Joyce is distancing himself from Gabriel on many levels, but by giving Gabriel his own youthful desire to create distant music, he is also engaging in a significant self-critique, and is perhaps admitting, in the most subtle of ways, that he had also been wrong. Despite all of this, Joyce is certainly *not* taking back any of the harshness of previous stories, just because harmony is seen in a different light. Yet, for both Joyce and Gabriel, harmonisation even in the universal sense is not sufficient in dealing with the pain of memory and as Gabriel realises after the ghosts of Michael Furey and the Irish language are resurrected, he has to come to terms with the dissonances of the past.



### Chapter Three: Chords, Cords and “The Condition of Music”: Stephen Dedalus and the Harmonisation of History

One of the most significant elements of Joyce’s life that appears in Stephen’s character is Joyce’s youthful pursuit of harmony. Stephen spends much of his young life trying to harmonise the world around him, but it seems that it is not so much ‘nets’ that are holding him back from becoming an artist, but rather ‘chords.’ In *Stephen Hero, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, and *Ulysses*, there are cords of memory and chords of music that tie Stephen to his past and throughout his young life, Stephen is often engaged in the pursuit of the harmonisation of these cords. Stephen, an accomplished musician, is aware that music may be the most powerful of all the arts; an assumption that may be traced back to the myth of Orpheus and the power of his songs to calm even the spirits of the underworld. Ellmann states that Joyce briefly contemplated naming his alter-ego Stephen Orpheus rather than Stephen Dedalus. This is significant since Stephen certainly recognises the power of music and adamantly desires to harness this power and wield it to his own artistic ends.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps the case that Joyce’s contemplation of the name Orpheus may have had something to do with the fact that both Orpheus and Odysseus were able to sail successfully past the Sirens. Of course, as is stated in *The Odyssey*, the Sirens tell Odysseus that “Over all the generous earth we know everything that happens” and whoever listens to their songs will go on “knowing more than ever he did.”<sup>2</sup> In other words, the Sirens seduce their victims with songs about the past and the promise of a harmonious future and for most, this encounter leads to death at the hands of the Sirens. However, according to the myth, Orpheus’s music

---

<sup>1</sup> See Richard Ellmann, *The Consciousness of Joyce* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), p. 3. See also Julia Kristeva, "Joyce 'The Gracedhoper' or the Return of Orpheus," *James Joyce the Augmented Ninth*, ed. Bernard Benstock (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> Homer, *The Odyssey of Homer*, trans. Richmond Lattimore (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 189-90.



drowns out the Sirens' songs with even more beautiful melodies that render the Sirens' voices powerless. The key element of this myth is the connection between freedom and harmony, and it seems that Stephen's artistic desires involve an equal combination of the power of Orpheus's harmony with the liberation of Dedalus's flight. While Joyce chose the name Dedalus in the end, it is apparent that Stephen's identification with Orpheus is just as important in the text as his connection to the "great artificer."

### **I. The Chords of Music: A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Musician**

In *Stephen Hero*, Stephen believes that the Orpheus-like power that he seeks can be found in *actual* music, and he is not just harnessing this power for himself. As he states, he "wished to express his nature freely and fully for the benefit of a society which he would enrich and also for his own benefit, seeing that it was part of his life to do so" (SH, 146-147). It is significant that in *Stephen Hero*, much more so than in *A Portrait*, Stephen is often described as an accomplished musician, serious enough to spend time in the National Library studying a "dictionary of music" or a "medical treatise on singing" (SH, 152) and talented enough to become a professional singer, as he is often told. Throughout *Stephen Hero*, Stephen often plays and sings in order to touch those around him by the power of his harmony, but he is more often frustrated in his efforts and is frequently portrayed as a musician surrounded by people who are essentially tone-deaf and incapable of understanding the beauty of his music. For instance, when Stephen encounters his friend McCann he accuses him of being unable to distinguish one song from another. McCann tries to defend himself by saying that he can recognise "God save the Queen" but later admits that his ear for music is "a little defective" (SH, 51). With his more sophisticated musical taste, Stephen



chides his friend and asks him if “normal humanity is short-sighted and tone-deaf” (SH, 51). Stephen also finds musical deficiency in the classroom. While studying *Twelfth Night*, he becomes critical of Father Butt’s teaching methods because he skips “two songs of the clown without a word.” Drawing attention to this oversight, Stephen asks if the songs were to be learned by heart and when Father Butt replies that it was “improbable that such a question would be on the paper” (SH, 28), the implication is that only Stephen is aware of the power of these songs; that they are the “rhythmic speech of an emotion otherwise incommunicable” (SH, 79) while his teacher remains oblivious. Later in the novel, Stephen has a similar experience when he has a conversation with Father Moran who advises him to avoid severe music like Gregorian chant and learn “The Holy City.” In response to the suggestion that he sing such a prosaic song, Stephen replies that he knows another song that is “beautiful, full of lovely melody and yet—religious” and has “power—soul, in fact” (SH, 66) in a way that shows him trying to educate Father Moran on the high art music of the church. That Joyce does not add Father Moran’s reply to this statement indicates that the power of the song Stephen suggests is lost on the priest.

Stephen’s musical performances throughout the book are examples of his attempts to cure the tone-deafness around him. For instance when he performs his Elizabethan songs to a “tired unmusical audience” (SH, 42) at gatherings in Donnybrook, Stephen describes his songs as beautiful three times, hoping that his performances will move Emma Clery. However, he is disappointed when she requests that he sing a more “soul stirring” (SH, 156) Irish song instead. Stephen also tries to touch his dying sister with the power of harmony: “He could not go in to his sister and say to her ‘Live! live!’ but he tried to touch her soul in the shrillness of a whistle or the vibration of a note” (SH, 161). However instead of being able to get through to her, Stephen experiences a moment when he realises that the “chords that floated towards the cobwebs and rubbish and floated vainly to the dust-strewn windows



were the meaningless voice of his perturbation” and he feels that he is breathing “an air of tombs” (SH, 162). In other words, throughout *Stephen Hero*, Stephen greatly desires to affect those around him through the chords of his harmony, but in every instance he fails.

While in *Stephen Hero* Stephen’s musicianship is much more a part of his artistic personality, in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* Joyce makes an interesting decision to portray Stephen not so much as a ‘musician’ but more as an harmonically minded aesthete. Joyce only mentions Stephen’s musical talents in the margins and the ‘musicianship’ in the book is more often attributed to Simon Dedalus rather than to Stephen. The novel begins with the song “*O, the wild rose blossoms/ On the little green place*” which the young Stephen understands to be a song of his father: “He sang that song. That was his song” (P, 19). It is apparent that Simon’s songs make up a large part of his identity and are the kinds of ‘chords’ that link Stephen to his past. More so than in *Stephen Hero*, however, Joyce often links music with painful memory and even at an early age, Stephen is aware that Simon’s songs and Simon’s failures are intrinsically connected. For instance, Stephen considers how his father “sang songs while his mother played and of how he always gave him a shilling when he asked for a sixpence and he felt sorry for him that he was not a magistrate like the other boys’ fathers” (P, 35). Music and failure also accompany Stephen and his father on their sojourn to Cork with the business of selling property that they are no longer able to afford. In the Victoria hotel, Stephen stops and listens to his father sing “‘Tis youth and folly.” While on the one hand, Stephen sincerely enjoys his father’s songs, and even admits that he likes “‘Tis youth and folly,” he is also aware that Simon’s “strange sadhappy” (P, 86) airs are an outlet for his nostalgia and his many “sobs” of pain; something that Stephen finds slightly alarming. The ‘chords’ of his father’s songs extend into a cultural issue as well. When Stephen and his siblings prepare to move to another flat, they begin to sing “Oft in the Stilly Night,” a Thomas Moore melody about “sad memory” and Stephen hears an “overtone of



weariness behind their frail fresh innocent voices” that “echoed and multiplied through an endless reverberation of choirs of endless generations of children; and heard in all the echoes an echo of the recurring note of weariness and pain” (P, 145). “Oft in the Stilly Night” communicates the cultural loss of Irish patriots and their cause, and the personal loss of the Dedalus family, driven to poverty by their father’s reckless behaviour. Instead of remaining aloof, however, Stephen takes up the air with his siblings in a way that shows his connectedness to these songs, even though he is not proud of their compulsory lament, and through much of the novel, this is the kind of thing that he is trying to escape.

Even though Stephen’s musicianship is, for the most part, pushed to the margins, the Stephen of *A Portrait* still shares Joyce’s youthful fondness for the songs of the Elizabethans; and again as in *Stephen Hero*, Stephen of *A Portrait* also seems to hold this music in higher regard than Irish music. Yet, the Stephen of *A Portrait* only turns to “the dainty songs of the Elizabethans” when he is “wearied” of his “search for the essence of beauty amid the spectral words of Aristotle or Aquinas” and it is apparent that for Stephen, it is not so much the songs themselves as it is a retreat into what he believes to be the ideal world of the Elizabethans, where he could fancy himself “in the shadow under the windows of that age” listening to the “grave and mocking music of the lutenists.” However, reality of his life only stings “his monkish pride” and drives him “from his lurkingplace” (P, 155). Later in a day dream, Stephen imagines himself “sitting at the old piano, striking chords softly from its speckled keys and singing...to her who leaned beside the mantelpiece a dainty song of the Elizabethans, a sad and sweet loth to depart, the victory chant of Agincourt, the happy air of Greensleeves” (P, 190). However, Stephen again realises that he cannot bask long in this ideal world and thinks that: “While he sang and she listened, or feigned to listen, his heart was at rest but when the quaint old songs had ended and he heard again the voices in the room he remembered his own sarcasm” (P, 190).



The progression of Joyce's portrayal of Stephen with regard to musicianship is significant. In *Stephen Hero* Stephen sees himself as a superior musician whose duty it is to obliterate the tone-deafness around him. He puts great store in music, but music lets him down in crucial moments. In *A Portrait*, Stephen is not as much of a musician and he realises early that music and painful memory are tightly connected. Furthermore, the audible world is where the dissonances over which he has no control reside, such as the political dissonance in the Christmas dinner scene; or the sermon given at the Belvedere retreat when Stephen is terrified by the threat of rejection from heaven and the possibility of being cast into "everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels!" (P, 114); or the "harsh roar of jangled and rattling metal" (P, 182) of the dray that interrupts Stephen's explanation of his aesthetic theory. Joseph Buttigieg makes an important comment when he states that "Stephen's experience of the physical world reveals chaos to him, not universal laws. He cannot, therefore, find in the material world the order he craves."<sup>3</sup> If actual music is connected to pain and sadness, Stephen turns instead to distant and most importantly *silent* music which he believes will order and harmonise his chaotic world.

## II. The 'Chords' of Memory and the Silent Music of the Spheres

The poet is the intense centre of the life of his age to which he stands in a relation than which none can be more vital. He alone is capable of absorbing in himself the life that surrounds him and of flinging it abroad again amid planetary music. When the poetic phenomenon is signaled in the heavens, exclaimed this heaven-ascending essayist, it is time for the critics to verify their calculations in accordance with it (SH, 80).

---

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Buttigieg, *A Portrait of the Artist in a Different Perspective* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987), p. 82.



By incorporating an excerpt from his own 1902 essay on Mangan into Stephen's essay in *Stephen Hero*, Joyce makes Stephen a burgeoning artist who wishes to attain heavenly ascent into "planetary music." While Joyce does not include this passage in *A Portrait* there is still a sense in which Stephen's brief moments of experiencing silent music throughout the book are moments when he is in 'tune' with a kind of universal music. Throughout *A Portrait*, these experiences are what set him apart from others as a future artist, and Joyce shows how his artistic awakening is very much foreshadowed and shaped by this youthful pursuit of harmony. For instance, when Stephen finds himself in the cold environment of Clongowes, he notices that the gas would soon be lit and "in burning it made a light noise like a little song" (P, 23) and later, "once or twice he was able to hear the little song of the gas" (P, 25). During his day dream about returning home from Clongowes on the train, the men have keys that "make a quick music: click, click: click, click" (P, 30) and on another train journey with his father to Cork, Stephen also attempts to create music: "silently, at intervals of four seconds, the telegraphpoles held the galloping notes of the music between punctual bars. The furious music allayed his dread" (P, 85). As Stephen matures, his moments of harmony begin to include a kind of 'unity' between himself and the universe:

The vast cycle of starry life bore his weary mind out-ward to its verge and inward to its centre, a distant music accompanying him outward and inward. What music? The music came nearer and he recalled the words, the words of Shelley's fragment upon the moon wandering companionless, pale for weariness. The stars began to crumble and a cloud of fine stardust fell through space (P, 97).

The "distant music" in this passage seems to be a foreshadowing of Stephen's artistic awakening when he feels himself to be at one with the heavenly spheres:

He felt above him the vast indifferent dome and the calm processes of the heavenly bodies: and the earth beneath him, the earth that had borne him, had taken him to her breast.



He closed his eyes in the languor of sleep. His eyelids trembled as they felt the vast cyclic movement of the earth and her watchers, trembled as if they felt the strange light of some new world (P, 152).

However, while Stephen feels himself to be at one with the harmony of the “vast cycle of starry life” that *moves* “out-ward” and “inward” and the cyclic *movement* of the “heavenly bodies,” he also desires to arrest this harmony, and tries to make static what might be mutable in art. For Stephen, ideal harmony involves a kind of stasis epitomised by the static image of a chord, such as the ‘chord’ he evokes when he recalls a phrase from his “treasure”: “The phrase and the day and the scene harmonised in a chord” (P, 147). While explaining his aesthetic theory to Lynch, Stephen states that improper art incites emotions that are kinetic such as desire, which urges one to possess something, and loathing, which urges one to move away from something. Therefore, in proper art, the aesthetic emotion is “static. The mind is arrested and raised above desire and loathing” (P, 179). However, Stephen goes on to explain that this “arrest” or this “esthetic stasis” is also “called forth, prolonged and at last dissolved by what I call the rhythm of beauty” (P, 180). In this passage, aesthetic stasis is achieved through rhythm, which, by its most common definition, involves a certain amount of repetition and movement. However, Stephen does not use the more common definition of rhythm but instead chooses to define rhythm as a part that goes to make up an aesthetic whole: “the first formal esthetic relation of part of part in any esthetic whole or of an esthetic whole to its part or parts or of any part to the esthetic whole of which it is a part” (P, 180).<sup>4</sup> Yet even though Stephen’s definition of rhythm involves stasis, the fact that “esthetic stasis” is “called forth” and “dissolved” by this rhythm suggests that rhythm still involves a kind of inevitable movement despite Stephen’s insistence that rhythm has a static quality.<sup>5</sup> A similar

---

<sup>4</sup> See the OED: “*Art*. Due correlation and interdependence of parts, producing a harmonious whole.”

<sup>5</sup> Joyce’s 27 March entry in his 1903 notebook also deals with the reconciliation between stasis and movement. Joyce states that it is false to say that sculpture is “unassociated with movement. Sculpture is



'reconciliation' between movement and stasis appears in Stephen's discussion of beauty. As he explains, "Three things are needed for beauty, wholeness, harmony and radiance" (P, 184) and this harmony is made up of parts that are "complex, multiple, divisible, separable" and "the result of its parts and their sum, harmonious. That is *consonantia*" (P, 185). When these elements come together:

This supreme quality is felt by the artist when the esthetic image is first conceived in his imagination. The mind in that mysterious instant Shelley likened beautifully to a fading coal. The instant wherein that supreme quality of beauty, the clear radiance of the esthetic image is apprehended luminously by the mind which has been arrested by its wholeness and fascinated by its harmony is the luminous silent stasis of esthetic pleasure (P, 185).<sup>6</sup>

In other words, according to Stephen, the aesthetic moment involves a kind of arrested harmony, but its mutability is still evident in that the aesthetic image appears only for a brief "instant" when it is "first conceived." The implication is that the moment is fleeting and mutable, as exemplified in Shelley's fading coal. It becomes apparent from these passages that in Stephen's mind, stasis is associated with order, stability, satisfaction, and ultimately silent harmony, whereas temporality and mutability are associated with audibility, disorder,

---

associated with movement in as much as it is rhythmic; for a work of sculptural art must be surveyed according to its rhythm and this surveying is an imaginary movement in space." See Robert Scholes, Kain, Richard M., ed., *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 54. For an interesting discussion on Stephen's reliance on rhythm in his aesthetics see Christy L. Burns, *Gestural Politics: Stereotype and Parody in Joyce* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> For more on Stephen's aesthetic theory and his adoption of ideas from various thinkers see Maurice Bebe, "Joyce and Aquinas: The Theory of Aesthetics," *James Joyce, Dubliners and a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: A Casebook*, ed. Morris Beja (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1973); James Walter Caulfield, "The Word as Will and Idea: Dedalean Aesthetics and the Influence of Schopenhauer," *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol 35/36.No. 4/1 (Summer/Fall 1998); Ian Crump, "Refining Himself out of Existence: The Evolution of Joyce's Aesthetic Theory and the Drafts of a Portrait," *Joyce in Context*, ed. Vincent J. Cheng, Timothy Martin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); S. L. Goldberg, "Art and Life: The Aesthetic of the Portrait," *Twentieth Century Interpretations of a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, ed. William M. Schutte (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968); William T. Noon, S.J., *Joyce and Aquinas*, Yale Studies in English, vol. 133 (Hamdon: Archon Books, 1970); Cordell D.K. Yee, "St. Thomas Aquinas as Figura of James Joyce: A Medieval View of Literary Influence," *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 22.No. 1 (Fall 1984). For more on Joyce's own aesthetics see Jacques Aubert, *The Aesthetics of James Joyce* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).



discontent and ultimately dissonance; something that Stephen fears and wishes to eliminate from his artistic life. He must account for mutability, but in so doing he tries to create stipulations for art that will paradoxically provide for stationary movement and motion that is static.

That Stephen's own desire to reconcile stasis and mutability is bound up in a pursuit of "planetary music" is not surprising considering that the thought surrounding the music of the spheres has always been involved in reconciling stasis and mutability. As was argued in Chapter Two, Joyce must have been interested in the long association between the music of the spheres and the Art of Memory. On the one hand, it was certainly obvious that the planets were in motion, but the ideal manifestation of this 'music' was the image of a static chord of harmony displayed as a memory system that contained all the knowledge of heaven and earth. It was often pictured as a monochord that united the planets and the stars and forged a union of all universal elements. One of the most famous pictorial examples of this phenomenon occurs in Robert Fludd's memory system, "Universe Conceived as a Monochord" in *Utriusque Cosmi Historia* (1617) which depicts musical notes, all of the planets, and the mathematical portions that link them. At the top of the picture is a tuning peg and there is a hand coming out of the heavens that tunes the spheres. The image of the monochord is mentioned by Shakespeare's Ulysses in *Troilus and Cressida* as he calls attention to the order of the heavens: "Observe degree, priority, and place,/ Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,/ Office, and custom, in all line of order" (I/iii/86-88). However, if the spheres were tuned into a chord of perfect harmony, the idea that prevailed was that even the smallest untuning of the spheres could cause chaos.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, mutability was associated with dissonance and disorder and as Ulysses also states, "Take but degree away,

---

<sup>7</sup> See Daniel K. L. Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 15-16.



untune that string/ And hark what discord follows!” (I/iii/109-111). At the same time, however, during the Renaissance there was also a growing interest in the *movement* associated with the music of the spheres. For Giordano Bruno, the spheres of the universe were often depicted on “memory wheels,” which suggest a certain amount of motion. These wheels were not only spaces for knowledge to be stored but were also linked to the mutable power of the imagination and to new methods of discovery. This is one of the reasons why for someone like Walter Pater, the Renaissance is the ideal time period because it was a time that seemed most to reconcile the conditions of stasis and movement; a time when there was just as much of a belief in the monochord as there was in the belief that memory systems should be engaged with imaginative fluxes and changes.

In very general terms, the reconciliation between stasis and movement was always a part of the music of the spheres as a memory system, but before the Renaissance, the music of the spheres was imagined more often as something along the lines of the stable monochord, whereas after the Renaissance, there was a growing anxiety that the faith in the stability of the monochord was dwindling. The reliance on the music of the spheres in Western thought was something that gradually died away with the onset of modernity and as Daniel Chua states, when modernity disenchanting the world, it severed the “umbilical link” to the monochord and the “stars no longer sang, and scales no longer laddered the sky.”<sup>8</sup> The Romantics did attempt a ‘reharmonisation’ of the universe, but it was not perceived as a monochord. Rather, it was seen as a kind of spherical music focused on fluxes or brief moments of harmony that have to be remoulded over and over again. Also, it was no longer centred on an ascent into the heavens, but rather on the individual self and one’s own *brief* moments of feeling at one with universal harmony. Furthermore, the Romantic ‘memory

---

<sup>8</sup> Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning*, p. 22 and Joscelyn Godwin, *Harmonies of Heaven and Earth: The Spiritual Dimension of Music from Antiquity to the Avant-Garde* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p. 124.



systems' were not systems where all the knowledge of heaven and earth was organised in a static diagram that made memory voluntary and accessible. Instead, as Raphael Samuel states, memory-work involved a "subterranean place full of contrived corridors and hidden passages" and was more focused on involuntary memory, "the sleeping traumas which spring to life in time of crisis."<sup>9</sup>

### III. "The Condition of Music"

In his struggle between accounting for inevitable mutability and his desire for stasis in aesthetics, Joyce brings Stephen very much in line with the thought of Pater. As many critics have pointed out, Pater is perhaps one of the most important influences on Joyce's portrayal of Stephen, so much so that Paul Barolsky states that Pater is "the father of Stephen Dedalus."<sup>10</sup> Much of Pater's writing is engaged in an effort to find a kind of reconciliation between stasis and mutability, the latter of which he saw as a predominant force of modernity. In this pursuit, Pater looks to antiquity and especially to Pythagoras and Plato who were able to reconcile the opposites of stasis and movement and impose a system of order on the world. For Pater, the key element in this reconciliation is, of course, music. Plato took up the Pythagorean belief that the music of the spheres governed all the temporal cycles of the earth, and was a macrocosm for the microcosm of the human being whose ideal internal harmony was meant to reflect the music of the spheres. Following the thinking of Plato and Pythagoras, Pater believes that music is the ultimate medium for unity between the

---

<sup>9</sup> Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, vol. I (London: Verso, 1994), p. ix. For more on the how the art of memory changed from the Renaissance on see Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Paul Barolsky, *Walter Pater's Renaissance* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987), p. 6.



self and the world because music's numerical laws of proportion and harmony exist independently of human intervention, but at the same time, music also has the power to affect the individual and become internalised.<sup>11</sup> As Pater says of the Hellenic ideal, the goal was to feel at one with "music of the spheres' in its largest sense, its completest orchestration, the harmonious order to the universe."<sup>12</sup>

While the perfection of the ancient Greek world view seems to apply no longer to the modern world, Pater still believes that through the emulation of music, that is, through the pursuit of the merging of form and content, the modern artist can still maintain some kind of access to this ancient perfection. As he states in *The Renaissance*:

All art constantly aspires towards the condition of music. For while in all other kinds of art it is possible to distinguish the matter from the form, and the understanding can always make this distinction, yet it is the constant effort of art to obliterate it. That the mere matter of a poem, for instance, its subject, namely, its given incidents or situation—that the mere matter of a picture, the actual circumstances of an event, the actual topography of a landscape—should be nothing without the form, the spirit, of the handling, that this form, this mode of handling, would become an end in itself, should penetrate every part of the matter: this is what all art constantly strives after, and achieves in different degrees.<sup>13</sup>

Throughout *The Renaissance*, Pater does not provide any examples of the kind of music to which he is referring, nor does he evaluate any musical works or composers. The more important pursuit for Pater seems to be those artworks that are constantly striving *towards* this unity of form and content, rather than actual music itself.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the ideal unity is bound up in music that is silent, and something *akin* to the music of the spheres. Using the

---

<sup>11</sup> Walter Pater, *Plato and Platonism: A Series of Lectures* (Adelaide: Cambridge Scholars Press Ltd., 2002), p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> Pater, *Plato and Platonism*, p. 45.

<sup>13</sup> Walter Pater, *The Renaissance* (Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1977), p. 135.

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of the meaning of the "condition of music" in *The Renaissance* see Patricia Herzog, "The Condition to Which All Art Aspires: Reflections on Pater on Music," *British Journal of Aesthetics* Vol. 36.No. 2 (April 1996) and Barolsky, *Walter Pater's Renaissance*, p. 129.



background of the music of the spheres as a kind of memory system that contains all the knowledge of heaven and earth, the “condition of music” is Pater’s version of a modern memory system that is constantly changing. While the memory systems of the past provided a certain amount of stability, Pater acknowledges that mutability is a condition of modernity and therefore, he looks to moments of transition in history to find a kind of continuity with the past. In so doing, he illustrates the ways in which new ideas bring nuances into the old ones and shows how this moment of transition blends the past and the future together. Barolsky puts it well when he states that “In the music of Walter Pater, memory is continuously drawn into play as it absorbs, one upon another, the sensations of history, condensing these into perfect moments, exquisite pauses in time.”<sup>15</sup> It is in these exquisite pauses in time that one can perceive harmony. In other words, Pater’s silent music allows for “a vision of history that is both ordered and perpetually changing.”<sup>16</sup>

Of course, with perpetual change comes the possibility that more and more dissonance will surface, and although the dissonance of modernity is the source of some anxiety for Pater, he still believes that if artworks strive towards the “condition of music” these dissonances can be resolved. This view is especially apparent in his description of the Mona Lisa in *The Renaissance*. As an artwork that strives towards the “condition of music,” she embodies and reconciles mutability and dissonance on the one hand with stability and harmony on the other. As Barolsky states, she seems suspended in “near orphic song between discord and unity, between the very weaving and unweaving of self” smiling the “ironic smile of modernity.”<sup>17</sup> In Pater’s view, she is the embodiment of all historical knowledge and “All the thoughts and experience of the world have etched and moulded there...She is older than the rocks among which she sits.” Furthermore, all of this history is

---

<sup>15</sup> Barolsky, *Walter Pater's Renaissance*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>16</sup> Barolsky, *Walter Pater's Renaissance*, pp. 29-30.

<sup>17</sup> Barolsky, *Walter Pater's Renaissance*, p. 41.



to her “the sound of lyres and flutes...The fancy of a perpetual life, sweeping together ten thousand experiences.”<sup>18</sup> As both the “embodiment of the old fancy” and the “symbol of the modern idea”<sup>19</sup> she is a work of harmony, but her harmony must be remoulded over and over again. This continual remoulding of harmony is something that Pater also applies to the school of Giorgione which he believes successfully captures the beautiful and fleeting moments of perfection, the “exquisite pauses in time, in which arrested thus, we seem to be spectators of all the fullness of existence” when one experiences “the perfect moments of music itself.”<sup>20</sup> In this passage, Pater focuses on the pauses and the arrests of time, on the static qualities of this art, however it is not a harmony that will remain static, but one that seems to be lost even as it is being deciphered. It is, as Stephen states, a moment when the mind is in a state that “Shelley likened beautifully to a fading coal” (P, 185).

This remoulding of harmony and the constant resolution of dissonance is actually an essential element in art for Pater. It is well known that Pater was highly influenced by Hegel, and in *Vorlesungen uber die Asthetik*, Hegel draws attention to great compositions that contain within them moments of ‘profound’ discord. However, this is not to be seen as something negative, because it is through such conflict that the “profounder combinations of the mysteries of music” and the “profounder harmonic progressions” are exposed. In other words, music’s profundity is reliant on its passing “into the sphere of opposing forces,” its summoning of “the most discordant contrasts,” and its disclosure of “its unique power amid the tumult of all the resources of harmony, the conflicts of which it is equally able to calm, wholly and confident in its ability to celebrate finally the grateful triumph of melodic

---

<sup>18</sup> Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 125.

<sup>19</sup> Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 126.

<sup>20</sup> Pater, *The Renaissance*, pp. 150-51



tranquility.”<sup>21</sup> For Pater, this musical movement from dissonance to harmony is exactly what the artwork is always striving to achieve, and the incorporation of such a movement is what makes the work profound. As he states in *The Renaissance*:

The longer we contemplate that Hellenic ideal, in which man is at unity with himself, with his physical nature, with the outward world, the more we may be inclined to regret that he should ever have passed beyond it, to contend for a perfection that makes the blood turbid, and frets the flesh, and discredits the actual world about us. But if he was to be saved from the ennui which ever attaches itself to realisation, even the realisation of the perfect life, it was necessary that a conflict should come, that some sharper note would grieve the existing harmony, and the spirit chafed by it beat out at last only a larger and profounder music.<sup>22</sup>

In other words, since the Hellenic ideal of the self and the world in unity with one another is no longer something that can remain ‘constant’ or ‘stable,’ the compensation is that the ‘profound’ discord of the modern world makes the eventual aesthetic harmony more ‘profound’ as well. It is this kind of profundity that Pater focuses on in the famous “Conclusion” to *The Renaissance*:

To burn always with this hard, gemlike flame, to maintain this ecstasy, is success in life... While all melts under our feet, we may well grasp at any exquisite passion, or any contribution to knowledge that seems by a lifted horizon to set the spirit free for a moment, or any stirring of the senses, strange dyes, strange colours, and curious odours, or work of the artist’s hands, or the face of one’s friend.<sup>23</sup>

One of the crucial aspects of this passage is Pater’s belief that burning with this “hard, gemlike flame” and “getting as many pulsations as possible into the given time”<sup>24</sup> will provide the opportunity to “set the spirit free for a moment.” Wolfgang Iser summarises

---

<sup>21</sup> Hegel’s Music introduction from *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik* is reprinted in *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader: The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Edward Lippman, vol. II (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1988), p. 133.

<sup>22</sup> Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 222.

<sup>23</sup> Pater, *The Renaissance*, pp. 236-37.

<sup>24</sup> Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 238.



Pater's thought well when he states that through this ongoing pursuit of unity one can "reduce the world to his own dimensions"<sup>25</sup> and can achieve a sense of freedom from the "web of necessities"<sup>26</sup> in which one is trapped: "Art alone grants these precious moments of freedom, and it reveals to the human mind its capabilities of mastering experiential realities. These are, then, moments of profoundest insight."<sup>27</sup>

It is well known that Pater's own style is an attempt to achieve a manifestation of his principles, to pursue the "condition of music" in his prose. Barolsky makes an important parallel when he compares Pater's own pursuit of the "condition of music" to "an almost Ravel-like mode" which "stems from a country of the 'half-imaginative memory.'"<sup>28</sup> To liken Pater's prose to Ravel's music is a fair comparison, as Ravel's music was breaking away from rigid tonal structures, incorporating more chromaticism and dissonance and moving towards a style that contains fluxes of harmony that are not necessarily as predicable as they would be in a classical work. Of course, Joyce himself emulated Pater's 'Ravel-like' style throughout much of *A Portrait*. Importantly, Joyce's most prominent use of Pater's style occurs at the moment when Stephen has his artistic awakening when he imagines that he has attained the artistic freedom that Pater states is possible. However, the crucial aspect of Joyce's striving towards the "condition of music" is that he is doing it with a strong sense of irony. By creating a narrative voice that continually impinges on Stephen's thoughts, Joyce seems to be belittling Stephen's desire to burn with "hard gem-like flames" and create artworks that strive towards the "condition of music." For instance, at the beginning of Stephen's walk out on the strand where he is to have this awakening, he experiences flame-like "notes of fitful music"

---

<sup>25</sup> Wolfgang Iser, *Walter Pater: The Aesthetic Moment*, trans. David Henry Wilson, European Studies in English Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 74.

<sup>26</sup> Iser, *Walter Pater: The Aesthetic Moment*, p. 75.

<sup>27</sup> Iser, *Walter Pater: The Aesthetic Moment*, p. 75.

<sup>28</sup> Barolsky, *Walter Pater's Renaissance*, p. 31.



leaping upwards a tone and downwards a diminished fourth, upwards a tone and downwards a major third like triple-branching flames leaping fitfully, flame after flame, out of a midnight wood. It was an elfin prelude, endless and formless: and, as it grew wilder and faster, the flames leaping out of time, he seemed to hear from under the boughs and grasses wild creatures racing, their feet pattering like the rain upon the leaves (P, 146).

Joyce seems to be making a pun as the “pattering” of feet coincides with a particularly Paterian moment. As Stephen continues to walk, he looks across the strand at Dublin which he describes as a city “no older nor more weary nor less patient of subjection than in the days of the thingmote” (P, 148). Stephen, however, wishes to fly by the nets of this subjection, and again, he experiences another moment of Paterian ‘music’:

He heard a confused music within him as of memories and names which he was almost conscious of but could not capture even for an instant; then the music seemed to recede, to recede, to recede: and from each receding trail of nebulous music there fell always one longdrawn calling note, piercing like a star the dusk of silence. Again! Again! Again! Again! A voice from beyond the world was calling (P, 148).

With the backdrop of this “confused music” Stephen contemplates how “A moment before the ghost of the ancient kingdom of the Danes had looked forth through the vesture of the hazewrapped city.” However, Stephen finally feels ready to soar above this history of subjection: “Now, as never before, his strange name seemed to him a prophecy” and he seems to “see a winged form flying above the waves” (P, 149). Of course, such soaring is exactly what he believes himself to have achieved when soul arises “from the grave of boyhood” and he feels “as though he were soaring sunward” and that his “soul was in flight” (P, 150). In tune with the spheres, he imagines that the new world he creates floods “all the heavens with its soft flushes” (P, 152). Joyce also describes the kind of firey ecstasy that is so prominent in Pater’s “Conclusion.” Stephen feels “his cheeks aflame and his throat



throbbing with song" (P, 150) as a "new wild life was singing in his veins" (P, 151). After he sees the 'birdgirl,' or the figure that seems to inspire his artistic awakening, "His cheeks were aflame; his body was aglow; his limbs were trembling. On and on and on and on he strode, far out over the sands, singing wildly to the sea, crying to greet the advent of life that had cried to him" (P, 152). However, Joyce's strong sense of irony in this passage seems to culminate in what directly follows this moment of ecstasy which is an image of Stephen at home draining "his third cup of watery tea to the dregs" (P, 153).

The kind of narrative irony apparent in Stephen's artistic awakening also accompanies his composition of the villanelle as Joyce uses a style that pursues the "condition of music" in order to belittle Stephen's own striving towards the "condition of music." As Stephen writes his villanelle, his experience of "sweet music" is clothed in phrases such as "moving as music," "the rhythmic movement of the villanelle," and there is a gradual livening and dying away of rhythm: "The rhythm died away, ceased, began again to move and beat," and "The rhythm died out at once" (P, 188-189). Stephen believes himself to have achieved the "condition of music" as he says the verses aloud "till the music and rhythm suffused his mind, turning it to quiet indulgence" (P, 192). The villanelle, however, seems to be of the same calibre as Joyce's own *Chamber Music* poems, which he was later to disparage and categorise as poems of his youth. From such a parallel, it is likely that Joyce had these Paterian ideals in mind while he was writing *Chamber Music* and consequently, Stephen's pursuit of the "condition of music" is being belittled by Joyce through the very style of the work, at the very moment when Stephen in all seriousness is attempting to achieve the merging of matter and form.

This narrative irony apparent in Stephen's striving towards the "condition of music" in *A Portrait* is seen in an interesting light when compared to the way in which Joyce emulates Pater's 'Ravel-like' style in his original essay "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young



Man” written in January 1904, which as Ellmann suggests, seems to be a breakthrough in Joyce’s style because it is the first moment in Joyce’s writing when the narrative voice is “infected by the hero’s mind.”<sup>29</sup> However, the invasion of the narrative voice on the hero’s thoughts does not seem to produce the same amount of irony that is apparent in the narrative voice of *A Portrait*, where Joyce seems to imply that Stephen is taking himself far too seriously. It is curious that Joyce abandoned the style of the original essay when he decided to make it into the novel, *Stephen Hero*, only to re-instate this Paterian style when he re-writes *Stephen Hero* into *A Portrait*. The artistic epiphany is the main focus of the original essay and it is given a status of greater power in the essay than in the novel. Instead of the world continually impinging on the hero, as it does in *A Portrait*, the artist in this original essay simply breaks away from the repressed society that hems him in, and describes the people he withdraws from as a “chorus which no leagues of distance could make musical.”<sup>30</sup> He retreats to the sea to experience his artistic epiphany where he finds himself “singing passionately to the tide.”<sup>31</sup> When he encounters the figure of his artistic inspiration the moment is described in a very Paterian manner:

Thou hadst put thine arms about him and, intimately prisoned as thou had been, in the soft stir of thy bosom, the raptures of silence, the murmured words, thy heart had spoken to his heart...The blood hurries to a gallop in his veins; his nerves accumulate an electric force; he is footed with flame. A kiss: and they leap together indivisible, upwards, radiant lips and eyes, their bodies sounding with the triumph of harps! Again, beloved! Again, thou bride! Again, ere life is ours!<sup>32</sup>

The crucial aspect of “A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man” is that the artist seems to achieve a kind of artistic freedom through Joyce’s pursuit of the “condition of music”; or at

---

<sup>29</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, pp. 145-46.

<sup>30</sup> Scholes, ed., *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> Scholes, ed., *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 65.

<sup>32</sup> Scholes, ed., *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 66.



least Joyce does not provide any evidence to the contrary. The artist's epiphany, with its gemlike flames, its moments of ecstatic harmony and its successful rendering of the flight of an artist from the nets that hem him in, is more about artistic triumph. While it is not entirely without irony, it seems that it is a much more sincerely serious work especially in comparison with *A Portrait*. While in *A Portrait* Stephen is always being brought down to earth, in the essay, the young artist's epiphany ends with the confident assertion that he will give to the multitudes "the word" and will administer great works of art "Amid the general paralysis of an insane society."<sup>33</sup>

It is also interesting to trace this development in the essays that Joyce wrote around the time he was composing "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" and venture a guess as to when Joyce felt that he was outgrowing his Paterian ideals and feeling the need to portray his alter-ego with irony. Importantly, Joyce's 1902 essay "James Clarence Mangan" is written in a Paterian style, and many phrases in the essay display the ways in which Mangan reaches the heights of melody as when the "music shakes off its languor and is full of the ecstasy of combat" in 'Lament of Sir Maurice FitzGerald' and 'Dark Rosaleen' and is "tremulous with all the changing harmonies of Shelley's verse" (CW, 79-80). When Joyce rewrites his Mangan essay in 1907 he keeps the Paterian style—although he tones it down a bit—and still insists on the overall musicality of Mangan's verse, or the "exalted lyrical music with a burning idealism that revealed themselves in rhythms of extraordinary and unpremeditated beauty" (CW, 177). What is interesting, however, is that in his 1902 Mangan essay, he states that "History encloses him so straitly that even his fiery moments do not set him free from it" (CW, 81) and likewise, in the 1907 Mangan essay, he states that "The history of his country encloses him so straitly that even in his hours of extreme individual passion he can barely reduce its walls to ruins" (CW, 185). In other words, even though

---

<sup>33</sup> Scholes, ed., *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 66.



Mangan has reached the heights of melody and produces the kinds of “firey moments” that Pater calls writers to pursue, he was unable to achieve the kind of freedom that Pater believes is possible through art. In 1908, Joyce began writing *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in a Paterian style about an artist who believes he can *attain* the kind of freedom through art that Pater states is possible, and avoid the plight of Mangan who was so straitly hemmed in by historical circumstances. Of course, Stephen is not successful and he reappears in *Ulysses* as a frustrated and disappointed artist whose efforts towards artistic freedom have been thwarted. It is perhaps relevant that when Joyce wrote his 1904 essay, he was still in the process of writing some of his *Chamber Music* poems and was soon to begin working on the first chapters of *Stephen Hero*. It seems very likely that Joyce was writing “A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man” with more of a sense of seriousness and with more of a sense in which art *could* provide artistic freedom through striving towards the “condition of music.” It seems that after writing *Stephen Hero*, Joyce decided to return to the Paterian style of his essay, in order to criticise his own youthful striving for the “condition of music” in the very style of *A Portrait*.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> For more on Joyce’s use of Pater see Frank Moliterno, *The Dialectics of Sense and Spirit in Pater and Joyce* (Greensboro: University of North Carolina, ELT Press, 1998); Alan D. Perlis, “Beyond Epiphany: Pater’s Aesthetic Hero in the Works of Joyce,” *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 17.No. 3 (Spring 1980), Richard Poirier, “Pater, Joyce, Eliot,” *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 26.No. 1 (1988); Robert M. Scotto, “‘Visions’ and ‘Epiphanies’: Fictional Technique in Pater’s *Marius* and Joyce’s *Portrait*,” *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 11.No. 1 (Fall 1973); John Paul Riquelme, “Stephen Hero, Dubliners, and a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: Styles of Realism and Fantasy,” *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Aladar Sarbu, “Repose, Stasis, Rhythm: Walter Pater and James Joyce,” *Focus: Papers in English Literary and Cultural Studies, Special Issue on James Joyce*, ed. Maria Kurdi, Antal Bokay (Pecs: University of Pecs, 2002).



#### IV. Stephen, Shakespeare and “The Spirit of Reconciliation”

While the Stephen of *A Portrait* hopes that he can harmonise his artistic experience into a ‘chord,’ the cords he encounters in *Ulysses* only connect him to a history of ‘dissonance.’ For instance, as he walks along the strand in ‘Proteus’ he contemplates how “The cords of all link back, strandentwining cable of all flesh” (U, 3.37) making an almost umbilical connection to Ireland’s history of “Famine, plague and slaughters” (U, 3.306). Stephen understands that due to these ‘cords’ that connect him to the past, “Their blood is in me, their lusts my waves” (U, 3.306-3.307). In this episode, Stephen also remembers that he is told “You’re your father’s son. I know the voice” (U, 3. 229) in a way that shows how even his vocal cords bind his identity directly to his father and to the past. Stephen has already attempted to usurp Orpheus’s harmony and Dedalus’s flight in order to evade this painful past, but he has failed and spends much of his time in *Ulysses* in the fear that he will not be able to escape the Sirens and will be lost into the sea like sailors tempted by their ‘chords.’ In ‘Proteus’ Stephen imagines that the history he is trying to escape is buried in the watery depths. He walks along the strand thinking of the “Galleys of the Lochlanns ran here to beach, in quest of prey, their bloodbeaked prows riding low on a molten pewter surf. Dane Vikings, torcs of tomahawks aglitter on their breasts when Malachi wore the collar of gold” (U, 3.300-3.303). In referring to the collar of gold, Stephen quotes a line from Thomas Moore’s song, “Let Erin Remember the Days of Old” which describes how on a clear day a fisherman can catch a glimpse through the waves of the golden age of Ireland. According to this popular song, cultural memory is buried in a watery grave, and for Stephen this water is almost haunted. Later in the ‘Proteus’ chapter, he thinks of his mother and how he “could not save her. Waters: bitter death: lost” (U, 3.329-3.330) and in the ‘Wandering Rocks’ episode, when he encounters his younger sister Dilly, he imagines that she will pull him



under like a Siren: "She is drowning. Agenbite. Save her. Agenbite. All against us. She will drown me with her, eyes and hair. Lank coils of seaweed hair around me, my heart, my soul. Salt green death" (U, 10.875-10.877).

For Stephen, his mother seems to have been a manifestation of the nation that keeps calling him to serve like the "hollowsounding voices" that he hears in *A Portrait* that ask him to serve his religion, nation and "raise up her fallen language" (P, 82). Stephen has already declared his *non serviam* from the nets that hold him back, but not the "chords." He had refused to pray for his mother on her deathbed, however he *had not* refused her request to sing: "Fergus' song: I sang it alone in the house, holding down the long dark chords. Her door was open: she wanted to hear my music" (U, 1.249-1.251). That Stephen sings a song of the Revival, Yeats's "Who goes with Fergus?" is significant in that it puts him in an interesting position with regard to another of the "hollowsounding voices" that Stephen must be aware of: the Revival's call to serve Ireland through song. The "long dark chords" that he plays continue to haunt him throughout *Ulysses* and even in the 'Circe' episode when the ghost of his mother is resurrected and reminds him, "You sang that song to me. *Love's bitter mystery*" (U, 15.4189), Stephen again obeys her request to sing. However, there is a sense in which he feels that these "chords" are the things that are holding him back from artistic freedom. As he says to the ghost of his mother, "Let me be and let me live" (U, 1.279).

Since Stephen is coming to an awareness that his pursuits of harmony are letting him down, it is interesting to note that his attitude towards Pater and the "condition of music" is changing as well. In the 'Proteus' episode, Stephen thinks:

Remember your epiphanies written on green oval leaves, deeply deep, copies to be sent if you die to all the great libraries of the world, including Alexandria? Someone was to read them there after a few thousand years, a mahamanvantara. Pico della Mirandola like. Ay, very like a whale. When one reads these strange pages of one long gone one feels that one is at one with one who once... (U, 3.141-3.146)



Stephen is alluding to Pater's comments on Pico della Mirandola in *The Renaissance* where he lauds his attempts to reconcile Christian and pagan truths and achieve a union of contrasts. As Pater states, "To reconcile forms of sentiments which at first sight seem incompatible"<sup>35</sup> and to forge a "harmony between Plato and Moses"<sup>36</sup> is what Pico achieved—"a picturesque union of contrasts."<sup>37</sup> What becomes interesting here is the timing between Joyce's life and Stephen's artistic development. Of course, artistic unity is the main theme of *The Renaissance* and some of the most frequent terms Pater employs to present his pattern of cultural wholeness are words such as "reconciliation...union, unison, wholeness, integrity, centrality."<sup>38</sup> Likewise, in "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" Joyce states that the pursuit of this young artist is "to reunite the children of the spirit, jealous and long-divided, to reunite them against fraud and principality. A thousand eternities were to be reaffirmed, divine knowledge was to be re-established."<sup>39</sup> He seeks an "absolute satisfaction" and remembers a line from Augustine which he deems to be "A philosophy of reconciliation."<sup>40</sup> The key words of this essay are "reunite," "reaffirm," "re-establish," "satisfaction" and "reconciliation" which all tie into this Paterian theme of unity.

It is worth noting that Pater was highly influential during the Revival. He had a great impact on Yeats and was a "sage" for Lionel Johnson who had visited Pater in Oxford.<sup>41</sup> When Yeats started the Rhymer's Club, a gathering of poets, Yeats remembers that "We looked consciously to Pater for our philosophy,"<sup>42</sup> especially to Pater's depiction of the

---

<sup>35</sup> Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 30.

<sup>36</sup> Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 45.

<sup>37</sup> Pater, *The Renaissance*, p. 48.

<sup>38</sup> Barolsky, *Walter Pater's Renaissance*, p. 25.

<sup>39</sup> Scholes, ed., *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 64.

<sup>40</sup> Scholes, ed., *The Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 65.

<sup>41</sup> See Wayne K. Chapman, *Yeats and English Renaissance Literature* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1991), p. 42.

<sup>42</sup> W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan, 1955), pp. 302-303.



aesthetic life in *Marius the Epicurean*. Yeats's interest in the Renaissance as the time of ultimate reconciliation, seems to have been influenced by Pater's ideas in *The Renaissance*,<sup>43</sup> and it is well known that Pater's philosophy had a great impact on Yeats's idea of the "unity of being"—the struggle to harmonise the opposing elements of one's nature, which was to find expression in *A Vision*.<sup>44</sup> Following the lead of Yeats, it seems that much of the Revival's call to serve Ireland through song was bound up in pursuing a harmonious union between the form and the content in poetry, and it may be that Joyce's interest in Pater stems from the Revival's dependence upon him.<sup>45</sup> The crucial point regarding Pater's influence is that while Joyce's January 1904 essay "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man" is composed in a Paterian style, striving towards the profounder "condition of music" and full of the artistic goals of unity, the Stephen of June 1904 has already become disenchanted with Pater and it seems that his thoughts have turned slightly more away from concepts of unity and harmony.

Stephen's outgrowing of Pater at this stage in his development puts him in an interesting position with regard to the Revival in the 'Scylla and Charybdis' episode when Joyce presents Stephen amid his contemporaries in the National Library. Throughout the chapter, the Revival's call to serve Ireland through song appears in the discussions about Hyde's *Loves Songs of Connacht* and Russell's forthcoming collection of young poets in *New Songs*. Yet, while much of the drive behind these collections of 'songs' was the pursuit of national harmony, Joyce's gathering of figures in the National Library draws attention to the ways in which this 'harmony' had not been achieved. In fact, the picture of the Revival that Joyce presents is actually quite dissonant, reflecting what Norman Vance calls not "a single

---

<sup>43</sup> See Chapman, *Yeats and English Renaissance Literature*, p. 32.

<sup>44</sup> For a discussion of how Pater's reading of Goethe influenced Yeats's employment of the "unity of being," see Marjorie Perloff, "Yeats and Goethe," *Comparative Literature* Vol. 23.No. 2 (Spring, 1971).

<sup>45</sup> See Chapman, *Yeats and English Renaissance Literature*, pp. 10-11.



movement” but “a complex of different movements, cultural political, scholarly, social and spiritual, intermittently intersecting and reinforcing or aggravating each other.”<sup>46</sup> In this “high degree of chaos and confusion” the nation that was to be ‘created’ was subject to many conflicting interpretations.<sup>47</sup>

At the heart of this discord in ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ is the divide between Yeats and Russell on the one hand, who had a more national approach to literature, and John Eglinton and Edward Dowden on the other, who had more ‘cosmopolitan’ ambitions for Irish literature.<sup>48</sup> Eglinton did not approve of having to choose a cultural allegiance between Ireland or England and, according to Vance, he was one of the first to “identify some of the difficulties and incoherencies of the ‘Revival!’” as he often noted the “absurdity” of those who took it “upon themselves to sing the ancestral sorrows of Cathleen Ni Houlihan and Catholic and Celtic Ireland not in the Irish but in the English language.”<sup>49</sup> Edward Dowden, an ardent Unionist, was also highly critical of the Revival, and although he praised some Irish works, such as Yeats’s *Wanderings of Oisín*, he expressed his satisfaction in that he had “spent his early enthusiasm on writers like Wordsworth and Spenser and Shakespeare, and not on anything Ireland ever produced.”<sup>50</sup> One of the problems Dowden had with Yeats was his insistence that Irish writers take on Irish themes. In his essay, “Hopes and Fears for Literature” Dowden expresses his desire that the Irish poet be free from the obligation to take up Irish subjects. In doing so, “he will have done better service for Ireland” than “if he wore

---

<sup>46</sup> Norman Vance, *Irish Literature since 1800* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), p. 101.

<sup>47</sup> Vance, *Irish Literature since 1800*, p. 103. For a discussion of some of the reasons Joyce may have decided not to fictionalise the names of those in the National Library see Clare Hutton, “Joyce and the Institutions of Revivalism,” *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* Vol. 33.No. 1 (2003).

<sup>48</sup> See P. J. Matthews, *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Féin, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement*, Critical Conditions: Field Day Monographs, ed. Seamus Deane, vol. 12 (Cork: Cork University Press, 2003), pp. 13-14.

<sup>49</sup> Vance, *Irish Literature since 1800*, p. 99.

<sup>50</sup> In *Letters of Edward Dowden and his Correspondents* (London and New York: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1914), p. 184. Cited in Phillip Marcus, *Yeats and the Beginning of the Irish Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), p. 105.



shamrocks in all his buttonholes and had his mouth for ever filled with the glories of Brian the Brave.”<sup>51</sup> The debate between Yeats’s national ideals for literature and Dowden’s cosmopolitan ideals was waged in the *Daily Express* in 1895 and in the 1899 *Literary Ideals in Ireland*. Dowden believed that the English literary tradition was far superior to its Irish counterpart, and as Andrew Gibson states, for Dowden “The significant Irish culture was English.”<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, one of the most relevant writers of the English canon was, of course, Shakespeare and the ideal world view was Elizabethan. According to John Nash, Dowden believed that Elizabethan poetry contained elements of a stable imperial authority and he encouraged those around him to aspire to what is often called the ‘Elizabethan world picture’: “Dowden’s Shakespeare is the voice of a nation whose finest cultural expression is ‘Protestant’ and ‘monarchical,’ ‘positive and practical.’”<sup>53</sup> Importantly, one of the topics of debate between Yeats and Dowden was centred around the subject of Shakespeare. While both saw Shakespeare as a writer to be emulated, in an essay entitled “At Stratford-on-Avon” Yeats attacks Dowden’s *Shakspeare: A Critical Study of his Mind and Art* and criticises Dowden’s attribution of moral standards regarding Richard II, whom Dowden believed to be less heroic than Henry V:

I have turned over many books in the library at Stratford-on-Avon, and I have found in nearly all an antithesis, which grew in clearness and violence as the century grew older, between two types, whose representatives were Richard II, ‘sentimental,’ ‘weak,’ ‘selfish,’ ‘insincere,’ and Henry V, ‘Shakespeare’s only hero.’ These books took the same delight in abasing Richard II that schoolboys do in persecuting some boy of fine temperament, who has weak muscles and a distaste for school games. And they had the admiration for Henry V that schoolboys have for the sailor or soldier hero of a romance in some boys’ paper...I

---

<sup>51</sup> In Dowden’s “Hopes and Fears for Irish Literature,” pp. 176-177. Cited in Marcus, *Yeats and the Beginning of the Irish Renaissance*, p. 108.

<sup>52</sup> Andrew Gibson, *Joyce’s Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 62-63.

<sup>53</sup> John Nash, “Reading Joyce in English,” *Joyce on the Threshold*, ed. Anne Fogarty, Timothy Martin (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), p. 121.



know that Professor Dowden, whose book I once read carefully, first made these emotions eloquent and plausible.<sup>54</sup>

Yeats considered Dowden's evaluation of Shakespeare's characters as middle class moralising and in the essay he argues that he cannot imagine that Shakespeare looked at Richard II "with any but sympathetic eyes" despite what Dowden would contend. Yeats uses Pater's evaluation of Richard II as "a wild creature" to show that he is a "loveable" character "full of capricious fancy."<sup>55</sup> In steering the conversation to the topic of Shakespeare and in bringing Dowden's book to the forefront, Stephen puts himself in a Scylla and Charybdis position between the Yeats and Dowden camps.<sup>56</sup> However, while Yeats and Dowden disagreed over issues regarding the moral standards of Shakespeare's characters, both would have agreed that Shakespeare's power to reconcile is something to be emulated in the present day.

The discussion in the National Library eventually turns to the subject of Shakespeare's "spiritual odyssey"—the nineteenth-century view that Shakespeare's career begins with his lighthearted comedies and histories, moves into a period of "spiritual struggle," and then finishes in a period of serenity and reconciliation:<sup>57</sup>

—If that were the birthmark of genius, he said, genius would be a drug in the market. The plays of Shakespeare's later years which Renan admired so much breathe another spirit.

—The spirit of reconciliation, the quaker librarian breathed (U, 9. 393-9.396).

Some of the sources from which Stephen draws for his theory describe this "spirit of reconciliation" in terms of dissonance and harmony. For instance, Georg Brandes evaluates

---

<sup>54</sup> W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1955), pp. 103-04.

<sup>55</sup> Yeats, *Autobiographies*, p. 105.

<sup>56</sup> Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>57</sup> For more on Joyce's use of Shakespeare see William M. Schutte, *Joyce and Shakespeare: A Study in the Meaning of Ulysses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957).



Shakespeare's movement from his middle period to his closing period as "the first mild tones escaping from an instrument which has long yielded only harsh and jarring sounds."<sup>58</sup> As Brandes argues, in his last plays "Shakespeare is once more reconciled to life."<sup>59</sup> Along these same lines, Dowden offers the following opinion:

Shakspere still thought of the graver trials and tests which life applies to human character, of the wrongs which man inflicts on man; but his present temper demanded not a tragic issue,—it rather demanded an issue into joy or peace. The dissonance must be resolved into a harmony, clear and rapturous, or solemn and profound. And, accordingly, in each of these plays, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, *The Tempest*, while grievous errors of the heart are shown to us, and the wrongs of man to man as cruel as those of the great tragedies, at the end there is a resolution of the dissonance, a reconciliation.<sup>60</sup>

For Dowden, the "resolution of discords in these latest plays" was not a "mere stage necessity" but a "moral necessity."<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, it was moral necessity that should be emulated.

In 'Scylla and Charybdis' Joyce presents as the chapter's central theme a discussion about Shakespeare, the 'great reconciler,' among a divided group who are all striving for the same goal: the resolution of dissonance into harmony. While Stephen's sources and also Stephen's contemporaries seem to agree with the notion of the "spiritual odyssey," Stephen is more skeptical about this ultimate harmony. His theory does not focus on reconciliation but rather exposes the dissonances of Shakespeare's personal life and the impact of these dissonances on his art. For instance, he insists on "prying into the family life of a great man" (U, 9.181) and twice during the chapter, instead of focusing on the harmonious

---

<sup>58</sup> Georg Brandes, *William Shakespeare: A Critical Study* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935), p. 585.

<sup>59</sup> Brandes, *William Shakespeare: A Critical Study*, p. 574.

<sup>60</sup> Edward Dowden, *Shakspere: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1906), p. 406.

<sup>61</sup> Dowden, *Shakspere: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art*, pp. 406-07.



reconciliation, Stephen brings attention to the fact that “There can be no reconciliation...if there has not first been a sundering” (U, 9.393-9.399). He is also quick to point out that such a harmonious reconciliation involves the restoration of what has been lost: “Miranda, Stephen said, a child of storm, Miranda, a wonder, Perdita, that which was lost. What was lost is given back to him: his daughter’s child” (U, 9.421-9.422). Stephen’s point has wider relevance in the chapter as he is addressing members of a cultural Revival who are forced to engage with the issue of loss in their art. For Shakespeare, the restoration of what has been lost was a possibility for there was still a sense in which the monochord could be ‘retuned,’ but for the Revival there is an underlying current that this may not be the case. Furthermore, unlike Yeats and Dowden, whose opinions about Shakespeare imply a sense of belief in what they are saying, Stephen contends that he does not even believe his own theory. It is as if to believe something is to give it a sense of stability, and Stephen prefers to remain in a kind of ‘restless’ doubt. Throughout the chapter, it is obvious that Stephen is not on the same page as those he encounters in the library. His exclusion from the events and publications that are discussed is perhaps explained later by Buck Mulligan in ‘Wandering Rocks’ when he says that Stephen does not have the right ‘note’: “He will never capture the Attic note. The note of Swinburne, of all poets, the white death and ruddy birth. That is his tragedy. He can never be a poet” (U, 10.1072-10.1075). Stephen’s ‘note’ is perhaps one of anxious understanding that such harmony may not be a possibility.

At the end of the chapter, Stephen stands on the steps of the National Library contemplating the “peace” that ensues in the conclusion of *Cymbeline* when the characters “Cease to strive” (9.1221) and when “The fingers of the pow’rs above do tune/ The harmony of this peace” (V. v. 466-467). Shakespeare’s line is, of course, referring specifically to the image of the monochord and the hand that comes out of the sky to tune all the universal elements into one harmonious chord. In this scene, there is a juxtaposition between



Shakespeare's world, which believed that the spheres of the universe were tuned by a god-like hand and that it was possible to emulate this harmony in art, with Stephen's rather chaotic and dissonant world. Instead of letting Stephen bask in the kind of harmony Shakespeare imagined, Joyce makes a musical pun, presenting him as a character who is homeless and keyless and subjected to the dissonances of Dublin life. In *A Portrait*, Stephen wants unity, in *Ulysses* he exposes fragmentations and dissonance; in *A Portrait*, he focuses on reconciliation, in *Ulysses* he focuses on the sundering before the reconciliation. It seems that he is starting to become an artist.

Becoming an artist is a process of trial and error and it is apparent that harmony has let Stephen down when it was supposed to provide him with flight: "Fabulous artificer. The hawklike man. You flew. Whereto? Newhaven-Dieppe, steerage passenger. Paris and back. Lapwing. Icarus. *Pater, ait.* Seabedabbled, fallen weltering. Lapwing you are. Lapwing be" (U, 9.952-9.955). On the steps he thinks of how he used to watch the "birds for augury" (U, 9.1206) and how he tried to fly away from the nets, but was unable to sever the chords that held him back. His youthful harmonic ambition to escape the Sirens by creating even more beautiful music than their seductive songs was not successful, and he still lives with the fear that he is "seabedabbled" and about to be pulled into the depths of the past. In the end, it is not Stephen, but Bloom who sails past the Sirens in *Ulysses*.



**Chapter Four:**  
**“Flight according to Rule”: the *fuga per canonem* in ‘Sirens’**

The work of art is a labyrinth, at every point of which the initiate knows the entrance and the exit, without help of guidelines. The more finely meshed and interlaced the veins, the more certainly will he soar above every path towards his goal. –Arnold Schoenberg<sup>1</sup>

**I. The Fugal and Functional Controversy**

Since ‘Sirens’ was meant to be Joyce’s most ‘musical’ chapter it seems strange that several of the important figures in Joyce’s life gave rather unenthusiastic responses to the episode when it was completed. Joyce’s acknowledgment of his friends’ reception to ‘Sirens’ appears in a letter dated 19 June 1919, when Joyce wrote to Frank Budgen complaining that Pound had written “disapprovingly of ‘Sirens’” and had protested against the close of the chapter (*Letters*, I, 126). Likewise, in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver dated 20 July 1919, Joyce states “You write that the last episode sent seems to you to show a weakening or a diffusion of some sort” (*Letters*, I, 129). It seems that Stanislaus also disapproved of ‘Sirens,’ although the evidence is belated. In a letter to Joyce dated 7 August 1924, his brother’s dislike of *Finnegans Wake* moves into a discussion of *Ulysses*: “I wrote to you much in the same strain when you sent me *Ulysses*, and yet good part, the greater part of it I like. I have no humour for the episodes which are deliberately farcical: the ‘Sirens,’ the ‘Oxen of the Sun’” (*Letters*, III, 103-104). This disapproval of ‘Sirens’ specifically suggests that what had come before was ‘acceptable’ to Pound, Weaver and Stanislaus Joyce whereas

---

<sup>1</sup> Schoenberg’s “Aphorismen” from *Die Musik* (Berlin, 1909-1910), 9:4, 159ff is cited in Theodor Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, trans. Wesley V. Bloomster, Anne G. Mitchell (London: Sheed and Ward Ltd., 1948), p. 114.



'Sirens' seems to be a significant moment of transition in the scheme of *Ulysses* as a whole. In his defense of 'Sirens' written in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver dated 6 August 1919, Joyce addresses two crucial points: on the one hand, he makes the claim that 'Sirens' is composed in a fugal style, yet he also seems to imply that it is a departure from his original style and lacking in a stable home-like centre:

They are all the eight regular parts of a *fuga per canonem* and I did not know in what other way to describe the seductions of music beyond which Ulysses travels. I understand that you may begin to regard the various styles of the episodes with dismay and prefer the initial style much as the wanderer did who longed for the Rock of Ithaca. But in the compass of one day to compress all these wanderings and clothe them in the form of this day is for me only possible by such variation which, I beg you to believe is not capricious (*Letters*, I, 129).

Joyce's claim to have departed from the "initial style" with 'Sirens' poses many questions regarding the turning point in *Ulysses*. While Joyce's letter indicates that he believed 'Sirens' was the transitional episode, it is also the case that 'Sirens' retains the third-person, past tense narration and the first person, present-tense monologue that supposedly constitutes the "initial style." Therefore, it is difficult to determine if 'Sirens' is an elaboration and a distortion of the "initial style," and is therefore more appropriately placed in the category of the previous chapters, or if it is the first episode to be counted among the innovative range of styles that constitute the second half of *Ulysses*.<sup>2</sup>

According to Michael Groden, *Ulysses* can be divided into three parts which consist of a first stage, 'Telemachus' through 'Scylla and Charybdis'; a middle stage, 'Wandering Rocks' through 'Oxen of the Sun'; and a last stage, 'Circe through Penelope.'<sup>3</sup> For Groden, the "initial style" is relatively consistent until Joyce experiments with it in 'Wandering Rocks.' In 'Sirens' he "distorted the initial style about as much as possible while still

---

<sup>2</sup> See Michael Groden, *Ulysses in Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Groden, *Ulysses in Progress*, p. 4.



retaining it, and his decision to replace it followed almost immediately.”<sup>4</sup> Although Groden sees the episodes in the “middle stage” as transitional, he believes that it is ‘Cyclops’ more than ‘Sirens’ that provides the defining break in Joyce’s style as it is the first time the reader is deprived of the original narrative technique and the inner monologue voice. As he argues, “The turning point in the making of *Ulysses* thus occurred during the summer of 1919 as Joyce ‘lovingly moulded’ the first of Bloom’s adventures narrated from an outside, alien, parodic viewpoint.”<sup>5</sup> Karen Lawrence is of a similar opinion, believing that a more significant transitional moment occurs in ‘Cyclops.’ For Lawrence, the narrative authority of the first eleven chapters provides the “rock of Ithaca” which orients the reader and offers “a certain security by establishing the sense of the solidity of external reality.”<sup>6</sup> This security disappears when ‘Cyclops’ begins. Finally, for Dermot Kelly, the stylistic transformations throughout *Ulysses* are “constantly sweeping us off the rock of Ithaca”<sup>7</sup> and in ‘Sirens,’ Joyce inaugurates the kind of stylistic innovations that “offset the components of the initial style,” but these innovations only culminate in the later episodes, especially in ‘Cyclops,’ ‘Circe,’ and ‘Eumaeus.’<sup>8</sup>

For some critics, however, ‘Sirens’ more appropriately belongs in the second half of *Ulysses* when Joyce abandons the ‘security’ of the “initial style.” Although David Hayman does not settle on a *fixed* point of transition in *Ulysses*, he argues that the transition between the first and second half of *Ulysses* is more importantly influenced by what he calls the “arranger”<sup>9</sup> and not necessarily bound only to the presence or absence of the original narrative technique. The “arranger” is “something between a persona and a function,

---

<sup>4</sup> Groden, *Ulysses in Progress*, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> Groden, *Ulysses in Progress*, p. 165.

<sup>6</sup> Karen Lawrence, *The Odyssey of Style in Ulysses* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 47.

<sup>7</sup> Dermot Kelly, *Narrative Strategies in Joyce's Ulysses*, Studies in Modern Literature No. 96 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), p. 16

<sup>8</sup> Kelly, *Narrative Strategies in Joyce's Ulysses*, p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> David Hayman, *Ulysses: The Mechanics of Meaning*, New ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), p. 84.



somewhere between the narrator and the implied author”<sup>10</sup> that is responsible for the many distortions and disruptions that are so prevalent in the narrative structure of *Ulysses*. However, even in the most chaotic episodes, the “arranger’s” “felt absence” is also a “source of control.”<sup>11</sup> For Hayman, ‘Cyclops’ may have been a breakthrough in Joyce’s style, but because the “arranger” is present from the beginning of the text, there are many examples of its intrusion before the twelfth episode.<sup>12</sup> In ‘Wandering Rocks,’ which Hayman sees as a “pivotal chapter,” and in ‘Sirens,’ an episode that “prolongs the technique” of its predecessor, the “arranger” transforms intrusion into significant moments of disruption:

The most striking instances of disruption occur in the middle of the book in ‘Wandering Rocks’ and especially in ‘Sirens.’ The overture of that chapter is paratactic both in its radical juxtaposition of disparate phrases and sentences and retrospectively in its yoking together of incongruous elements from the chapter to come.<sup>13</sup>

Hugh Kenner uses Hayman’s idea of the “arranger” to argue that ‘Sirens’ is the important transitional point in the text. As he states, there is an aspect of *Ulysses* that “terminates with ‘Wandering Rocks’” and will “turn into a different sort of book altogether” in subsequent chapters, even though “there is no sharp break”.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, aside from the more technical evaluations of the narrative voice or the “arranger,” some critics have argued that ‘Sirens’ is the part of the text where Joyce shifts his

---

<sup>10</sup> Hayman, *Ulysses: The Mechanics of Meaning*, p. 122.

<sup>11</sup> Hayman, *Ulysses: The Mechanics of Meaning*, p. 123. For more on the concept of the “arranger” see John Somer, “The Self-Reflexive Arranger in the Initial Style of Joyce’s *Ulysses*,” *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 31.No. 2 (Winter 1994).

<sup>12</sup> Hayman gives several examples of the “arranger’s” presence before ‘Cyclops’. In ‘Aeolus’ the narrator’s voice is often undermined by the “whimsical headlines” (p. 95) and in ‘Scylla and Charybdis,’ the narrator is complimented by a commentator who reflects on the events from Stephen’s point of view (p. 96). However, in these instances, the “arranger” is “intrusive but not disruptive” (p. 95). In ‘Wandering Rocks,’ “the arranger begins to reduce these protagonists to the condition of the other characters, obliging us to reorient ourselves so that we may use our knowledge of Stephen and Bloom in contexts where thought is jumbled, distorted or absent” (p. 97). In ‘Sirens,’ the “arranger” “irreverently but consistently distorts the rhythm of the narrative voice” (p. 98).

<sup>13</sup> Hayman, *Ulysses: The Mechanics of Meaning*, pp. 97, 132.

<sup>14</sup> Hugh Kenner, *Ulysses* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980), p. 71.



focus from character development and plot to an increased emphasis on language. Brad Bucknell states that in 'Sirens' "language seems to take over"<sup>15</sup> and for James Fairhall "the word tends to become the world"<sup>16</sup> in 'Sirens' and in subsequent episodes. Marie Goldmann states that the 'Sirens' episode "can be regarded as the first episode of the second half of the novel, where the language changes significantly"<sup>17</sup> and Enda Duffy calls 'Sirens' "the first stylistically bewildering episode Joyce wrote."<sup>18</sup> For Derek Attridge, "'Sirens' plays havoc with the rules of lexical formation, syntax, and discourse on which any continued use of language depends"<sup>19</sup> and finally, David Pierce states that in Joyce's earlier texts "the sounds can be quickly identified and eventually slotted into the narrative or characterization or theme." However, in *Ulysses* this is not always the case, especially in 'Sirens,' "for this is the episode where a peculiar kind of tension can be most keenly felt."<sup>20</sup>

In light of the attention that has been drawn to the stylistic changes that occur in 'Sirens,' the question of whether or not the episode can be seen as a turning point has much to do with whether or not Joyce was successful in rendering the fugal form. The crucial point about the fugal form is that it *does* have a home-like centre known as the tonic chord from which the composition begins and ends. In a traditional fugue, the principal voice, or the "subject,"—the most stable musical phrase of the composition—opens the piece in the tonic key. Once the subject is stated, the second voice enters stating the same theme. However, it is usually transposed into the dominant key, which is either a fifth above the tonic, or a fourth

---

<sup>15</sup> Brad Bucknell, *Literary Modernism and Musical Aesthetics: Pater, Pound, Joyce, and Stein* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 132.

<sup>16</sup> James Fairhall, *James Joyce and the Question of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> Marie Goldmann, "'Sirens' the Musical Chapter of *Ulysses*: Technique and Style," *Studies in the 20th Century English Novel* (1999): p. 30.

<sup>18</sup> Enda Duffy, *The Subaltern Ulysses* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> Derek Attridge, *Peculiar Language: Literature as Difference from the Renaissance to James Joyce* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 160.

<sup>20</sup> David Pierce, "Joyce's Use of Language in 'Sirens,'" *Joyce and Company* (London and New York: Continuum, 2006), p. 116.



below. The second voice provides the “answer” to the subject and creates counterpoint between the two voices. If the counterpoint takes the shape of a definite theme that is used throughout the course of the fugue, it becomes the countersubject, which is usually in double counterpoint with the subject until it moves to a cadence. The complete statement of subjects and answers by all the voices is called the ‘exposition.’ Occasionally, in order to establish more firmly the subject, the composer will add extra entries of the subject that constitute the counter-exposition. Once the tonic key and the subject voice are sufficiently established, most fugues continue on to a middle section that develops and explores different related keys. The episodes in the middle section are usually founded on the main subject or countersubject and are interspersed with entries of the subject in various new guises. This process creates a musical labyrinth of polarised voices, causing tensions that *must* be resolved. *Grove’s Dictionary* puts it well stating that “after the wanderings of the middle section there follows a natural desire for home.”<sup>21</sup> This return to the tonic key is the climax of the piece where the subject is emphatically re-instated. After the climax there is frequently a coda which often contains a ‘pedal point.’ Because the pedal point is a note usually on the tonic or dominant that is sustained in a lower register while the notes above continue in contrapuntal movement, it provides the stable base that anticipates the final cadence. The fugue is frequently described as an “argument” or “debate” that is settled when the interweaving voices resolve and conclude in the “home” key.

Although Joyce’s narrative weaving and interweaving of voices certainly suggests a kind of contrapuntal structure, Joyce does not seem to provide any obvious clues in the text that would suggest the presence of the different elements of the fugal form. First of all, a

---

<sup>21</sup> *Grove’s Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Eric Blom, vol. III (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1954), p. 519. I am using the 1954 version of *Grove’s Dictionary* because the wording is more useful for my purposes. At the twentieth James Joyce Symposium in Budapest, 2006, Susan Brown argued that the 1906 version of this text was what Joyce used as his source for the fugue in ‘Sirens’.



traditional fugue does not necessarily have eight regular parts, and secondly, Joyce incorporates an overture into the chapter, which is certainly *not* an element of the fugue. Finally, by suggesting eight regular parts, it seems that Joyce was thinking of the more advanced fugue in the style of Bach, yet he uses the term *fuga per canonem*, which is the name for the contrapuntal style often used in the Renaissance that consists of a simple canon and fugue. Consequently, the hunt for the fugue in ‘Sirens’ has long been a subject of speculation, and such attempts seem to have begun in the 1930s when Stuart Gilbert argued that the different characters correspond to the different musical parts:

The various themes are introduced in the fugal manner: the first, the *Subject*, is obviously the Sirens’ song; the *Answer*, Mr Bloom’s entry and monologue; Boylan is the *Counter-Subject*. The *Episodes* or *Divertimenti* are the songs by Mr Dedalus and Ben Dollard. The Episodes, Subject, Answer, and Counter-Subject are often bound together contrapuntally in the narrative or in the texture of Mr Bloom’s monologue.<sup>22</sup>

A similar conception of the fugue was later taken up by Anthony Burgess in the 1970s, as he also saw the voices corresponding to the different characters in the episode:

It turns out that the Sirens themselves represent the fugal subject—the theme on which the whole fugue is based—and that Bloom represents the answer, which is technically the subject re-stated in another voice, a fifth higher or a fourth lower. Blazes Boylan, who is on his way to commit adultery with Bloom’s wife, stands for the counter-subject—the contrapuntal accompaniment to the answer and, from then on, to every re-statement of the subject.<sup>23</sup>

While Gilbert and Burgess see the fugue working in the body of the chapter, others have

---

<sup>22</sup> Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce’s Ulysses* (London: Peregrine, 1969), p. 221. On pages 223-224, Gilbert provides many examples of the “hundreds” of musical forms Joyce successfully produces in language.

<sup>23</sup> Anthony Burgess, *Joysprick: An Introduction to the Language of James Joyce* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1973), p. 84. On pages 84-85 Burgess insinuates that Joyce could have been more ‘musical’ by giving Mina Kennedy and Lydia Douce names with more “musical notes.” Because the notes in their combined full names consist of AEEDDADCE, he believes that Bloom’s name should consist of EAAAAEAGB to provide the necessary counterpoint between the voices. However, it is not possible to find the proper notes in Bloom, Henry Flower or Virag.



deciphered the fugue within the overture. For instance Heath Lees argues that the exposition begins with the word “Bronze” and ends with “Goodbye.” Likewise, the words and phrases from “jingle” to “protruding” make up the middle section and “Bronzelydia” to “Begin” the closing section.<sup>24</sup> The “Done” of the overture is a return to the tonic key.<sup>25</sup> Margaret Rogers also sees the overture as the location for the fugue and states that Joyce gave musical clues to his “hidden fugue”<sup>26</sup> by encoding notes from the letters within the words. This is a process much like the sixteenth-century compositional style called *soggetto cavato*. In this style, composers derived their notes from a given phrase by using the corresponding Guidonian solmisation syllables (*ut re mi fa sol la*) that coincide with the letters within the phrase.<sup>27</sup> Literally carving notes out of Joyce’s words, Rogers uses a *soggetto cavato* style in her evaluation of ‘Sirens,’ and finds the four chords that predominate in the opening sixty-three lines: “They are (in order of frequency) *ace*, present in forty-seven lines, *egb*, in forty lines, *dfa*, in twenty-nine lines, and *gbd*, in twenty-six.” The corresponding keys to these chords are “A minor, E minor, D minor and G major.”<sup>28</sup>

While all of these critics have engaged in a vigorous attempt to decode the fugue in ‘Sirens,’ there is another strain of thought that rejects Joyce’s claim to have written a fugue but does concede that the chapter is highly musical. For instance, Zack Bowen states that ‘Sirens’ is not a fugue but a “medley or chronicle of the musical themes of *Ulysses*, just as the overture was a medley of the themes for the chapter.”<sup>29</sup> Music is more likely a means through which Joyce emphasises “sound devices” such as “phrase repetition, alliteration, and

---

<sup>24</sup> Heath Lees, “The Introduction to ‘Sirens’ and the Fuga Per Canonem,” *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 22.No. 1 (1984): p. 44. Lees also provides a table of correspondences where he delineates the appearance of the 1st and 2nd subject, the counter subject, and the freely devised material on p. 53 of his essay.

<sup>25</sup> Lees, “The Introduction to ‘Sirens’ and the Fuga Per Canonem,” p. 52.

<sup>26</sup> Margaret Rogers, “Mining the Ore of ‘Sirens’: An Investigation of Structural Components,” *Bronze by Gold*, ed. Sebastian Knowles (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), p. 267.

<sup>27</sup> Rogers, “Mining the Ore of ‘Sirens,’” p. 267.

<sup>28</sup> Rogers, “Mining the Ore of ‘Sirens,’” pp. 265-66.

<sup>29</sup> Zack Bowen, *Bloom’s Old Sweet Song: Essays on Joyce and Music* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), p. 28.



onomatopoeia, which are more poetic and hence more musical than they are prosaic.”<sup>30</sup> Bowen is joined in his rejection of the fugal reading by Sebastian Knowles who states that the *fuga per canonem* model is, like the mythical Odyssean model for the book, “more fanciful than functional.”<sup>31</sup> As a substitute for the fugal theory, Knowles states that Joyce’s “eight regular parts” can be found in what he calls the “‘Sirens’ Octet.”<sup>32</sup> This octet is an example of how Joyce uses “narrative voicing” rather than “fugal form.”<sup>33</sup> Finally, Bucknell also denies that Joyce could have written a musical fugue, but he does see an element of counterpoint within the text that represents “the goings on in various narrative spaces within the Ormond bar and across Dublin as Blazes Boylan makes his way to Molly Bloom” and that the “‘musicality’ of the writing exists in Joyce’s method of parodying musical poetic expressivity.”<sup>34</sup> For these critics, even though Joyce’s work is not fugal, there is still a sense in which the episode achieves some kind of harmony.

Importantly, however, there are other critics who are skeptical about this harmony and believe ‘Sirens’ is actually quite a dissonant chapter. For Ruth Bauerle, the many voices at the Ormond bar are “frequently discordant”<sup>35</sup> and according to Len Platt, Joyce produces “no Celtic note or ‘music of the spheres,’ but rather a series of inane and discordant repetitions.”<sup>36</sup> In a similar vein, Andrew Gibson writes that Joyce’s dissonant style is another aspect of his revenge on colonial power: “The result is dissonance, a host of clashing sounds. Where the revivalists dreamt of an unreal harmony, Joyce insists on cacophony, on

---

<sup>30</sup> Bowen, *Bloom's Old Sweet Song*, p. 17.

<sup>31</sup> Sebastian Knowles, *The Dublin Helix: The Life and Language in Joyce's Ulysses* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), p. 447.

<sup>32</sup> See Knowles, *The Dublin Helix*, p. 103. These parts comprise Soprano I and II, Alto I and II, Tenor I and II and Bass I and II.

<sup>33</sup> Knowles, *The Dublin Helix*, p. 86.

<sup>34</sup> Bucknell, *Literary Modernism and Musical Aesthetics*, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Ruth Bauerle, ed., *The James Joyce Songbook* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1982), p. 366.

<sup>36</sup> Len Platt, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish: A Study of Joyce and the Literary Revival* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998), p. 140.



radical discord.”<sup>37</sup> Also, Daniel Melnick, whose argument pertains to ‘Sirens’ and also to *Ulysses* as a whole, claims that “Joycean dissonance,”<sup>38</sup> or the “dissonant power of *Ulysses*”<sup>39</sup> is one of the most important aspects of Joyce’s compositional style. Finally, David Herman goes as far as to suggest that Joyce was not creating a fugue in a tonal sense, but was emulating a fugue in the style of Schoenberg. Herman is referring specifically to Schoenberg’s twelve-tone method which he believes to be the structure of the chapter as a whole.<sup>40</sup> When Schoenberg made his break with tonality in 1907, he began composing free atonal music that did not have an overall organising structure to hold the piece together. However, after the loss of tonality, Schoenberg began to feel that music needed a new structure of order so he devised the twelve tone method, a system based on a serial ordering of the twelve chromatic pitches in the scale into a “tone row” which serves as the basis for all the pitches in the composition. The row can be reversed or inverted or both reversed and inverted, but the composer must retain its basic structure. As is stated in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, “The row thus represents an abstract structure that is fleshed out in the actual music.”<sup>41</sup> By arguing that ‘Sirens’ is more in line with Schoenberg’s twelve-tone compositions, Herman is not necessarily disregarding Joyce’s fugal claims. Many modern composers experimented with the contrapuntal aspects of the fugue within a twelve-tone context. For instance, Schoenberg’s Five Piano Pieces, Opus 23, Number 3 is often compared with a fugue, as is Webern’s last movement of the String Quartet Opus 28. One of the most famous examples is the fantasia and fugue which occurs in Act II, scene 3 of Alban Berg’s *Woyzeck*. Because “fugal” polyphony is possible in a twelve tone context, Herman

---

<sup>37</sup> Andrew Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 106.

<sup>38</sup> Daniel C. Melnick, *Fullness of Dissonance: Modern Fiction and the Aesthetics of Music* (Toronto: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994), p. 104.

<sup>39</sup> Melnick, *Fullness of Dissonance*, p. 122.

<sup>40</sup> David Herman, "'Sirens' after Schonberg," *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 31.No. 4 (Summer 1994).

<sup>41</sup> Don Michael Randel, ed., *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 887.



implies that the opening sequence or the 'overture' of 'Sirens' may be compared to a twelve tone row which is "fleshed out" in the body of the chapter.<sup>42</sup> In response to Herman's argument, Bucknell presents an important consideration for situating 'Sirens' within a twelve tone context. This is the simple fact that Schoenberg's Five Piano Pieces, opus 23, 24, and 25 composed in 1923 were his first twelve tone compositions, and these pieces were not performed until four years after 'Sirens' was completed.<sup>43</sup> Bucknell grants that Herman may have been referring to historical proximity and not necessarily arguing for direct influence from Schoenberg to Joyce, but regardless, according to Bucknell, any compositional similarities between twelve tone music and 'Sirens' must be coincidental.

It is perhaps the case that trying to locate the twelve tones in 'Sirens' is as controversial as trying to find the eight regular parts that Joyce claimed to have composed. However, the fact that 'Sirens' has been seriously evaluated as a work of harmony on the one hand, and dissonance on the other *is* highly significant. It seems likely that one of the reasons that so much thought and scholarship has been invested in the discovery of Joyce's fugue is bound up in the importance of 'Sirens' as a significant moment of transition for Joyce. Generally speaking, the debate between harmony and dissonance falls in line with the debate as to whether 'Sirens' is of the initial or later style. The arguments that 'Sirens' fits in with the "initial style" are more in line with those who believe that Joyce was writing in a tonal context, whether it be a fugue, *soggetto cavato*, or simply a work which resolves into consonance. On the other hand, critics who emphasise the innovative aspects of 'Sirens' are more in line with those who focus on the atonality or the dissonance of the episode.

In other words, Joyce, on the cusp between the "initial style" and the later style, between harmony and dissonance, creates in 'Sirens' a work that does not seem to be fully

---

<sup>42</sup> Herman, "'Sirens' after Schonberg," p. 484.

<sup>43</sup> Bucknell, *Literary Modernism and Musical Aesthetics*, p. 128.



appropriate in either camp. In light of this, it is worth noting that at the time when Joyce was writing 'Sirens,' he was also showing a keen interest in both tonal and atonal contrapuntal styles. In his autobiography, Otto Luening, a composer and a friend of Joyce's, recalls many conversations that he had with Joyce about music at the Pfauen in Zurich. According to Luening, he and Joyce began meeting in October 1918, at the time when he was still working on 'Sirens.' During these meetings, Joyce began questioning him more and more about music. Luening recalls a certain conversation when Joyce asked him who he thought were the greatest composers. Joyce told Luening that for him "there were only two composers. One is Palestrina and the other is Schoenberg."<sup>44</sup> By naming these two composers together, it seems that Joyce was aware of their similarities as composers who both had an interest in the strict treatment of dissonance within polyphony or counterpoint. In the latter half of the sixteenth-century, the fugue known as a "fuga per canonem," consisted of two kinds of fugue: the limited fugue, which was simply a strict canon, and an unlimited fugue which started with a canon but also contained free passages and points of imitation. The 'school of Palestrina' cultivated the unlimited fugue to its most developed form, but at the same time, Palestrina's work did not go beyond what the rules prescribed for the unlimited canon. Even though some of his contemporaries were taking more liberties with dissonance and employing more chromatic notes in their compositions, (and these methods helped to establish dominant key centres), Palestrina remained steadfast in his use of the traditional methods of treating dissonance.<sup>45</sup> One of the great benefits of Palestrina's conservatism is that when Pope Marcellus was threatening to remove music from the liturgy because the innovative methods of composition were obscuring the intelligibility of the text, Palestrina

---

<sup>44</sup> Otto Luening, *The Odyssey of an American Composer: The Autobiography of Otto Luening* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), pp. 193-4.

<sup>45</sup> Jeppesen Knud, *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970), p. 30.



was able to compose music within the requirements of the church, ensuring that the text was made more prominent than the music. As Joyce admiringly said to Budgen, in writing the Mass for Pope Marcellus, Palestrina, “With that great effort, consciously made” had “saved music for the church.”<sup>46</sup> It is well known that Palestrina’s style was the springboard for the fugal form that emerged in the eighteenth-century when this strict treatment of dissonance was taken to a new and more complicated level by J.S. Bach.

If Palestrina is famous for his strict treatment of dissonance in the contrapuntal context of harmony, Schoenberg is famous for his strict treatment of dissonance in the contrapuntal context of dissonance. Luening admits that he was surprised by Joyce’s approval of Schoenberg as he could not think of a time when Schoenberg had been performed in Zurich. He concludes that Joyce must have been exposed to his work through Philip Jarnach, another contemporary composer. Although Schoenberg did not publish compositions using the twelve-tone method until 1923, he began experimenting with the technique as early as 1917, and it is possible that the composers Joyce was friendly with were already familiar with the method when Joyce was still living in Zurich. What is certain is that Joyce was well informed about the latest musical innovations from his discussions with composers such as Luening and Jarnach. For instance, Luening recalls having to explain that in his First String Quartet, there were “intricate kinds of canonical passages, in retrograde or in retrograde inversions” and writes that these fugal techniques had been used for centuries but had been taken to a new level through dissonance by contemporary composers, such as Schoenberg.<sup>47</sup> Luening is referring specifically to the twelve-tone technique, as retrograde is a backward presentation of the tone row from the last note of the row to the first, whereas a retrograde inversion is an inversion of the tone row presented from its last note to its first.

---

<sup>46</sup> Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 187.

<sup>47</sup> Luening, *The Odyssey of an American Composer*, pp. 196-97.



Luening states that Joyce “seemed fascinated as he heard about the application in my quartet” and that he was obliged to explain these techniques to Joyce at length.<sup>48</sup> Luening also makes the important point that Joyce’s preferences in music and his “intellectualizing about counterpoint” were two very different aspects of his personality.<sup>49</sup> On the one hand, Joyce loved composers such as Donizetti, Bellini, Puccini and Verdi, but on the other hand, it is apparent that he was intrigued by the innovations of contemporary composition and felt that composers such as Schoenberg, Luening and Jarnach were making significant contributions to modern art.<sup>50</sup>

It has often been argued that Joyce did not have the skills to be able to understand music in a technical way as he did not have the ability to read notes at sight. It is probably the case that he was not proficient in the particulars of music, but from the accounts of his friends, it is evident that he understood the forms of music in a more broad and conceptual way, and it seems that he did have good understanding of the innovations of modern music and of the breakdown of tonality. Joyce’s interest in counterpoint, in both a tonal and an atonal sense, may have had some effect on the final product of ‘Sirens’ which seems to be on the cusp between harmony and dissonance. The fact that Joyce was interested in the treatment of dissonance by Palestrina and Schoenberg is also significant in that Joyce seemed to have dissonance on his mind at this time and was perhaps thinking about how to treat dissonance within his own rendering of the fugal form. It is likely that all of these influences have something to do with the fact that at the same time Joyce claims to have written his chapter in a traditional fugal form, he also describes the homeless wandering of his readers, suggesting that the chapter is lacking in the kind of stable home-like centre that a tonal fugue *must* have.

---

<sup>48</sup> Luening, *The Odyssey of an American Composer*, pp. 196-7.

<sup>49</sup> Luening, *The Odyssey of an American Composer*, p. 197.

<sup>50</sup> See also Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 430.



## II. The “Condition of Music”

At least some of the fugal ambiguity has been elucidated now that several manuscripts, which were previously in possession of Mr. and Mrs. Alexis Leon, were acquired on 30 May 2002 by the National Library of Ireland.<sup>51</sup> The manuscripts in this collection include what Daniel Ferrer calls the undated “fugueless” draft of ‘Sirens,’ which was written in the same notebook as an early ‘Proteus’ draft,<sup>52</sup> and the undated “*fuga per canonem*”<sup>53</sup> draft, which contains Joyce’s conception of the eight regular parts that he describes in his letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver.<sup>54</sup> The list on the cover of the *fuga per canonem* draft includes “soggetto” which is the subject; “contrasoggetto,” the countersubject; “sogetto + contrasoggetto in contrapunto,” a contrapuntal combination of subject and countersubject; “esposizione,” the exposition; “contraesposizione,” the counter-exposition; “tela contrappuntistica,” a web-like form of counterpoint; “stretto maestrale,” or a ‘masterly stretto’ in which all the voices imitate the subject without any modification; and finally “pedale,” which is the pedal point occurring in a coda section.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Alexis Leon is the son of Paul and Lucie Leon, who were Joyce’s friends in Paris. The National Library of Ireland announced the purchase of these manuscripts 30 May 2002. Photographic images of them were made available to readers on PC in April 2003.

<sup>52</sup> See Daniel Ferrer, “What Song the Sirens Sang...Is No Longer Beyond All Conjecture: A Preliminary Description of the New ‘Proteus’ and ‘Sirens’ Manuscripts,” *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 39.No. 1 (Fall 2001) and Michael Groden, “The National Library of Ireland’s New Joyce Manuscripts: A Statement and Document Descriptions,” *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 39.No. 1 (Fall 2001). The question of whether the ‘Proteus’ draft and the ‘Sirens’ draft were written at the same time is undetermined. On page 40 of his essay, Groden speculates that this copybook dates to the early years of the composition of *Ulysses*. According to Groden, the ‘Proteus’ section could be from 1917 or earlier, and the ‘Sirens’ section could have been drafted in 1917 but was certainly not drafted later than the spring of 1919.

<sup>53</sup> The *fuga per canonem* copybook has now been shown to be the missing first half of the manuscript of ‘Sirens’ held in Buffalo (Buffalo V.A.5). See Ferrer, “What Song the Sirens Sang...Is No Longer Beyond All Conjecture,” p. 62.

<sup>54</sup> Groden calls the first draft of ‘Sirens’ the “‘Proteus’- ‘Sirens’” copybook (p. 40) and the second draft, the “‘Sirens’ copybook” (p. 43). Groden also believes that the “‘Sirens’ copybook” is still pre-fugal. Ferrer calls the first draft the “fugueless” draft (p. 63) and the second draft the “*fuga per canonem* copybook” (p. 62). I agree with Ferrer who insinuates that the “*fuga per canonem* copybook” or the “fugal National Library of Ireland + Buffalo draft” (p. 63) is Joyce’s first attempt at creating a fugue.

<sup>55</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/9/front cover.



From this manuscript, critics now know the exact fugal form that Joyce had in mind, and it is apparent that that he conceived of this fugue in the traditional style of Bach. However, the draft still does not provide any clues regarding how these parts function within the published episode. One of the most interesting aspects of this list is that some of the parts that Joyce enumerates are not necessarily required in a fugue, but can be added in order to establish more solidly the dominance of the subject or the stability of the tonic key. For instance, Joyce includes a counter-exposition, which is a section that is added after the exposition if the composer wishes to emphasise the subject again before it is contradicted by other voices and different keys in the middle of the fugue. A “stretto maestrale” is also not a requirement in a fugue. The subject always makes a final entry towards the end of the piece, but a “stretto maestrale,” a section where the subject appears in all the voices and in close overlapping entries, is one of the most climactic ways to re-instate the subject. Joyce also indicates the presence of a pedal point, which is a note on the tonic or dominant that is sustained below the contrapuntal movement of the upper voices as the piece is coming to a close. It provides a stable bass note that anticipates the final cadence when the wandering voices resolve into the tonic chord. Judging from the contents of Joyce’s eight regular parts, it seems that his intention, at least at the start of the second draft was to create a form for the chapter that would emphasise tonal stability and a formulaic preparation and resolution of dissonances. However, in the final text, Joyce does not give his readers the equivalent to the stable subject voice in a fugue, or the sense that all the dissonances have been resolved.

One of the most intriguing unresolved dissonances within the chapter is that instead of creating a Paterian “condition of music” where matter and form are merged—something that was probably on his mind, considering the great influence that Pater had on Joyce—it seems that the content of the chapter keeps coming into conflict with the fugal form. For instance, Joyce does not provide the stability of the tonic chord, but instead emphasises a



“lost chord”: “Quavering the chords strayed from the air, found it again, lost chord, and lost and found it faltering” (U, 11.407-11.408), and “He wandered back to the bar to the lost chord pipe” (U, 11.478). Don Gifford notes that these allusions refer to the song *The Lost Chord*, which describes a chord of perfect heavenly harmony that is lost and never to be recovered again amid the “discordant life” on earth.<sup>56</sup> Throughout the chapter, many “lost chords” subtly appear, even in the characters of Mina Kennedy and Lydia Douce. Although Don Gifford states that the references to “Bronze” and “Gold” are Homeric allusions,<sup>57</sup> it could also be the case that Joyce is beginning the chapter with tinge of pre-colonial Irish history by making the opening lines a reference to the Bronze Age of Ireland when Celtic artwork in bronze and gold flourished. As the viceregal hoofs immediately establish imperial presence, Joyce brings attention to a very particular “lost chord” in Irish history. Scholars have noted that the barmaids’ names could be linked to the musical modes. For instance, Lydia Douce’s name could be a reference to the Lydian mode and since Joyce is adamant about Mina Kennedy’s “sadness” (U, 11.80-11.84), her name could appropriately be a reference to the Minor mode.<sup>58</sup> Joyce seems to be playing on Joseph Cooper Walker’s contention that the “sprightly Phrygian” mode gave way to the “soft Lydian measure” with the invasion of the English, and the general notion that colonisation is the cause for the transformation of Irish music from the ‘happy’ major chords to the ‘sad’ minor chords. If Ireland ‘suffered’ the loss of the major chord, “Bronze by Gold” (U, 11.1) becomes “Bronzelydia by Minagold” (U, 11.48), or soft Lydian by sad Minor. Furthermore, that Joyce adds a blind piano tuner into the text is reminiscent of the few blind harpers who

---

<sup>56</sup> Don Gifford, *Ulysses Annotated: Notes for James Joyce's Ulysses*, revised and expanded 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 299.

<sup>57</sup> Gifford, *Ulysses Annotated*, p. 290.

<sup>58</sup> Margaret Rogers states that since the Aeolian mode is a minor mode, “It is no accident the Lydia, the Lydian mode, is ever so convivial and Miss Mina, the Aeolian mode, is wistful” in Rogers, “Mining the Ore of ‘Sirens,’” p. 269.



performed in the 1792 Belfast Harp Festival.<sup>59</sup> Joyce's depiction of him as a 'tuner' is also significant considering that the Festival, seen in a nationalistic light, was meant to be a means through which patriots could 'restring' and 'retune' the harp of Ireland. However, at the Festival, the airs were translated from modal to tonal form, from harp to piano, and with the loss of the Irish language texts that accompanied these airs, many of the 'chords' of Irish music were lost. In that case, it is appropriate that when Simon looks in to see the newly tuned piano strings he is described as gazing "in the coffin" (U, 11.291).

In many respects, 'Sirens' is an episode about loss, and several phases throughout fortify this theme: "Lost. Throstle fluted. All is lost now" (U, 11.22), "*All is lost now*" (U, 11.629), "All lost now. Mournful he whistled. Fall surrender, lost." (11.635-11.636), "Yes: all is lost." (U.11.641), "Thou lost one. All songs on that theme." (11.802). Importantly, the episode takes place at the moment Bloom experiences loss in Molly's affair with Boylan, and Joyce makes this event coincide with many other memories of cultural loss. The presence of colonial power is manifested in the viceregal procession and in the reference to "Big Ben" (U, 11.53), which brings to mind the 'imperial' clock. The cultural history of loss surfaces in *The Croppy Boy* allusions which evoke the 1798 rebellion: "All gone. All fallen. At the siege of Ross his father, at Gorey all his brothers fell." (U, 11.1063-11.1064), and "All lost in pity for croppy" (U.11.1113). Robert Emmet's last words in the overture and at the end of the episode bring to mind the 1803 rebellion. Even the allusions to the famine surface as Bloom hears the minuet of *Don Giovanni*: "Court dresses of all descriptions in castle chambers dancing. Misery. Peasants outside. Green starving faces eating dockleaves" (U, 11.966-11.967). Finally, Bloom thinks: "Who fears to speak of nineteen four?" (U, 11.1072-11.1073), combining the song, "Who fears to speak of ninety-eight" with "four," the present

---

<sup>59</sup> For a discussion of the similarities between the blind piano tuner and Stephen see Helen R. Whaley, "The Role of the Blind Piano Tuner in Joyce's *Ulysses*," *Modern Fiction Studies* Vol. 16.No. 4 (Winter 1970-71).



hour in the text and the meeting time for Blazes and Molly.

The prevalent theme of loss is quite incongruent with the wholeness of harmony, and furthermore, while the fugal composition requires a stable departure and resolution into the home key, Joyce persistently undermines this traditional sense of stability, showing that 'home' is a place of disruption instead of resolution. Bloom is haunted by Martha Clifford's question: "Are you not happy in your home?" (U, 11.296-11.297). It seems that Bloom's knowledge of the eminent events within his home make it difficult for him to repeat Martha's question in its entirety: "Yet too much happy bores. He stretched more, more. Are you not happy in your? Twang. It snapped" (U, 11.810-11.811). Images of Ireland as "home" surface as well during the singing of *The Croppy Boy*: "Ireland comes now. My country above the king." (U, 11.1072). Yet the voice of "Big Ben" recalls the usurpation of the "home" (U, 11.1016): "I hold this house. Amen. He gnashed in fury. Traitors swing" (U, 11.1120). With these images of 'home' in mind, Joyce seems to be alluding to the nationalist idea of waiting for nationhood, or waiting for Ireland to be ruled 'at home,' and likewise, in 'Sirens' one of the most prevalent themes is that of waiting: "Wait, wait. Pat, waiter, waited" (U, 11.393), "Pat, waiter, waited, waiting to hear, for he was hard of hear by the door" (U, 11.671-11.672), "Wisdom while you wait" (U, 11.904-11.906), "Deaf wait while they wait" (U, 11.1004). However, Joyce does not provide a resolution to this wait throughout the work, even with the final "Done" which comes from Robert Emmet's speech from the dock. By incorporating this *particular* "Done," Joyce uses one of the most resolute words in the English language to evoke one of the most unresolved ambitions in Irish history. This return to the "home key" only evokes a 'home' that is not resolved into nationhood, and an epitaph that still has not been written.

Importantly, this tension between the form and the content in 'Sirens' is something that develops over the course of the composition of the chapter. The most interesting



elements of the “fugueless” draft are the absence of Bloom on the one hand and the obvious simplicity of the language on the other. Ferrer makes an excellent point when he states that the “fugueless” draft is an “apparent regression”<sup>60</sup> in Joyce’s style and it seems to have more in common with *Dubliners*, than with the “initial style” of *Ulysses*, not to mention the innovative styles of Joyce’s later chapters.<sup>61</sup> The other curious aspect of the “fugueless” draft is that it is devoid of the many references to cultural history that are so prevalent in the published text of ‘Sirens.’ However, when the narration breaks off at the point when Ben Dollard begins to sing *Love and War*, there are several pages of notes that Joyce later filters into the *fuga per canonem* draft; some of which pertain to Bloom’s memories of Molly, Robert Emmet’s speech from the dock, and the singing of “The Croppy Boy.” It is not until these notes are incorporated into the *fuga per canonem* draft, and Bloom is added to the episode that references to both personal and cultural memory become central to the chapter. Two of the most important themes that become increasingly more prevalent with each draft are the themes of waiting and loss. The theme of waiting hardly makes an appearance in the fugueless draft, but the word “wait” appears about thirty times in the *fuga per canonem* draft and about fifty times in the published text. The same can be said for the many repetitions of the word “loss.” Again, loss does not play a big role in the fugueless draft. One of the notes that Joyce includes after the narration of the draft cuts off is a passage about Simon’s rendition of *M’appari* and the phrase “co-ome thou lost one”<sup>62</sup> appears in the text. In the *fuga per canonem* draft, Joyce elaborates on the theme of loss, and in the published text, loss is the dominant theme. One other interesting development with regard to the issue of loss is

---

<sup>60</sup> Ferrer, "What Song the Sirens Sang...Is No Longer Beyond All Conjecture," p. 58.

<sup>61</sup> Ferrer, "What Song the Sirens Sang...Is No Longer Beyond All Conjecture," p. 58. Also see page 54. Ferrer states that when he first read the “fugueless” draft, he thought it could be a series of epiphanies or an unpublished story for *Dubliners* that was recycled into ‘Sirens.’ However, with further study he realised that it was indeed a first draft of the episode.

<sup>62</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/7A/20.



that Joyce actually sets the chapter at half three in the “fugueless” draft:

A clockface clacked (.....)  
—Half three, is it? He said looking among the gaudy reflections  
—That clock’s fast, Lenehan said. Isn’t it, Miss Douse?  
Fivepence, Miss Douse said demurely handing back change<sup>63</sup>

Joyce changes the time to four o’clock in the *fuga per canonem* draft, which ensures that this chapter which is centred around loss will coincide with Bloom’s personal loss.

With these developments regarding the historical content of the chapter in mind, there are also significant developments with regard to Joyce’s rendition of the fugal form. It seems that as Joyce becomes more determined to use the fugal form, the chapter becomes more and more disruptive and dissonant with each draft. Harking back to the debate regarding the turning point of the book, many of these dissonances and disruptions can be attributed to an “arranging presence.” For instance, Joyce’s description of the rude boots is very simple in the “fugueless” draft:

The boots came across from the hall  
and laid his tray on the counter.  
—There’s your teas, he said<sup>64</sup>

With the addition of the words “plunked” and “chattering,” Joyce increases the level of ‘noise’ in the *fuga per canonem* draft:

The boots came down the hall and  
plunked on the counter his tray of chattering china  
—There’s your teas he said.<sup>65</sup>

In the published version, the “arranger’s” presence is made more evident with the invasive

---

<sup>63</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/7A/17. In the “fugueless” draft, Joyce spells Lydia Douce’s name as “Douse.” It becomes “Douce” in the *fuga per canonem* draft.

<sup>64</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/7A/10.

<sup>65</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/9/1.



repetition of the word “them”:

The boots to them, them in the bar, them barmaids came. For them unheeding him he banged on the counter his tray of chattering china. And —There’s your teas, he said (U, 11.89-11.91)

In another interesting compositional development, Bloom’s approach to the Ormond bar is completely absent and the narration is without any disruptions in the “fugueless” draft:

He fingered tobacco into the bowl  
nodding as his drink was set before  
him. Miss Douse began to polish a glass humming:  
—*O, Idolores, queen of the eastern sea*  
—Was Mr Lidwell in today?  
Lenehan entered the bar and  
looked about him.<sup>66</sup>

In the *fuga per canonem* draft, Joyce adds Bloom’s inner monologue to the episode, but there is still very little disruption from the “arranger.”

He fingered (.....) cut into her  
book nodding as she set his drink  
before him. Miss Douce polishing a glass trilled:  
—*O, Idolores, queen of the eastern sea*  
—Was Mr Lidwell in today?  
In came Lenehan. Round  
him looked Lenehan. Mr Bloom reached  
Essex bridge. Mr. Bloom crossed Essex bridge of  
Bloom. To Martha I must. Paper buy. Daly’s. The  
girl there. Civil. Old Bloom. Blue bloom  
is on the rye.<sup>67</sup>

Again, the presence of the “arranger” is evident in the published text because instead of just explaining that Simon nods as Miss Douce gives him a drink, the “arranger” creates many

---

<sup>66</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36,639/7A/14.

<sup>67</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/9/5. Joyce incorporates the phrases “Must be a great tonic in the air down there in the o zone” and “To Martha I must. Paper buy. Daly’s. The girl there. Civil” as side notes. In the manuscript, he indicates where these notes are to appear in the text.



distortions of language:

Yes. He fingered shreds of hair, her maidenhair, her mermaid's into the bowl. Chips. Shreds. Musing. Mute.

None nought said nothing. Yes.

Gaily miss Douce polished a tumbler, trilling:

—O, *Idolores, queen of the eastern seas!*

—Was Mr Lidwell in today?

In came Lenehan. Round him peered Lenehan. Mr Bloom reached Essex bridge. Yes, Mr Bloom crossed bridge of Yessex. To Martha I must write. Buy paper. Daly's. Girl there civil. Bloom. Old Bloom. Blue bloom is on the rye (U, 11.219-11.231).

Something similar happens with Simon's approach to the piano. In the "fugueless" draft, Simon simply "strayed off towards the open saloon door."<sup>68</sup> In the *fuga per canonem* draft Joyce writes that "He strayed away"<sup>69</sup> and continues with the narrative. However, there is a side note regarding Simon's actions: "Mr. Dedalus holding the piano open, gazed in the coffin at the oblique triple strings, and pressed a triple of keys, to see the muffled hammer fall."<sup>70</sup> The final version is playfully modified by the "arranger's" exclamations, questions, and parenthetical explanations:

Upholding the lid he (who?) gazed in the coffin (coffin?) at the oblique triple (piano!) wires. He pressed (the same who pressed indulgently her hand), soft pedalling, a triple of keys to see the thickness of felt advancing, to hear the muffled hammerfall in action" (U.11.291-11.294).

The narration of the "fugueless" draft breaks off at the moment when Ben Dollard begins to sing *Love and War*. However, there are several developments just from the *fuga per canonem* draft to the published text that are also worth noting. For instance, the simple phrase "Father Cowley's face blushed and his purple lobes"<sup>71</sup> becomes a more 'dissonant'

<sup>68</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/7A/15.

<sup>69</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/9/7.

<sup>70</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/9/7.

<sup>71</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS 36, 639/9/13.



phrase with unresolved words: "Father Cowley blushed to his brilliant purple lobes. He saved the situa. Tight trou. Brilliant ide." (U, 11.483-11.484). Bloom's thoughts on Molly are again fragmented from the less complex passage of the "*fuga per canonem*" draft which contains the line: "Outtohelloutofthat. Human life that is. Dignam and I. And one day, she with. Suffer then. Snivel. Big eyes looking at nothing. Hair uncombed."<sup>72</sup> This is developed into:

Outtohelloutofthat. Human life. Dignam. Ugh, that rat's tail wriggling!  
Five bob I gave. *Corpus paradisum*. Corncrake croaker: belly like a  
poisoned pup. Gone. They sing. Forgotten. I too. And one day she with.  
Leave her: get tired. Suffer then. Snivel. Big spanishy eyes googling at  
nothing. Her wavyavyeavyheavyeavyevyevyhair un comb:'d" (U,  
11.804-11.809).

Finally, one of the latest additions to the disruptions of the episode are the taps of the blind piano tuner as he makes his way back to the Ormond bar to collect the tuning fork that he had forgotten. These taps only appear in the published text and if the blind piano tuner is in any way meant to evoke the blind harpers of 1792, these taps are a final 'disruptive' element added at a late stage in the text, and are charged with a link to an important loss in Irish history.

Although it is fairly typical of Joyce to start simply and create complications with each draft, the extent to which Joyce goes with these complications in the final text of 'Sirens' is especially significant considering that he was moving into the latter stage of *Ulysses*. From the compositional development of the chapter, it seems that Joyce could not take the many references to unresolved history that make up the content and present them in a form that requires the resolution of these dissonances. Joyce was almost working against

---

<sup>72</sup> When the "*fuga per canonem*" draft cuts off, the remainder of the draft can be found in the *James Joyce Archive*, gen. ed. Michael Groden, Hans Walter Gabler, David Hayman, A. Walton Litz and Danis Rose, *Ulysses: 'Wandering Rocks,' 'Sirens,' 'Cyclops,' & 'Nausicaa, A Facsimile of Manuscripts & Typescripts for Episodes 10-13*, vol. 13 (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1977), V.A.5-1.



himself to create a tonal fugue; however, as history takes center stage, as loss becomes the main theme of this “musical composition” it is almost as if Joyce had to give way to dissonance in order to come to terms with the past. Instead of a fugue in the tonal sense, ‘Sirens’ becomes a polyphony of memory that is as disruptive as Irish history. In light of all this, I would argue that Joyce’s war between the fugal form and the dissonant historical content is one of the most important components in the transition from the “initial style” to the innovative later styles. The kinds of linguistic liberties that Joyce takes throughout the rest of his career seem to stem from this transitional moment when he engages in an almost violent attempt to make the content fit into this fugal form, all the while subverting the harmony required on every level.

### III. ‘Fugal’ Fall and Flight

It must have been of interest to Joyce that *fuga per canonem* literally means “flight according to rule.” Polyphony has long been associated with flight, or with a certain amount of compositional freedom, and as Theodor Adorno states in *The Philosophy of Modern Music*, “Polyphony is the means best suited for the organization of emancipated music.”<sup>73</sup> Consequently, it is appropriate that Joyce includes many repetitions of words like “high,” “fly,” “soar,” “soared,” “soaring,” “rose,” “leaped,” and “free” throughout the chapter, and also adds a significant moment of ‘flight’ as Simon Dedalus sings *M'appari*:

It soared, a bird, it held its flight, a swift pure cry, soar silver orb it leaped serene, speeding, sustained to come, don't spin it out too long long breath he breath long life, soaring high, high resplendent, aflame, crowned, high in the effulgence symbolic, high of the ethereal bosom, high, of the high

---

<sup>73</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, p. 58.



vast irradiation everywhere all soaring all around about the all, the endlessnessness.... (U, 11.745-11.750)

With such a focus on flight, Stephen's absence from the Ormond bar is keenly felt, as flight is his ultimate goal. However, Stephen would wish to remain in the clouds, whereas Joyce does not. If there is a kind of a musical 'cadence' meaning 'fall' within the chapter, it would occur when Joyce describes the oceanic depths. While one of Stephen's great fears is that he will be dragged into the depths of the past, it is important that in 'Sirens' many of the allusions to the past are portrayed alongside the theme of the "depth of ocean shadow" (U, 11.516). Stephen has already been warned by the Dean in *A Portrait* that these depths are part of the artistic experience: "It is like looking down from the cliffs of Moher into the depths. Many go down into the depths and never come up. Only the trained diver can go down into those depths and explore them and come to the surface again" (P, 163). In 'Sirens' the singing of *The Croppy Boy* brings the reader to these kinds of depths:

But wait. But hear. Chords dark. Lugugubrious. Low. In a cave of the dark middle earth. Embedded ore. Lumpmusic. The voice of dark age, of unlove, earth's fatigue made grave approach, and painful, come from afar, from hoary mountains, called upon good men and true. The priest he sought, with him would he speak a word (U, 11.1005-11.1009).<sup>74</sup>

If Joyce was thinking of the myth of the Sirens who know everything that has happened, it seems appropriate that the 'Sirens' episode is a delving into the sadness of the past. Although Stephen has made progress towards becoming an artist, it seems that he is not yet ready to explore the depths of dissonant memory or abandon his pursuit of harmony entirely. Even when the chaos is swarming around him in 'Circe' he contemplates the structures of music theory as if he is searching for some kind of stability: "The reason is because the

---

<sup>74</sup> For an interesting discussion of the importance of "The Croppy Boy" and Robert Emmet in 'Sirens' see F. L. Radford, "King, Pope, and Hero-Martyr: *Ulysses* and the Nightmare of Irish History," *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 15.No. 4 (Summer 1978).



fundamental and the dominant are separated by the greatest possible interval which....” (U, 15.2103-15.2105). He also alludes to the sense of home or return in music: “(with an effort) Interval which. Is the greatest possible ellipse. Consistent with. The ultimate return. The octave. Which.” (U, 15.2111-15.2112). In other words, he still has not let go of his Orpheus-like hope to sail past the Sirens with the power of his harmony. While Stephen tries to seek solace in the rules of music theory, Bloom, on the other hand, exposes that the laws of music are constricting. For instance, he observes that Father Cowley cannot bear to hear Simon sing *M'appari* in a different key because he has perfect pitch and “Knows whatever note you play” (U, 11.561). Bloom thinks, “Thinking strictly prohibited” and that there is a lot of “Fiddlefaddle about notes” (U, 11.1194-11.1195). Bloom also deconstructs the form of music when he contemplates the movement from an established tonic chord to the development section: “Hard. Begin all right: then hear chords a bit off: feel lost a bit. In and out of sacks, over barrels, through wirefences, obstacle race. Time makes the tune” (U, 11.839-11.841). Instead of having faith in the rules of harmony, as Stephen does, Bloom shows that music is just a kind of “musemathematics” (U, 11.834) that makes people *think* they are “listening to the etherial” (U, 11.835). Bloom’s critique of harmony seems to be an element of Joyce’s more mature and revised opinion towards harmony as well. Only days after the episode’s completion, Joyce said to Georges Borach: “Since exploring the resources and artifices of music and employing them in this chapter, I haven’t cared for music any more. I, the great friend of music, can no longer listen to it. I see through all the tricks and can’t enjoy it any more.”<sup>75</sup> In his letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, dated 20 July 1919, Joyce reiterated his frustrations with music: “Since I wrote *The Sirens* I find it impossible to listen to music of any kind” (*Letters*, I, 129). If Joyce had discovered that the rules of music were somehow constricting, he seems to unleash a kind of freedom from these constraints in

---

<sup>75</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 459.



'Sirens' as he launches into the second half of *Ulysses*.

However, if Joyce does begin to embark on artistic freedom when he composes 'Sirens,' this does not mean that there is an escape from the past. In fact, I would argue that 'Sirens' is also the episode where Joyce allows the book to become 'intensely' historical, in that so many of the disruptions and dissonances that Joyce introduces into the chapter seem to resonate with instances of cultural memory. Joyce's attempt to put this historical content in a 'freeing' form is what I would argue, his first attempt to present holding on to history on the one hand, and a liberation from the nightmare of history on the other. Enda Duffy makes the important point that 'Sirens' was composed in 1919, the same year of the War of Independence which led to the founding of the Irish Free State. Duffy states that "As the city and the nation about which Joyce wrote were moving away from the seductions of colonialism, *Ulysses* and its hero enact a textual and literal *flanerie* that enables them to fly by the particular interpellative nets of the colonial state."<sup>76</sup> In other words, Joyce, writing at a time when the events of cultural history were culminating in the War of Independence, creates in 'Sirens' a chapter full of references to Irish history. Yet, at the same time, this is also the point in the book where Joyce begins to take flight from these historical circumstances as well. I would argue that in 'Sirens,' Joyce starts to revise the connection between music and memory, creating something that is more liberating rather than binding. One of the most interesting examples of this occurs in the overture which does not appear in any of the drafts and must have been a late development in the chapter. The overture is full of references to cultural memory, but these memories are not actually 'remembered' until the unfolding of the chapter when the characters go through the process of recalling their histories. In other words, phrases that pertain to the future narration of the episode are intertwined with phrases that recall the historical past. The overture, in its movement

---

<sup>76</sup> Duffy, *The Subaltern Ulysses*, p. 90.



between the past and the future, is simultaneously a backward-looking motion but there is also a forward-driving and rather 'liberating' aspect to it as it moves into the chapter itself.

Consequently, this revising of memory, this simultaneous freeing and binding that occurs in 'Sirens' mirrors Odysseus's clever plan to bind himself to the mast in order to be liberated from the Sirens' seductive songs. It seems appropriate that *fuga per canonem* is the term that Joyce uses to describe what might be called the 'historically grounded' sense of emancipation that appears in the episode. This brief musical phrase is loaded with connotations of flight and constraint, of memory and forgetting. *Fuga* literally means 'flight' or 'escape' in a musical context (or an amnesiac phase in psychiatric terms). Coincidentally, the term *canonem* seems to touch upon Stephen's three nets. The term has come to imply a canon of literature, and therefore becomes important with regard to the "net" of language. Religiously, it implies dogmas of the church, ecclesiastical laws, divinely inspired books, and lists of saints. And although there is not a direct link to nationalism, its implications for lines of descent, heredity, and inheritance play into notions of race and identity. In a chapter that explores both the oceanic depths of a historical nightmare, and the heights of flight, Joyce implies that flight can only take place if one learns to fly even while the strandentwining 'cord' and 'chord' of memory has an ineluctable link.

#### **IV. The Odyssey and Tonality**

What happens in 'Sirens' can be seen on a wider level throughout *Ulysses* as a whole. In a way, Joyce's book is full of references to cultural history which are encapsulated in a form that requires resolution—that is, in the form of the Odyssey, the wandering from and return to home. In a series of talks held in New York, Edward Said and Daniel Barenboim



gave public discussions on the topic of music, and both were able to touch upon the long association between tonality and the epic form in literature. As Barenboim said in a 1998 discussion:

And this is what I would call the psychology of tonality. This is creating a sense of home, going to an unknown territory, and then returning. This is a process of courage and inevitability. There is the affirmation of the key—you want to call it the affirmation of self, the comfort of the known territory—in order to be able to go somewhere totally unknown and have the courage to get lost and, then, find again this famous dominant, in an unexpected way, that leads us back home. Isn't that a sort of parallel of the process that every human being has to go through in his inner life in order to first achieve the affirmation of what one is, then have the courage to let that identity go in order to find the way back. I think this is what music is about.<sup>77</sup>

In response to Barenboim's comment, Said links this process in music to Odyssean wandering and return: "What you've described is an allegory that corresponds to one of the great myths that we find in literature, which is the myth of home, discovery, and return: the odyssey. There is absolutely a parallel between the explorations of Beethoven and of Homer."<sup>78</sup> With regard to *Ulysses* and its epic departure and return to 'home,' the question that arises in 'Sirens' becomes applicable to the book as a whole. Is *Ulysses* a dissonant and fragmented avant-garde work of art, or does it correspond to a harmonious Homeric or 'tonal' return to 'home'?

According to Leo Bersani, Joyce's epic pretends to be a great avant-garde work, but its so-called fragmentations and discontinuities only disguise the fact that it *does* achieve a kind of ultimate resolution. Bersani argues that Joyce's guidebook or schema was a means through which Joyce was able to provide security or stability for his modernist novel—or if put in terms of form versus content, the form is the harmonious structure that encapsulates the

---

<sup>77</sup> Daniel Barenboim, Edward W. Said, *Parallels and Paradoxes: Explorations in Music and Society*, ed. Ara Guzelimian (London: Bloomsbury, 2002), pp. 46-47.

<sup>78</sup> Barenboim, *Parallels and Paradoxes*, p. 47.



chaotic content which *Ulysses* promises to resolve. Furthermore, the ‘dissonance’ of Joyce’s use of intertextuality is not done in order to make a break with cultural discourse. According to Bersani, Joyce uses intertextuality as a “redemptive strategy”:<sup>79</sup> “Joyce relocates the items of that inheritance with *Ulysses* as both their center and belated origin.”<sup>80</sup> Therefore, according to this argument, Joyce creates a new centre and a new origin for Western culture in *Ulysses* itself. Western culture “‘dies’ in the Joycean parody and pastiche, but, once removed from historical time, it is resurrected as a timeless design.”<sup>81</sup> For Bersani, there is much to be explained in *Ulysses*, and there is a sense in which Joyce’s fragmentary and intertextual style offers what he calls “a promise of salvation” when all the connections and references within the book will one day be discovered.<sup>82</sup> In that case, Joyce gives his readers an Odyssey with the promise of a return ‘home’ to Ithaca.

If put in musical terms, an evaluation such as this of *Ulysses* would be very much along the lines of a sonata form in music. Since the structure of the book is divided up into three parts which each seem to coincide with an exposition, development and recapitulation, the parallel between *Ulysses* and the sonata form has not been lost on critics. For instance, according to Richard Kain, the “structure of *Ulysses* is itself musical. Ezra Pound has likened the work to the sonata, with the two major themes, those of Stephen and Bloom, introduced, developed, combined, and recapitulated.”<sup>83</sup> Umberto Eco also notices Joyce’s use of the sonata form and argues that through this structure, Joyce makes “disorder detectable” and gives “a shape to the confusion and destruction”<sup>84</sup>:

---

<sup>79</sup> Leo Bersani, "Against *Ulysses*," *James Joyce's Ulysses: A Casebook*, ed. Derek Attridge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 217.

<sup>80</sup> Bersani, "Against *Ulysses*," p. 218.

<sup>81</sup> Bersani, "Against *Ulysses*," p. 219.

<sup>82</sup> Bersani, "Against *Ulysses*," p. 225.

<sup>83</sup> Richard M. Kain, *Fabulous Voyager: James Joyce's Ulysses* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 143.

<sup>84</sup> Umberto Eco, *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*, trans. Ellen Esrock (Tulsa: University of Tulsa, 1982), p. 44.



The structure of this discourse has been compared to the sonata form. It branches into three parts, the first and the third containing three chapters each. The first part introduces and develops the theme of Stephen. The second introduces the theme of Bloom and leads it to intersect with the theme of Stephen through a polyphonic structure. The third part concludes the two themes in a symphonic recapitulation of Molly's monologue. *Ulysses* accomplishes that *consonantia*, that *unitas varietatis*, that *apta coadunation diversorum* which constitutes, for the scholastic mind, the essential condition of beauty and aesthetic pleasure, *sicut in sono bene harmonizato*.<sup>85</sup>

Joyce's incorporation of the sonata form is an interesting example of what Eco notices earlier in his book: "the conflict of the artist who tries to give form to the chaos in which he moves yet finds in his hands the instruments of the old Order which he has not yet succeeded in replacing."<sup>86</sup> Eco goes on to explain that Joyce has "paradoxically superimposed the classical order onto the world of disorder"<sup>87</sup> yet, he also states that the work is perfectly aligned with the modern world view. Even though Joyce has imposed a 'sonata form,' Eco, with the help of a quotation from Glauco Cambon states that "in episodes like 'Cyclops' with their alternation of comic deformation and mystical revelation, deliver 'in their dissonance such an effect of intensity that makes one think about the music of Schoenberg or Alban Berg.'"<sup>88</sup> In other words, *Ulysses* supports itself on the structures of the old world, but these structures are denied the stability and substantiality that they had previously. Thus, Joyce's use of the sonata form is slightly uneasy. The neat superimposition of the sonata form on *Ulysses* is troublesome for Robert Boyle as well. Using Ezra Pound's 1922 remark that *Ulysses* was composed in sonata form, Boyle tries to evaluate the book in terms of the musical aspects that make up this form. However, he concludes that this sonata form is a frustrated one, and because of the book's lack of a stable resolution, the musical aspects that

---

<sup>85</sup> Eco, *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*, p. 47.

<sup>86</sup> Eco, *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*, p. 30.

<sup>87</sup> Eco, *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*, p. 54.

<sup>88</sup> Eco, *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*, p. 55.



he points out should be only a guide that should not be "taken too seriously."<sup>89</sup> Boyle's frustrated sonata form consists of 'Telemachus' as the exposition, 'Nestor' and 'Proteus' as episodes in the tonic key, 'Calypso,' 'Lotus Eaters,' and 'Hades' as episodes in the Dominant key, 'Aeolus,' 'Lestrygonians,' 'Scylla and Charybdis,' 'Wandering Rocks,' 'Sirens,' 'Cyclops,' Naussica,' 'Oxen of the Sun,' and 'Circe' as the development section with 'Eumaeus' and 'Ithaca' as the Recapitulation and 'Penelope' as the Coda.<sup>90</sup> Boyle states that the "Sonata Form, which worked so well up to what should have been its Recapitulation, collapses totally"<sup>91</sup> when it comes to the end.

It seems that the frustrated fugal form and the frustrated sonata form both come down to the war between the form and the content, and again it seems that the historical content is incongruous with a harmonious form. Addressing the issue of memory in Joyce's works, John Rickard states that critics who try to impose an 'ending' on *Ulysses* fail to take into account that to come to "a tidy understanding at the end of *Ulysses* would be a betrayal of the complexities of mind, memory and human life that Joyce so carefully wove into his text."<sup>92</sup> In other words, the fact that *Ulysses* is a "book of memory" as the title of Rickard's book suggests, makes such a resolution and a return to home impossible: "*Ulysses* remains a genuine chaosmos to the end, torn between forgetting and remembering, balancing chaos and cosmos in a creative, modernist tension that refuses to allow for a clear textual Ithaca."<sup>93</sup> The lack of a resolved 'Ithaca' in *Ulysses* is something that is discussed in Gibson's introduction to a collection of essays on the subject of 'Ithaca.' Gibson states that one of the reasons Joyce called this chapter the 'ugly duckling' is that "'Ithaca' is certainly calculated to

---

<sup>89</sup> Robert Boyle, S. J., "Ulysses as Frustrated Sonata Form," *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 11.No.4 (Summer 1965): p. 253.

<sup>90</sup> Boyle, "Ulysses as Frustrated Sonata Form," pp. 250-51.

<sup>91</sup> Boyle, "Ulysses as Frustrated Sonata Form," p. 248.

<sup>92</sup> John S. Rickard, *Joyce's Book of Memory: The Mnemotechnic of Ulysses* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), p. 195.

<sup>93</sup> Rickard, *Joyce's Book of Memory*, p. 196.



disappoint...both 'plot' and Homeric analogy peter out into triviality and irresolution"<sup>94</sup>; it is an "ending that is not an ending. In its finality, it fails to finalize things."<sup>95</sup> Lenn Platt argues, furthermore, that instead of providing 'meaning' for the text that has come before, Joyce's language "actually robs us of meaning. We get facts in abundance, but no meaningful value-system that will allow us to place them."<sup>96</sup> Going back to Joyce's letter explaining 'Sirens' to Harriet Shaw Weaver, quoted at the start of this chapter, and his contention that she may begin to prefer the "initial style much as the wanderer did who longed for the Rock of Ithaca," it seems that Joyce again subverts the harmony required as he did in 'Sirens' by not providing the kind of 'Ithaca' that would give 'meaning' to the wanderings of the book. Again, it seems that the content full of references to unresolved history could not be presented in a form where these dissonances are all neatly resolved, because such a resolution would be 'untruthful' to the condition of cultural memory.

The war between the content and the form and the impossibility of resolving the references to cultural memory in *Ulysses* are perhaps the strongest arguments against Bersani's claim that *Ulysses* promises ultimate reconciliation and salvation. However, when it comes to the issue of resolution, there is also a sense in which Bersani is right. There is a kind of resolution in *Ulysses*, but I would argue that it is not a harmonious one. According to Richard Ellmann, Joyce once said to Louis Gillet that in *Ulysses*, he wanted to end the book with "the least forceful word" he could find: "I had found the word 'yes,' which is barely pronounced, which denotes acquiescence, self-abandon, relaxation, the end of all

---

<sup>94</sup> Andrew Gibson, "Introduction," *Joyce's 'Ithaca'*, ed. Andrew Gibson, vol. 6, European Joyce Studies (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 3-4.

<sup>95</sup> Gibson, "Introduction," p. 17.

<sup>96</sup> Len Platt, "'If Brian Boru Could but Come Back and See Old Dublin Now': Materialism, the National Culture and *Ulysses*," *Joyce's 'Ithaca'*, ed. Andrew Gibson, vol. 6, European Joyce Studies (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996), p. 105.



resistance.”<sup>97</sup> In *Joyce's Revenge*, Gibson gives an interesting take on Joyce's claim arguing that in 'Penelope' there is an anti-imperial strain which lies in contradiction with an anti-nationalist strain and in the last episode, Joyce allows these two strains to exist together without resistance to one another. In doing so, Gibson argues that Joyce achieves two seemingly contradictory ends: “the end of all resistance is to challenge, subvert, overthrow, maybe even transform the power resisted. But it is also to cede, to be reconciled to the effects of that power.”<sup>98</sup> As he states, resistance to this colonial rule may even be more damaging than acceptance, so Joyce makes Molly “cheerfully *at ease* with contradiction” and in 'Penelope' Joyce “decisively relaxes the structure of the titanic cultural struggle evident in *Ulysses* since Stephen first alluded to his imperial masters.”<sup>99</sup>

What Gibson notices is an end to the resistance in the content of the chapter, but there is also a similar end to resistance when it comes to the form and the content. Throughout *Ulysses* the content is always at war with the Odyssean or the 'tonal' form—with the wandering from and the return to 'home.' With 'Penelope' it seems that Joyce is moving into the more fluid style that he later takes up in *Finnegans Wake* when the matter and the form of the book are no longer at war with each other. Joyce claims to have ended this resistance at the conclusion of *Ulysses*. As Joyce's comments to Gillet were given in French, Gibson points out that *à peine* can mean 'painfully,' as well as 'barely' or 'hardly': “*détente*—a relaxation of hostilities, saying yes to the enemy—is achieved only painfully (*à peine*), with difficulty.”<sup>100</sup> I would argue that this 'pain' carries over into *Finnegans Wake* as Joyce makes the development from 'Penelope' to his last great work. After he explained that he had created the end of all resistance to Gillet, Joyce continued saying that “In *Work in*

---

<sup>97</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 712.

<sup>98</sup> Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, p. 267.

<sup>99</sup> Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, p. 271.

<sup>100</sup> Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge*, p. 269.



*Progress*, I've tried to do better if I could. This time, I have found the word which is most slippery, the least accented, the weakest word in English, a word which is not even a word, which is scarcely sounded between the teeth, a breath, a nothing, the article *the*."<sup>101</sup> In other words, the end of all resistance, and whatever pain the end of all resistance brings with it, is carried over into the *Wake*—the book that is simultaneously Joyce's end to all resistance, and his most persistent resistance to a long history of colonial power.

---

<sup>101</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 712.



## Chapter Five: Dissonant Unions: Joyce, Adorno and the “pure music” of *Finnegans Wake*

### I. The “Condition of Music” and the “End of all Resistance”

Joyce once said that *Finnegans Wake* was “pure music”<sup>1</sup> so it is not surprising that many critics have drawn attention to the similarities between the musicality of ‘Sirens’ and the musicality of *Finnegans Wake*. For several critics, music links ‘Sirens’ and the *Wake* together as ‘Sirens’ contains, in embryo form, the kind of linguistic deviations and the abstract self-referential style that seems to culminate in *Finnegans Wake*.<sup>2</sup> It may be that *Finnegans Wake* is even more fugal than ‘Sirens’ with its weaving and interweaving of words and meanings, that achieve what Ford Madox Ford calls the “polychromatic fugal effects of

---

<sup>1</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 703.

<sup>2</sup> See Derek Attridge, *Peculiar Language: Literature as Difference from the Renaissance to James Joyce* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 172: “It is a commonplace of Joyce criticism that in the language of the ‘Sirens’ episode *Ulysses* comes closest to the verbal extravagance of *Finnegans Wake*. The reasons for this view are obvious. Most, if not all, of the linguistic deviations that characterize Joyce’s last book are present in embryo in ‘Sirens,’ including puns, portmanteau words, syntactic deformations, insistent onomatopoeic and rhythmic patterns, various forms of reduplication, and repeated verbal motifs.” See also Alan S. Loxterman, “Every Man His Own God: From *Ulysses* to *Finnegans Wake*,” *James Joyce’s Finnegans Wake: A Casebook*, ed. John Harty III (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1991), p. 125: “Once we regard *Finnegans Wake* as an extreme example of the narrative experimentation which Joyce was already pursuing in *Ulysses*, we see that this final work represents his ultimate achievement, a new world created through the merging of the microcosm of interior monologue with the macrocosm of exterior reality. Using his own fictional time and space, Joyce invents a language which more closely approximates music than the sound-language of ‘Sirens’ because it has become even more abstract and self-referential.” See also Adaline Glasheen, *Third Census of Finnegans Wake: An Index of the Characters and Their Roles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. xiii: “I am not competent to argue the matter of sound and sense in *Finnegans Wake*, but here—as in ‘Sirens’—variegated polyphony aims to achieve unstated and diverse subliminal effects, so that words shall put on the power of music and call up a larger and more precise vocabulary of the subconscious.” Anthony Burgess also makes this point in Anthony Burgess, *Re Joyce* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1965), p. 139: “We have recapitulations, ornamented cadences, appoggiaturas, but above everything we have an exploitation of the musical possibilities of sheer sound which can only be matched by the ultimate word symphony *Finnegans Wake*.” Finally, see Jurgen E. Grant, “Might Be What You Like, Till You Hear the Words,” *Joyce Studies Annual*, ed. Thomas F. Staley (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), pp. 88-89. Grant calls the language of *Finnegans Wake* “contrapuntal” and states that “from the very first few sentences on, we realize that we are confronted with a language that has its origins in ‘Sirens’, but is otherwise unlike anything else in literature in English.”



language.”<sup>3</sup> In that case, just as the fugal form launches Joyce into the second half of *Ulysses*, it also serves as the model for his most revolutionary work. However, as was said in Chapter Four, in ‘Sirens’ the fugal form which requires harmony, and the content, full of references to unresolved history, are at war with each other. Again, this resistance is waged on a larger level in the book as a whole between the epic form and the dissonant content. In *Ulysses*, Joyce allowed this resistance to go as far as possible without completely breaking free from narrative conventions, but in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce ends this resistance, allowing the fugal form to be ‘at peace’ with the dissonant content. In one of his many defenses of the book, Joyce explained the technique of *Finnegans Wake* in terms of rhythm, sound and the merging of form and content.<sup>4</sup> In other words, Joyce *finally* achieved the Paterian “condition of music” where matter and form are merged. As Samuel Beckett succinctly states: “Here form *is* content, content *is* form...His writing is not *about* something; *it is that something itself*.”<sup>5</sup> Along these same lines, William York Tindall argues that if all art constantly aspires towards the condition of music where matter and form are merged:

The *Wake* all but achieves what other works distantly aspire towards. From the time of *Chamber Music*, Joyce had music in mind. For the Sirens episode he made a structure of sound, sequence, and motif that, if not music itself, is music’s parody. What kept him from music was words; for, unlike the notes of a scale, words—not only sounds and, when in sequence, rhythms—are referential.<sup>6</sup>

Tindall’s account of Joyce’s on-going interest in the “condition of music” is significant. Joyce must have had the “condition of music” in mind as early as the composition of

---

<sup>3</sup> Ford Madox Ford, *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*, ed. R. M. Ludwig, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 321. Cited in Seamus Deane, *Finnegans Wake*, Unpublished Essays (Notre Dame, O’Connell House, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 703.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Beckett, “Dante...Bruno. Vico...Joyce,” *Modern Critical Views: James Joyce*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1986), p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> William York Tindall, *A Reader’s Guide to Finnegans Wake* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), p.16.



*Chamber Music*, yet it only comes to fruition in *Finnegans Wake*. In light of this career-long pursuit on Joyce's part, it is worth exploring what it is about music that language does not possess and exactly why it was so important for Joyce to achieve this musicality in his last and most inaccessible work.

Of course, language and music are certainly similar in that they are both communicative media. The obvious difference is that language communicates through a system of signs that each designate specific meanings, whereas music's 'meaning' transcends the correspondence between the signified and the signifier and cannot be pinned down or 'understood' in any definitive way. According to Adorno, the temporal succession of sounds in a musical composition may have a kind of 'grammar' in the sense that "Questions, exclamations, subordinate clauses are everywhere, voices rise and fall, and in all of this, the gesture of music is borrowed from the speaking voice."<sup>7</sup> The presence of this 'grammar' shows that music desires to speak, or in other words, it strives towards the condition of language, but it cannot reach the condition of language because "what it says cannot be abstracted from the music"<sup>8</sup> or in other words, the content cannot be abstracted from the form. Consequently, Adorno believes that music speaks the "true language" which he defines as a language in which "content itself is revealed." However, since music cannot be clear in meaning, the fact that it speaks the "true language" is its "comfort for the curse of ambiguity." As he elaborates, music signifies "something definite"; however, the "intention is always veiled."<sup>9</sup> It is "completely enigmatic and totally evident" because "It cannot be

---

<sup>7</sup> Theodor Adorno, "Music, Language, and Composition," trans. Susan H. Gillespie, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 113.

<sup>8</sup> Adorno, "Music, Language, and Composition," p. 113.

<sup>9</sup> Adorno, "Music, Language, and Composition," pp. 114-15. Adorno goes on to address the ways that musical techniques have been shown to appear in literature: "Not for nothing did Kafka, in several of his works, give to music a place that it had never before occupied in literature. He treated the meaningful contents of spoken, signifying language as if they were the meanings of music, broken-off parables—this in the most extreme contrast to the 'musical' language of Swinburne or Rilke, which imitates musical effects and which is alien to the origins of music. To be musical means to innervate the intentions that flash forth,



solved, only its form can be deciphered.”<sup>10</sup> However, precisely because of its ambiguity, there are endless possibilities with regard to ‘musical meaning’:

True, tonality had pre-organized all phenomena in the sense of an objective language, similar to the languages of words. But at the same time it contained innumerable possibilities for combinations, and above all the possibility of being saturated with expression, so that the particular could enter into every universal, indeed frequently was engendered by the universal.<sup>11</sup>

It is this veiled, oblique expression and the communication of something that cannot actually be articulated that seems to be conducive to what Joyce was trying to achieve in *Finnegans Wake*. In 1926, in the midst of writing the book, Joyce said that there is a part of human existence which is “passed in a state which cannot be rendered sensible by the use of widdawake language, cutanddry grammar and goahead plot” (*Letters*, III, 146).<sup>12</sup> To turn to an art that has no fixed meaning, that slips through the nets of signification, evades the rigidity of the rules of language, and opens up endless possibilities is exactly what Joyce wanted to create with language. As he often felt trapped by the constraints of language and meaning, the “condition of music” would provide a certain amount of artistic freedom.

However, this freedom comes at an enormous price because in order to achieve the emancipatory effects of the “condition of music,” it is absolutely necessary to abandon the

---

without losing oneself to them in the process, but taming them, instead. Thus, the musical continuum is constructed.”

<sup>10</sup> Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, p. 122. See also Robert W. Witkin, *Adorno on Music* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 111: “Adorno acknowledges the existence of two types of similarity to language. There is first the approximation of music to a signifying language, music as a repository of established figures and forms shot through with intentions. Then there is music which approximates to being an intentionless language, to being a pure language which transcends signification, intention and expression. Adorno dismisses the notion that signification in music could ever be absolute; in that case it would cease to be music and would pass, falsely, into language. At the same time he rejects the notion of music without any signification, a pure objective music; the mere phenomenological coherence of tones would resemble a kind of acoustic kaleidoscope. The dialectical mediation of the two—signifying language and (pure) intentionless language—conditions music’s similarity to language.”

<sup>11</sup> Theodor Adorno, “Difficulties,” trans. Susan H. Gillespie, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California, 2002), p. 666.

<sup>12</sup> For a study of how Joyce used dreams to get to this part of human existence see John Bishop, *Joyce’s Book of the Dark* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).



narrative conventions upon which one relies for stability. Walton Litz makes this point when he states that Joyce gave up so much when he decided to break down the structure of words and overcome the rational, linear organisation of language. As he states, the “defects of Anna Livia demonstrate the radical limitations of any work of art, perfection in one mode of expression necessitating the sacrifice of other modes.”<sup>13</sup> For Litz, these “defects” include the fact that Joyce relies “almost entirely upon the ‘musical’ qualities of his language to establish initial communication” instead of the more conventional approaches of grammar, character and plot.<sup>14</sup>

At first glance, Joyce’s reliance on the musical qualities of language seems to suggest that he was striving to create a kind of harmony in his work. This is a natural assumption, considering that Joyce cared deeply about the sound of his language and as he said to Lucia in a letter, “Lord knows what my prose means...In a word, it is pleasing to the ear.”<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, since Joyce’s tendency was to create highly intricate systems of order for his work, Margot Norris points out that “We expect to find a harmonious, symmetrical structure in Joyce’s work” and therefore it is not surprising that through “concentric circles,” “mandalas and parallel tables” and *leitmotifs*, critics have tried to find an ordering structure to the highly ambiguous prose.<sup>16</sup> However, such methods fail to elucidate the text and as Norris states, Joyce instead drops his reader into “a decentered universe, one that lacks the center that defines, gives meaning, designates, and holds the structure together.”<sup>17</sup> With this

---

<sup>13</sup> A. Walton Litz, *The Art of James Joyce: Method and Design in Ulysses and Finnegans Wake* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> Litz, *The Art of James Joyce*, p. 126.

<sup>15</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 702.

<sup>16</sup> Margot Norris, *The Decentered Universe of Finnegans Wake: A Structuralist Analysis* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 30. Sheldon Brivic draws attention to these attempts to order the text and states that there has been a shift in criticism away from masculine ordering systems to “feminine values of dissemination.” See Sheldon Brivic, *Joyce's Waking Women: An Introduction to Finnegans Wake* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1995), p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> Norris, *The Decentered Universe of Finnegans Wake*, pp. 120-21.



“decentered universe” in mind, Joyce does with language what many twentieth-century composers did when they eliminated the centre of tonality from their music entirely.

Similarities between twentieth-century composition and *Finnegans Wake* have been pointed out by several critics including Clive Hart who states that the book can be compared to “much of the twelve-tone music written by contemporaries of Joyce” arguing that “the quasi-geometrical configurations” that he discovers in *Finnegans Wake* can be linked to a “composer’s mathematically defined tone-rows.”<sup>18</sup> Along these same lines, Alan Loxterman states that if *Finnegans Wake* were actually music, it would most likely be difficult to listen to, “sounding atonal and serial throughout because its intricate texture only permits plot and character to surface fragmentarily, directing our attention instead to the succession and blending of sound, the compositional process itself.”<sup>19</sup> Importantly, just as twentieth-century composers abandoned the “grammar” of tonality, eliminating the centre of the tonic chord and the movement from dissonance to resolution, Joyce also abandoned the rules of conventional language, eliminating the stability of the narrative movement from tension to resolution, freeing language from its traditional function of communicating something definite. Consequently, Joyce’s merging of form and content is a dissonant rather than a harmonious union.

---

<sup>18</sup> Clive Hart, *Structure and Motif in Finnegans Wake* (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> Loxterman, "Every Man His Own God," p. 121.



## II. Joyce, Adorno and *The Philosophy of Modern Music*

According to Adorno, in *Finnegans Wake* Joyce attempted to “liquidate the discursive element in language through pure sound.”<sup>20</sup> If Joyce was able to achieve with language something that twentieth-century composers were able to achieve in music, it seems appropriate to see *Finnegans Wake* in light of Adorno’s theories on modern music. It may be that Joyce’s lighthearted humorous side is often seen as incongruent with Adorno’s pessimism, and while Joyce was happy to incorporate popular music from street ballads to musical hall songs in his work, Adorno vehemently disapproved of popular music of any kind, and particularly hated jazz. It may be that for these reasons, critics do not frequently compare these two great thinkers. However, when it comes to the fundamental aspects of their writing, there are many relevant points of intersection between Joyce and Adorno. W. J. McCormack makes an interesting comparison when he argues that while many critics see the circularity of *Finnegans Wake* and the reconciliation of form and content as something harmoniously finished, it might be more fruitful to “adopt the spirit of Adorno and recognise the book’s insatiable incompleteness, its endless need of itself.”<sup>21</sup> In *Aesthetic Theory*, Adorno alludes to *Finnegans Wake* as an example of how modern art should always be

---

<sup>20</sup> Theodor Adorno, “Trying to Understand *Endgame*,” *Notes to Literature*, trans. S. W. Nicholzen, vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), p. 262. Cited in Norman Vance, *Irish Literature since 1800* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), p. 154. Vance states that few would go as far as Adorno in claiming that Joyce does away with the discursive element in language. For Vance, “The discursive element does not completely disappear because the reader needs to have a sense of something going on, something to be followed, to keep an eye on the page, but there are always several different discourses in process at the same time in a single paragraph or sentence, or sometimes, thanks to Joyce’s obsessive punning, in a single word.”

<sup>21</sup> W. J. McCormack, “*Finnegans Wake* and Irish Literary History,” *History and Violence in Anglo-Irish Literature*, ed. Joris Duytschaever, Geert Lernout, vol. 71, Costerus New Series (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988), p. 132.



“work in progress”—that a work of art is “lying” if it pretends to achieve a harmonious resolution, and become “finished.”<sup>22</sup>

As Adorno’s thoughts on “Work in Progress” make apparent, harmony and wholeness are not possible in the modern world, and any attempt to create such harmony is “false.” For Adorno, the crisis of modernity is bound up in the disparity between the promise of the Enlightenment—that individual freedom and social co-operation and constraint could be harmonised—and the reality of where the Enlightenment led, which was to the rift between the individual subject and a capitalist society that exercises oppressive power over this subject. In his essay, “Why is the New Art so Hard to Understand?”, Adorno states that he is ‘closer’ to music than to any other art, and this is perhaps due to his belief that the problems and antagonisms of society can be seen most prominently in the forms of artworks.<sup>23</sup> Since music is unique among the arts in its achievement of the merging of form and content, and this merging of form and content is primarily concerned with the creation of harmony and dissonance, it is one of the most powerful tools for understanding the society that produces it. For instance, Adorno believes that classical tonality—with its hierarchical system where all the tones take their position in relation to the stable and dominating tonic chord—reflects Enlightenment’s promise of harmony and the ideal structure of bourgeois society. Although the world enjoyed a brief moment during the height of tonality when it seemed that the ideal of harmony could be realised in bourgeois society, the sonata form, for Adorno, is essentially false because it presents a reconciliation in a society that is actually antagonistic and oppressive. That is why only the most radically avant-garde works of art that display fragmentation, dissonance, and ‘ugliness’ could provide an aesthetic experience

---

<sup>22</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor, ed. Gretel Adorno, Rolf Tiedemann (London: The Athlone Press, 1997), p. 26.

<sup>23</sup> Theodor Adorno, “Why Is the New Art So Hard to Understand?,” trans. Susan H. Gillespie, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California, 2002), p. 129.



that would be 'truthful' to the reality of modernity. As he states, "If today nothing is harmonious, this is because harmony was false from the beginning...The dubiousness of the ideal of a closed society applies equally to that of the closed artwork."<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, Adorno states that attempts to create harmony in the modern world are actually more dissonant than dissonance itself:

The more deeply artworks immerse themselves in the idea of harmony, of the appearing essence, the less they can be satisfied with that idea...Dissonance is the truth about harmony. If the ideal of harmony is taken strictly, it proves to be unreachable according to its own concept...The rejection of the ideal of classicism is not the result of the alternation of styles or, indeed, of an alleged historical temperament; it is, rather, the result of the coefficient of friction in harmony itself, which in corporeal form presents what is not reconciled as reconciled and thereby transgresses the very postulate of the appearing essence at which the ideal of harmony aims. The emancipation from this ideal is an aspect of the developing truth content of art.<sup>25</sup>

In other words, because harmony in modern world "denies the tensions that have entered into it," it forfeits its 'consonance' and becomes paradoxically "something disturbing, false, and effectively dissonant."<sup>26</sup> Consequently, "there is more joy in dissonance than in consonance" because harmony is an illusion while dissonance is 'truthful.' When harmony appears in modern compositions, "It is precisely the triads which, in such context, are cacophonous and not the dissonances!"<sup>27</sup>

To understand how Adorno gets to the point of arguing that "dissonance is the truth about harmony" it is fruitful to look at his evaluation of the breakdown of tonality, beginning with Beethoven. In the nineteenth-century, it seemed that the sonata form had taken on as

---

<sup>24</sup> Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, p. 158.

<sup>25</sup> Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, p. 110. In his doctoral dissertation, Michael Bruce McDonald uses this passage to argue that Joyce's prose manages "to sing in the very midst of its own jangling discords," in Michael Bruce McDonald, "James Joyce and the Aesthetics of Dissonance," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Oregon, 1991, pp. 2-6.

<sup>26</sup> Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, p. 46.

<sup>27</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, trans. Wesley V. Bloomster, Anne G. Mitchell (London: Sheed and Ward Ltd., 1948), p. 34.



many manifestations as were possible in classical tonality and composers were forced to deal with the issue of how to accommodate handed down musical materials that were becoming 'worn out' or no longer 'true.' In his *Theory of Harmony*, Schoenberg addresses this problem using the example of the diminished seventh chord, the "expressive" chord in tonal music. As he states, "Wherever one wanted to express pain, excitement, anger, or some other strong feeling—there we find, almost exclusively, the diminished seventh chord." However, "soon the role was played out" and the "chord had lost the appeal of novelty" and "had nothing more to say in the new era."<sup>28</sup> Similarly, in *The Philosophy of Modern Music*, Adorno states that in the modern world, the sounds of traditional music could "no longer fulfill their function" and revealed themselves to be "impotent clichés"<sup>29</sup> that could no longer speak in modernity. Faced with the problem of the growing illegitimacy of tonal forms, there were two paths composers could take according to Adorno. To be progressive, one had to compose music that exposes the musical material's gradual decay and avoid acquiescing to conventions that are outdated. This contributes to the developing truth-content of music. The regressive decision is to continue to use these forms in a way that denies that they are becoming 'false.' Some of the key figures in Adorno's canon of progressive composers are Beethoven, Mahler, Schoenberg and Berg (even though he occasionally noticed elements of regression in them), while composers such as Wagner and Stravinsky were predominantly criticised for their regressive compositional techniques, even though Adorno does give them credit if he notices anything progressive in their work as well.

Beethoven is, of course, one of the most important composers in the developing truth-content of music because his music is on the cusp of the moment when the ideals of the Enlightenment could still be seen as a possibility, and the moment when the values of

---

<sup>28</sup> Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, trans. Roy E. Carter (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), p. 238.

<sup>29</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, p. 34.



bourgeois humanism were beginning to dissolve. According to Adorno, Beethoven uses the conventional sonata forms in his late works, but he does so in a way that reveals that the sonata form is becoming an empty form, or that it is simply a structure devoid of the substance that it seemed to have previously. Adorno describes this process with the metaphor of fruit that has been “ravaged. Devoid of sweetness, bitter and spiny.”<sup>30</sup> Or, in other words, the musical conventions that had once had meaning are now exposed in a form that is “bald, undisguised, untransformed.”<sup>31</sup> Adorno argues that in order to make musical material conform to a form that was becoming ‘outdated,’ a great deal of violence was required on Beethoven’s part. While he was still using the sonata form, he was simultaneously rejecting the kind of affirmation that is so present in—to use Adorno’s example—a composition like Mozart’s Jupiter Symphony. As Adorno states in a discussion of Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis*:

He must have felt the untruth in the highest demand of classical music, that untruth which asserts that the essence of the contradictory motion of all the parts which disappears in that essence is itself the positive, the affirmative. At this moment he transcended the bourgeois spirit whose highest musical manifestation was his own work. Something in his own genius, the deepest part of it, refused to reconcile in a single image what is not reconciled.<sup>32</sup>

In other words, Beethoven’s music presents the impending truth that harmony is dissolving.

Adorno argues that Beethoven’s less innocent use of tonal forms is taken up later by Mahler. For Adorno, Mahler uses tonal forms in order to show their irony and their distance from the subject and employs the exhausted musical vocabulary against itself in a way that contributes to the developing truth content of music. For instance, the large-scale unity of the

---

<sup>30</sup> Theodor Adorno, "Late Style in Beethoven," trans. Susan H. Gillespie, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California, 2002), p. 564.

<sup>31</sup> Adorno, "Late Style in Beethoven," p. 565.

<sup>32</sup> Theodor Adorno, "Alienated Masterpiece: The *Missa Solemnis*," trans. Susan H. Gillespie, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California, 2002), p. 580.



symphony is subverted by the ways in which Mahler makes the musical material strange, fragmented and discontinuous. In an evaluation of the Scherzo of the Seventh Symphony, Adorno argues that Mahler “disrupts the balance of tonal language”<sup>33</sup> by adding musical devices such as a *kreischend* or a screeching sound in the wood instruments. He “charges tonality with an expression that it is no longer constituted to bear.” Tonicity is “Overstretched” and its “voice cracks.”<sup>34</sup> In doing so, Mahler’s music refuses to affirm the illusion of harmony and instead stresses the growing inauthenticity of tonal forms.

Adorno’s praise for Beethoven and Mahler is largely due to the role they played in leading up to the eventual abandonment of tonality in the early twentieth-century. For Adorno freeing music from the constraints of tonality is the *most* progressive way to compose because it does away with the hierarchy of the tonic chord and allows what were once the marginal tones to be heard without being resolved. In *The Philosophy of Modern Music*, Adorno criticises Stravinsky for his “regressive” compositional procedures that cling to tonality even in the face of modernity, while Schoenberg is praised for his “progressive” techniques that emancipate dissonance and adopt a new musical language that is more conducive to the strangeness of modernity. The important distinction between the two composers is that Schoenberg’s music is more ‘free’ because it lacks the familiar techniques of tonality, whereas Stravinsky’s failure to let go of tonality produces music that is “unfree.” Adorno laments that “figures such as proximity, home and security hold the faulty world under their spell.”<sup>35</sup> Schoenberg, on the other hand, does not allow his listeners to bask in the illusion of security and harmony. His music

---

<sup>33</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 21.

<sup>34</sup> Adorno, *Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*, p. 20.

<sup>35</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E. B. Ashton (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. 33.



denies the very thing we have been accustomed, since Shakespeare's days, to expect from music as the magical art: consolation. In the ear of music's emancipation it claims to be nothing more than the voice of truth, without the crutches of the familiar, but also without the deception of praise and false positivity.<sup>36</sup>

For Adorno, Schoenberg's most progressive period is the initial break from tonal forms when he moved into the realm of free atonality. This was the time when music briefly enjoyed freedom from *all* formal constraints. Schoenberg's decision to create the twelve-tone method in order to give music a prescribed form that no longer relies on tonality, is not *as* progressive as the music he composed in his free atonal period. One of the problems Adorno sees with the method is that when the composer has to follow the strict stipulations of the tone row, "The spontaneity of progressive composers is handicapped along with the spontaneity of the composition itself"<sup>37</sup> making it "terrible discipline as an instrument of freedom."<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the technique greatly stifles music's similarity to language because instead of striving to say something, it is dominated by "mathematical relationships" where formulae...replace the act of composition itself."<sup>39</sup> Using the example of Schoenberg's first twelve-tone composition, Adorno states that since every tone of the piece is determined by the row, "there is no longer a single 'free' note."<sup>40</sup> Consequently, for Adorno, music will only be truly free once it wrests itself from the twelve-tone technique as well.<sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Theodor Adorno, "Towards an Understanding of Schoenberg," trans. Susan H. Gillespie, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California, 2002), p. 683.

<sup>37</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, p. 104.

<sup>38</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, p. 116.

<sup>39</sup> Adorno, "Music, Language, and Composition," p. 121.

<sup>40</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, p. 62.

<sup>41</sup> For more on Adorno's evaluation of the breakdown of tonality see Rose Rosengard Subotnik, *Deconstructive Variations: Music and Reason in Western Society* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996) and Rose Rosengard Subotnik, *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991). For more on the role music played in modernity see Andrew Bowie, "Music, Language and Modernity," *The Problems of Modernity: Adorno and Benjamin*, ed. Andrew Benjamin (London and New York: Routledge, 1989).



Considering that Joyce's tendency was to organise his work to the highest degree, it is curious that aside from a very vague division of the book into four parts to mirror the four Viconian cycles of history, there is no discernible organisational structure for Joyce's language as there is in twelve-tone music. While it seems that if critics do compare *Finnegans Wake* to modern music, as in the case of Hart and Loxterman, they more often compare the book to the twelve-tone technique. However, I would argue that *Finnegans Wake* has more in common with the kind of free atonality Schoenberg began composing in 1907 rather than the strict ordering of the twelve-tone technique which was implemented several years later. Adorno's disapproval of the twelve-tone technique, and his insistence that music strive towards the condition of language, even in its most progressive forms is mirrored by Joyce's desire to make language strive towards the condition of music. In doing so, Joyce actually turns language on its head. The merging of form and content makes language *like* music, and therefore makes language paradoxically strive towards the condition of language. Interestingly, this is exactly what Adorno sought to do in his own writing. If *Finnegans Wake* can be considered an atonal book, that drops its readers into a "decentered universe" likewise Adorno's style is also considered to be an "atonal philosophy."<sup>42</sup> It is well known that Adorno looked to the music of Schoenberg, especially to his free atonal compositions, as a model for his own style. He believed that the obliqueness of the modern world could not be elucidated by clear, precise and concluded language, but must take on the "strain of modernity" and present the human experience in all its obscurity. In *Aesthetic Theory*, the translator, Robert Hullot-Kentor, points out that there is nothing to support the text because it moves in many different directions without discernible conclusions.<sup>43</sup> Along these lines, Richard Leppert states that "Adorno's enemy is the language of 'communication,'

---

<sup>42</sup> See Jay Martin, *Adorno* (London: Fontana, 1984), p. 28.

<sup>43</sup> Robert Hullot-Kentor, Introduction to Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, p. xvi.



today perhaps best encapsulated in the common urge to ‘get to the point,’ or ‘indicate the bottom line.’”<sup>44</sup> In other words, both Joyce and Adorno create through language what Adorno hoped would be the ultimate achievement in music—artistic freedom without a strict prescribed formula imposed upon the form of the artwork. Adorno thinks it strange, or as he says “one of the riddles of human musical consciousness” that only a few composers “dared to rejoice” in the artistic liberation of free atonality: “Hardly had it been accomplished than a fateful call for new bondage went out”<sup>45</sup>—the twelve-tone method. In saying this, Adorno points to the problem that to move into the realm of total freedom in music is quite daunting as music had always relied on prescribed forms to hold it together. It seems this was also the case for Joyce in that language by its very nature is considered to be inseparable from its grammar and syntax. Freeing language from the rules of language is perhaps even more daring than freeing music from tonality. I would argue that Adorno would have appreciated this had he been aware of its full implications. According to Peter Hohendahl, Adorno “did not feel comfortable with texts he could not read in the original language” and “English writers are marginal to his definition of literature.”<sup>46</sup> Although Adorno must have achieved proficiency in English, especially from his years of living in America, and was able to recognise Joyce’s significant contribution to modern art, it has been suggested that Adorno felt he did not have the skills to evaluate properly the virtuosity of Joyce’s later works. Yet, in light of these similarities, it is likely that Adorno would have approved of Joyce’s striving towards the “condition of music.”

---

<sup>44</sup> Richard Leppert, Commentary in Theodor Adorno, *Essays on Music, Selected, with Introduction, Commentary, and Notes by Richard Leppert*, trans. Susan H. Gillespie, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 66.

<sup>45</sup> Adorno, "Towards an Understanding of Schoenberg," p. 636.

<sup>46</sup> Peter Uwe Hohendahl, *Prismatic Thought* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), p. 81.



### III. The Condition of Memory

It is well known that Joyce received a great deal of criticism and discouragement from those around him regarding his revolutionary style in *Finnegans Wake*. Despite this, he did not consider changing his methods and continued defending the book, often pointing to the importance of its ‘musicality’ as a justification for the unintelligibility of his prose. According to Ellmann, it seems that for Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* “had to be written...Readers may still sigh because he did not approach them more directly, but it does not appear that this alternative was open to him.”<sup>47</sup> If Joyce somehow felt that writing *Finnegans Wake* was the only option, there is a sense in which he also felt that he *had* to create ‘music’ out of language, as if he had no other choice but to do so. The reason for this, I would argue, has to do with Joyce’s need to come to terms with music as one of the main conduits for memory in the “Land of Song.” After all, as is said in *Finnegans Wake*, “History as her is harped. Too the tone your oldfrow lied of” (FW, 486.6-7). In this line, Joyce draws attention to the long history of the harp as a symbol of Ireland, and the long pursuit of the restringing and retuning of the Irish harp so that one day it will ‘resound’ in harmony. In *Finnegans Wake*, however, Joyce ends this struggle to create harmony and shows that such a feat is impossible:

List! Wheatstone’s magic lyer. They will be tuggling foriver. They will be lichening for allof. They will be pretumbling forover. The harpsdischord shall be theirs for ollaves (FW, 13.17-19).

The harp also invariably evokes the figure of Thomas Moore. In *Finnegans Wake*, Thomas Moore appears as “Tim Tommy Melooney” (FW, 331.11-12) and “moromelodious” (FW, 184.15). His statue in Westmoreland Street is commemorated as “Moreland-West” (FW, 514.24-25), his sentimentality is present in the phrase “I’ll reve tomorry” (FW, 408) and it is

---

<sup>47</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 716.



not Tommy Moore's *Melodies* but "tummy moor's maladies" (FW, 492.34) that are scattered multiple times throughout the book. Interestingly, whenever Joyce mentions one of Moore's songs, he usually adds the original air from Bunting's or other collections that Moore used with the melody itself. For instance, Moore's song "'Tis gone forever the light we saw breaking" from the Irish tune "Savoreen Deelish" becomes "Tis gone infarover. So fore now, dayleash" (FW, 613.8), "I wish I was by that dim lake" from "I wish I was on yonder hill" becomes "I wisht I wast be that dumb tyke and he'd wish it was me yonther heel" (FW, 617.31-32) and "My Gentle Harp" that comes from the tune "The Dirge" becomes "Might gentle harp addurge!" (FW, 570.3-4). By including the original Irish air, Joyce is touching upon the debate regarding "music question"—the controversy over whether modal or tonal was to be the form that cultural memory and identity were to take. As was argued in Chapter One, there was an attitude that to subject music to the laws of tonality was to subject it to the laws of the coloniser. Much of the ambivalence towards Moore's music seems to stem from this association, or this acceptance on Moore's part of the minor chords and melancholy strains as the means best suited for Irish music. Yet, there is a sense in which Moore's predominant use of the minor keys was the only 'truthful' option for the communication of sad memory at the time he was composing. Joyce's engagement with Moore from *Dubliners* to *Finnegans Wake* shows an extensive need to come to terms with Moore's version of Irish history presented in 'tonal' form. As was said in Chapter One, much of Moore's music is centred around the theme of waiting and one of the most prevalent examples is the song, "Dear Harp of my Country." The song describes the discovery of the harp after years of suffering the "cold chain of silence": "When proudly, my own Island Harp, I unbound thee/ and gave all thy chords to light, freedom, and song." Moore describes the attempt to create harmony in the "light note of gladness" but the attempt, as the song states, only ends in inevitable melancholy: "But, so oft hast thou echoed the deep sigh of sadness,/ That even in



thy mirth it will steal from thee still.” Burdened by this melancholy, Moore describes putting the harp back to “sleep,” arguing that it should not be played “Till touch’d by some hand less unworthy than mine.”<sup>48</sup> Of course, the implication is that the harp must sleep until it is freed from its burden, but Moore never gives the sense that when the harp is freed, it will resound in victorious harmony. If Moore was indeed aware that dissonance could be used as a threat to the coloniser’s sense of security, as was argued in Chapter One, he was not able to take this threat to its fruition, if for nothing else, reasons of historical circumstance. I would argue that Joyce takes over where Moore leaves off and provides the kind of dissonance that Moore could not. Instead of the modal or the tonal form, Joyce opts for a dissonant form. The harp’s ‘discord’ becomes the medium through which the harp can be ‘freed’ from its obligation to succumb to ‘imperial’ harmony.

However, if Joyce takes over where Moore leaves off, he does not do it through *actual* music, but through language as the “condition of music.” As was explored in Chapter Two, Joyce and his contemporaries were faced with the problem that Celtic ‘notes’ and ‘tones’ were, according to Celticism, marginal ‘notes’ in the English language, obliged to express the highly emotional melancholy that music such as Moore’s provides. Seamus Deane puts it well when he states that Joyce’s own career was bound up in the “same linguistic anxieties” as those of his contemporaries: “He could write the spiritual history of his own country, but only when he found that mode of English appropriate to Irish experience, through which the Irish could repossess their experience in an English which was unmistakably an Irish English.”<sup>49</sup> Through the merging of matter and form, Joyce allows what would be considered the marginal notes to take the spotlight that imperial harmony used

---

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Moore, *Moore’s Irish Melodies with Symphonies and Accompaniments by Sir John Stevenson and Sir Henry Bishop* (Dublin: Gilbert Dalton, 1981), p. 124.

<sup>49</sup> Seamus Deane, “Joyce the Irishman,” *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 34.



to possess. In so doing, he deconstructs the English language; the medium that gave the coloniser power over the “Celtic note.” The result can be compared to the result that Adorno notices when composers abandoned the need to resolve dissonances in music: “What appears in art is no longer the ideal, no longer harmony; the locus of its power of resolution is now exclusively in the contradictory and dissonant.”<sup>50</sup> Instead of consolation and validation for society, this music inflicts “the most deadly blows on authority”<sup>51</sup>; the authority that harmony used to possess. Of course, when Schoenberg emancipated dissonances, he exposed as an illusion something that imperial culture always relied on for stability and comfort. According to Martin Boykan, the loss of tonality was the source of “trauma” because it made manifest the anxieties that had been present in the nineteenth-century and “stimulated the deep-seated fear of incoherence.”<sup>52</sup> As is stated in the *New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, such ‘trauma’ led to a loss representing “something like the loss of a mother tongue.”<sup>53</sup> Charles Rosen draws attention to the powerful effect this breakdown of tonality had on Western culture as it revealed that “exterior stability was an illusion” and showed that tonality was a “construction that depended substantially on the individual works of music much more than a linguistic system depends on individual acts of speech.” Whereas a “single work of music may transform and even create an entire musical system,” this is not the case for an act of speech, which can only “marginally alter a language.”<sup>54</sup> Yet, in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce does not just marginally alter the English language, he transforms it into something almost foreign. Of course, such a feat as a shock to imperial culture has not been lost on critics. According to Terry Eagleton, “In thus estranging the English language in the eyes of its proprietors, he

---

<sup>50</sup> Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, p. 84.

<sup>51</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Prisms*, trans. Samuel Weber, Shierry Weber (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1921), p. 152.

<sup>52</sup> Martin Boykan, *Silence and Slow Time: Studies in Musical Narrative* (Lenham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004), p. 173.

<sup>53</sup> Don Michael Randel, ed., *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 889.

<sup>54</sup> Charles Rosen, *Schoenberg* (London: Marion Boyars, 1975), p. 28.



struck a blow on behalf of his gagged and humiliated ancestors.”<sup>55</sup> Likewise, as Peter Maguire states, “If the Conqueror and the gay Betrayer have taken the language of the people of Ireland, then the ultimate revenge of the dispossessed has been to take possession of the Conqueror’s language.”<sup>56</sup> Just as Scheonberg showed that stability was only an illusion in music, Joyce creates what Umberto Eco calls “the most terrifying document of formal instability and semantic ambiguity that we possess.”<sup>57</sup> In doing so, it seems that Joyce is one of the first to demonstrate within an artwork what Derrida later takes up in his process of Deconstruction—that “exterior stability” in language is also an illusion.

#### IV. *Finnegans Wake* and the Fugue of History

All forms of music...are realizations of content. In them there survives what is otherwise forgotten and is no longer capable of speaking directly...The forms of art reflect the history of man more truthfully than do documents themselves.<sup>58</sup>

If, as Adorno states, the forms of art are more truthfully representative of history than documents, it seems that the form that best represented what Joyce wanted to achieve in *Finnegans Wake* was the fugal form. That Joyce turned to polyphony in his last work is not surprising considering that the term itself suggests flight and the form has always been associated with a certain amount of compositional freedom. Also, its labyrinthine qualities and the weaving and interweaving voices seemed to coincide with Joyce’s hope to emulate

<sup>55</sup> Terry Eagleton, *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture* (London: Verso, 1995), pp. 268-69.

<sup>56</sup> Peter A. Maguire, "Finnegans Wake and Irish Historical Memory," *Journal of Modern Literature, Special Issue, Joyce and the Joyceans* Vol. 22.No. 2 (Winter 1998/99): p. 327.

<sup>57</sup> Umberto Eco, *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*, trans. Ellen Esrock (Tulsa: University of Tulsa, 1982), p. 61.

<sup>58</sup> From Richard Leppert’s Commentary in Adorno, *Essays on Music, Selected, with Introduction, Commentary, and Notes by Richard Leppert*, pp. 42-43.



what he believed to be “the most purely Irish thing we have”<sup>59</sup>—the Book of Kells. In a conversation with Arthur Power, Joyce said that much of his work can be compared to the Book of Kells. In an effort to defend his style to Harriet Shaw Weaver, Joyce sent her a copy of Sir Edward Sullivan’s introduction to *The Book of Kells* so that she could have a better idea of what he was trying to accomplish in “Work in Progress.”<sup>60</sup> In Book I, section V of *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce makes a direct link between the Book of Kells and the fugal form. As there is an attempt to piece together the letter that will tell the truth about HCE, Joyce engages in a parody of Sir Edward Sullivan’s introduction which is likened to “canons in skelterfugue” (FW, 121.28) that do not make sense but “make soundssense and sensesound kin again” (FW, 121.15-16).<sup>61</sup> To reiterate a point from Chapter Four, Adorno believes that polyphony is the most liberating form of music, or as he states, is the “means best suited for the organization of emancipated music.”<sup>62</sup> Furthermore the means best suited for the organisation of emancipated polyphony is obviously polyphony that is not subjected to the rules of tonality. Once polyphony is free of these rules, there is no longer one voice or a ‘subject’ that has dominance over the others. Even better is polyphony that is not subjected to the demands of the twelve-tone method. For Adorno, this new polyphony is “actual.”<sup>63</sup> In many respects, *Finnegans Wake* with its “inharmonious creations” (FW, 109.23) is very like the kind of free polyphony that Adorno advocates. The crucial point is that through the merging of form and content, Joyce presents one of the most binding forces on his artistic consciousness—history, which makes up the content of his work—in one of the most ‘liberating’ musical forms. The past presented in a fugal form is simultaneously an escape

---

<sup>59</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 545.

<sup>60</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 545.

<sup>61</sup> Skelterfugue is a term that comes from Gregorian chant, but Joyce is also alluding to a canon and fugue, or the *fuga per canonem* that he had in mind for ‘Sirens.’

<sup>62</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, p. 58.

<sup>63</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, p. 91.



from and a binding to the past; something that Joyce was trying to accomplish in ‘Sirens.’ From a comparison of ‘Sirens’ and *Finnegans Wake*, it seems that Joyce had come to feel that the most productive way to present the “mistridden past” (FW, 110.31) of this new “wee free state” (FW, 117.34) that is “unfettered in our Irish daily independence” (FW, 118.2-3) is through weaving and interweaving voices, through simultaneously burying and digging up memory, through forgetting and remembering, through escaping from and tying oneself to the past, and through “fugal” fall and flight. Several critics have already alluded to this complicated re-working of memory throughout the book. For instance, Deane argues that the book is “a titanic exercise in remembering everything at the level of the unconscious because at the conscious level so much has been repressed that amnesia is the abiding condition.”<sup>64</sup> For Christine van Boheeman-Saaf, when it comes to the topic of history in *Finnegans Wake*, the text is “propelled by the author’s self-conscious self-analysis which can never uncover the moment of trauma, but must keep endeavouring to do so—by digging ever deeper into the medium of representation, and unceasingly sending himself into circulation in ever-progressive splitting.”<sup>65</sup> Consequently, in Joyce’s “polychromatic fugue,” there is a general agreement that *Finnegans Wake* is a colossal reworking of history so that nothing escapes uncertainty, ambiguity or contradiction. ALP and HCE’s encounters are often said to mirror the encounters of Ireland with the invader in a complicated mixture of violence and repression on the one hand, and sexual attraction and desire on the other.<sup>66</sup> The same familial and colonial antagonisms are often located in the exchanges between Shem and Shaun, as

---

<sup>64</sup> Seamus Deane, "Introduction: Finnegans Wake," *Finnegans Wake* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), p. xvii

<sup>65</sup> Christine van Boheemen-Saaf, *Joyce, Derrida, Lacan, and the Trauma of History: Reading, Narrative and Postcolonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 196.

<sup>66</sup> See Cyrus R. K. Patell, *Joyce's Use of History in Finnegans Wake* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 34; Thomas C. Hofheinz, *Joyce and the Invention of Irish History: Finnegans Wake in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 45, 179 and David Spurr, *Joyce and the Scene of Modernity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), pp. 129-30.



sibling rivalry becomes analogous with the rivalry between native and invader.<sup>67</sup> Within these conflicts, the location of an origin in familial or national history is indeterminable because there are too many possibilities. In the confusion of the “Museyroom,” history is warped by Kate who does not remember but “Redismembers” (FW, 8.6) the past and the history buried in the heap, can be excavated but can never be pieced together in a coherent fashion.<sup>68</sup>

Through weaving and interweaving voices, Joyce is always coming back to the scene of the crime—the first sexual encounter of the native and invader. However, this moment in history is never fully elucidated because Joyce’s language does not permit an explanation that admits any amount of clarity. For instance, the Anna Livia Plurabelle chapter is about “aringarung” (FW, 210.3) or Erinerrung (the German word for memory which also contains Erin for Ireland).<sup>69</sup> As in the ‘Sirens’ chapter, there is a running theme of buried memory which is alluded to when the washerwoman asks: “And how long was he under loch and neagh?” (FW, 196.31-32). Once again, Joyce makes a reference to the myth present in Thomas Moore’s “Let Erin Remember the Days of Old” which tells the story of a fisherman who can see a buried city from pre-colonial Ireland under the waters of Lough Neagh. As in ‘Sirens,’ there is a need to dig up the memory buried under these watery depths but at the same time, one must also take flight from this past as well. The washerwomen in the Anna Livia Plurabelle section try to dig up the original scene of the crime, as they want to “hear all

---

<sup>67</sup> See David Pierce, “The Politics of *Finnegans Wake*,” *Critical Essays on James Joyce's Finnegans Wake*, ed. Patrick A. McCarthy (New York: G. K., Hall & Co., 1992), p. 245; Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 142-3, 50; Yu-Chen Lin, *Justice, History, and Language in James Joyce's Finnegans Wake*, *Studies in Irish Literature*, vol. 9 (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), p. 42

<sup>68</sup> See Norris, *The Decentered Universe of Finnegans Wake*, p. 120; Lin, *Justice, History, and Language in James Joyce's Finnegans Wake*, p. 44 and Kimberly J. Devlin, *Wandering and Return in Finnegans Wake: An Integrative Approach to Joyce's Fictions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 10, 72-3. See also Derek Attridge, “Joyce, Jameson, and the Text of History,” *James Joyce, "Scribble 1", Genese Des Textes*, ed. Claude Jacquet, *La Revue Des Lettres Modernes* (Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1988), p. 186.

<sup>69</sup> See Patell, *Joyce's Use of History in Finnegans Wake*, p. 9.



about Anna Livia!” (FW, 196.14-15). They try to get to the bottom of her first sexual encounter, but never reach these depths fully, even though one of them states that she wants to know “every tiny teign. I want to know every single ingul. Down to what made the potters fly into jagshole. And why were the vesles vet” (FW, 201.21-23). The question is elaborated:

Tell me, tell me, how cam she camlin through all her fellows, the neckar she was the, diveline? Casting her perils before our swains form Fontein-Monte to Tidingtown and from Tidingtown tilhavet. Linking one and knocking the next, taping a flank and tipping a jutty and paling in and pietaring out and clyding by on her eastway. Waiwhou was the first thurever burst? Someone he was, whuebra they were, in a tactic attack or in single combat (FW, 202.7-14).

The answer to the question, however, shows that such elucidation of this first moment is impossible:

It was ages behind that when nullahs were nowhere, in county Wickenlow, garden of Erin, before she ever dreamt she'd lave Kilbride and go foaming under Horsepass bridge, with the great southerwestern windstorming her traces and the midland's grainwaster asarch for her track, to wend her ways byandby, robecca or worse, to spin and to grind, to swab and to thrash, for all her golden lifey in the barleyfields and pennylots of Humphrey's fordofhurdlestown and lie with a landleaper, wellingtonorseher. Alesse, the lagos of girly days! (FW, 202.35-36-203.1-8).

The chapter continues to engage in digging into the past but it never produces any concrete evidence. Of course, this interest in the ‘original’ scene of the crime extends into the entire book, as this kind of ‘excavation’ is taken up by the four historians, Mamalujo, as well. Adaline Glasheen describes these four appropriately as “old and discordant” figures that “shrink historical discipline into something monstrous, small, creeping.”<sup>70</sup> In the Mamalujo section, the history of Ireland’s invasion is indeed warped by them as they “could

---

<sup>70</sup> Glasheen, *Third Census of Finnegans Wake*, p. lvi.



remembore, long long ago in the olden times Momonian, throw darker hour sorrows” (FW, 387.17-18). Of course, the four spy on the love-making of Tristan and Isolde and ask Isolde/Ireland to leave Tristan and come back to them. Something similar happens in Book III, Chapter IV, as they watch ALP and HCE in bed at the scene of the crime once again. The act is associated with “the national misery” (FW, 574.18) and “the flood and the flaxen flood that’s to come over helpless Irryland” (FW, 583.19-20).

This compulsive return to the scene of the crime only never to reach its depths fully is the way in which Joyce advocates a simultaneous forgetting and remembering—something that is contradictory in nature, but absolutely essential for moving on from the past. Of course, one of the most prominent figures in this process of forgetting and remembering is Anna Livia Plurabelle. In the nightlessons chapter which is very much about “rinnerung” (FW, 300.15), the children want to know all about the past and the “memoiries of Hierling’s puny wars, end so, und all, ga, ga, of The O’Brien, The O’Connor, The Mac Loughlin and The Mac Namara with summed their appendage, da, da” (FW, 270.28-29-271.1-3). However, Anna Livia cautions the children about delving too deep into the history of “landhavemiseries” (FW, 288.25) telling them to stop and “take your heads out of that taletub. And leave your hinnyhennyhind you. It’s haunted” (FW, 2721.17-18). However, she is also a figure of memory, and relentlessly asks those she loves to remember. In fact, in the last chapter it is as if forgetting is impossible:

Begin to forget it. It will remember itself from every sides, with all gestures, in each our word. Today’s truth, tomorrow’s trend.

Forget, remember!

Have we cherished expectations? Are we for liberty of perusiveness? Whyafter what forewhere? A plainplanned liffeysim assembliments Eblania’s conglomerate horde. By dim delty Deva.

Forget! (FW, 614.20-26).



At the same time, it is also “Impossible to remember persons in improbable to forget position places” (FW, 617.8-9). She keeps telling those she loves to remember, but the memories she evokes are jumbled and ambiguous, and the reader only gets an essence of the memory with nothing concrete. The ambiguity of these memories, the lack of precision to any kind of detail so that the reader can understand what is being remembered is a method of forgetting; a way to achieve freedom from the past while still holding on to it at the same time.

It seems to have become a general opinion that through Joyce’s revolutionary re-working of history, he somehow overcomes the nightmare that had been burdening him throughout his career. For instance, Vincent Cheng states that through Joyce’s imagination, history is “conquered. History, no longer a nightmare” becomes a “dream of history, in which all possibilities, including actual reality can be realized and explored.”<sup>71</sup> It is certainly the case that Joyce frees history from linear manifestations and in so doing opens up endless possibilities. However, just because Joyce puts the language of history into an emancipated form, this does not mean that the pain or the sadness of the past disappears. Emer Nolan makes an interesting point when she states that Joyce’s accomplishment of artistic freedom has another side that mourns what has been lost in order for this liberation to be achieved:

When ALP-as-river joins the sea, something specific is lost in an oceanic chaos. As with her, so with Ireland. Both had entered the devil’s era of modernity, liberated into difference, lost to identity. This is not a simple transition. Joyce both celebrates and mourns it; his readers have so far tended only to join in the celebration.<sup>72</sup>

The mourning that Nolan discusses seems to be confirmed in Jacques Mercanton’s recollection of a time when Joyce “began to recite from the concluding pages of the book. Its

---

<sup>71</sup> Vincent J. Cheng, *Shakespeare and Joyce: A Study of Finnegans Wake* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984), p. 22.

<sup>72</sup> Emer Nolan, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), p. 181.



tonality is tragic, he said, yet it has its comical side.”<sup>73</sup> Of course, there is certainly much joy and humour in *Finnegans Wake* and, as in all of Joyce’s works, much of this humour is directed towards a critique of Ireland. However, Joyce’s description of the tragic tonality of the final monologue is, as Nolan states above, in need of critical attention.

The expressive power of dissonance in a tonal composition has already been explored and it is worth reiterating that throughout the history of Western music, dissonance has always been associated with the expression of pain.<sup>74</sup> This is why for Adorno, reason and language can describe suffering but only art, and especially music can express the *experience* of suffering because only music achieves the unity of form and content which can express the inexpressible. For Adorno, music is “closely related to actual suffering.”<sup>75</sup> However, once dissonance was freed from its obligation to be resolved, its expressive role, that is its ability to express pain, was called into question because it used to be expressive precisely due to its contrast with consonance. Some critics of Schoenberg’s music argue that since the obligation to resolve dissonance had been removed, dissonance had become meaningless. Adorno, however, challenges this view saying that such an opinion “simplifies the circumstance” and argues that

The new sounds are not the harmless successors of old consonances that is, new syntheses arising from old antitheses. Rather, they are distinguished from these by the fact that their unity is totally articulated within the sounds themselves; by the fact that the individual pitches of the accords are brought together in the chord-figure, but within the chord-figure each of them is differentiated from all the others. Thus they continue to ‘dissonante’; to be sure, not in contrast to the consonances which have been eliminated, but within themselves. In so doing, however, they retain the historical picture of dissonance. Dissonances

---

<sup>73</sup> Jacques Mercanton, “The Hours of Joyce,” *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Williard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), p. 244.

<sup>74</sup> For a discussion of dissonance as an expression of pain from Classicism to Modernism, see Brian K. Etter, *From Classicism to Modernism: Western Musical Culture and the Metaphysics of Order* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

<sup>75</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, p. 37



arose as the expression of tension, contradiction, and pain. They take on fixed contours and become 'material.' They are no longer the media of subjective expression. For this reason, however, they by no means deny their origin. They become characters of objective protest. It is the mysterious good fortune of these sounds that they have come to master the suffering which they once proclaimed, precisely by means of their transformation into material—and, thus, by the retention of suffering. Their negativity is true to utopia: it includes within itself the concealed consonance.<sup>76</sup>

In other words, dissonances continue to express suffering but through their emancipation they master this expression of suffering because they are no longer forced into resolution where previously, they were 'mastered.' The parallel to be made with *Finnegans Wake* is that even with its emancipation, the "Celtic note" (or what might be considered along the lines of the "Celtic note" for Joyce) still retains its connection to pain and sadness, but it is no longer the marginalised element in the English language. Whereas previously it was 'mastered' by imperial stipulations, this 'note' is no longer required to resolve into melancholy harmony. In other words, the sadness of the colonial situation was not something that could be erased, but it could still be presented in a 'liberated' form. For Adorno, one of the reasons that dissonance must retain its expression of pain is because it must retain its similarity to language, even if the "grammar" of tonality is false in the modern world. The crucial point is that music's striving towards the condition of language is also an expression of hope because it never gives up striving towards something that it will never fully attain. Richard Leppert puts it well when he states that for Adorno, "Music is the (concrete) voice of yearning for happiness, which cannot otherwise be directly annunciated, let alone realized."<sup>77</sup> In the passage quoted above, it seems that this striving is what Adorno is getting at when he states that the "negativity" of these dissonant sounds "is true to utopia" and that in their dissonant

---

<sup>76</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, p. 86.

<sup>77</sup> Richard Leppert, Commentary in Adorno, *Essays on Music, Selected, with Introduction, Commentary, and Notes by Richard Leppert*, pp. 85-86.



state they include within themselves a “concealed consonance.” Along these same lines, in a footnote in *The Philosophy of Modern Music*, Adorno acknowledges Joyce’s fragmentary style and lists him among the artists whose works of art “have a chance for survival” and states that the “fragmentary work, in its state of complete negativity belongs to utopia.”<sup>78</sup> Adorno’s description of the emancipation of dissonance as an expression of pain and hope, I would argue, is very much in line with what Joyce was trying to achieve in *Finnegans Wake*, especially in Anna Livia Plurabelle’s final monologue.

While throughout the book, the ‘original’ union between native and invader is revisited many times, in the final monologue, Anna Livia as Ireland remembers the first time she encountered the “exogerraidier!” (619.30) or her “strangerous” (FW, 625.5) husband. The implication is that it was a merging of the river with the sea in a kind of marital union: “Sea, sea! Here, weir, reach, island, bridge. Where you meet I. The day. Remember! Why there that moment and us two only?” (FW, 626.7-9). Importantly, Anna Livia remembers what could be her ‘pre-colonial’ self, while HCE is described as the invader:

I was the pet of everyone then. A princeable girl. And you were the pantymammy’s Vulking Corsergoth. The invision of Indelond. And, by Thorrer, you looked it! My lips went livid for from the joy of fear. Like almost now. How? How you said how you’d give me the keys of me heart. And we’d be married till delth to uspart. And though dev do espart (FW, 626.26-32)

Along with her simultaneous fear and attraction to this invader, there is also a sense in which a certain amount of love is being expressed and a sense in which her invader husband, or perhaps her mingling with her invader husband, becomes the “invision” or the ‘vision’ of Ireland as well. Consequently, she tells HCE the sentiments that often surface in the ballads of *Paddy’s Resource* or *The Spirit of the Nation* which call the country to awake or arise so

---

<sup>78</sup> Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, pp. 125-26.



that the harp of Ireland can finally resound in harmony. Anna Livia says, "Rise up, man of the hooths, you have slept so long!" (FW, 619.25-26) and tells him to "Rise up now and aruse!" (FW, 619.28-29). However, for Joyce this chord of harmony does not come. In the post-Civil War era, Ireland is partitioned as a "split little pea" (FW, 171.6) and what has been done by colonisation can never be undone. Joyce's "pure music" embraces this waiting for harmony that pervades Irish history as music in and of itself. Anna's monologue is a tribute to this wait. She tells HCE "But she won't rain showerly, our Ilma. Yet. Until it's the time" (FW, 621.9-10) and she thinks, "Time? We have loads on our hangs. Till Gilligan and Halligan call again to hooligan" (FW, 622.21-22). Furthermore, the monologue is also about the acceptance of this condition. As she says, "Twould be sore should ledden sorrow. I'll wait. And I'll wait. And then if all goes. What will be is. Is is. But let them" (FW, 620.30-32). She continues this sentiment with phrases like "So content me now" (FW, 624.6), "Let besoms be bosuns" (FW, 621.1) and "let her rain now if she likes. Gently or strongly as she likes. Anyway let her rain for my time is come" (FW, 627.10-12). In other words, there is a deep resolve in Anna Livia's final monologue, a kind of resolution that the state of cultural memory is not conducive to a harmonious resolution.

For all of the reasons presented in this chapter, Joyce *had* to create the "condition of music" because he had to come to terms with the condition of memory in Ireland. In the end, Joyce did serve Ireland through song by creating 'music' that escapes the bonds of Celticism and its stipulations of imperial harmony, but still presents an expression of the pain of the past. It was as if the things he wanted to say in *Finnegans Wake*, and especially in the final monologue, could not be said in clear and precise language because such language only scratches the surface, whereas Joyce wanted to keep digging until he reached the essence of this expression, or as Adorno states, the "true language" with its curse of ambiguity. The merging of form and content, like the merging of the river Liffey with the sea, is not a



harmonious 'marriage' but a dissonant union that is simultaneously a liberation and a painful, or as Anna Livia Plurabelle states, a "bitter ending" (FW, 627).



## Conclusion: From *Chamber Music* to “Pure Music”

Today every work is virtually what Joyce declared *Finnegans Wake* to be before he published the whole: work in progress. But a work that in its own terms, in its own texture and complexion, is only possible as emergent and developing, cannot without lying at the same time lay claim to being complete and ‘finished.’<sup>1</sup> —Theodor Adorno

My work, from *Dubliners* on, goes in a straight line of development. It is almost indivisible, only the scale of expressiveness and writing technique rises somewhat steeply. After all, I was only twenty years old when I wrote *Dubliners*, and between *Ulysses* and ‘Work in Progress’ there is a difference of six years of painstaking work. I finished *Ulysses* in 1921, and the first fragment of ‘Work in Progress’ was published in transition six years later. The difference, then, comes from development and from that alone. My whole work is always in progress.<sup>2</sup> —James Joyce

It is apt that this conclusion opens with Adorno and Joyce refusing to create concluded art, to always keep artworks “in progress.” Joyce’s comments to Adolph Hoffmeister quoted above are relevant since this thesis has shown how important musical forms and concepts of harmony and dissonance were to Joyce’s progress from *Chamber Music* to the “pure music” of *Finnegans Wake*. To sum up what has been argued in this thesis, the young Joyce was striving towards the “condition of music” where matter and form are merged in a harmonious union. In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, however, he criticises his youthful desire for such harmony by engaging in a style that emulates and ironises this “condition of music.” In *Ulysses*, Stephen is portrayed as a character who is *outgrowing* his idealistic pursuits of harmony. At the same time, instead of striving towards the “condition of music” in *Ulysses*, the more mature Joyce creates a narrative style in which

---

<sup>1</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor, ed. Gretel Adorno, Rolf Tiedemann (London: The Athlone Press, 1997), p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Adolph Hoffmeister, "Portrait of Joyce by Adolph Hoffmeister," *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), p. 131. Of course, Joyce seems to be stretching the truth in claiming that he was twenty when he wrote *Dubliners*, as he completed “The Dead” at age 25.



the content and the form are at war with one another. In *Finnegans Wake* Joyce ends this resistance, allowing the dissonant content to be at peace with a dissonant form. To put it another way, Joyce and Stephen's aesthetic theory which is bound up in concepts of harmony and wholeness, finally culminates in an artwork that is colossally unfinished and an aesthetic theory that is more like that of Adorno than Stephen Dedalus.

As Joyce makes clear in the statement above, this artistic progression involved a gradual development from youth to maturity, and this is something that he often discussed with friends. For instance, when Arthur Power said that he thought Joyce was better as a romantic in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Joyce replied, "It was the book of my youth...but *Ulysses* is the book of my maturity, and I prefer my maturity to my youth."<sup>3</sup> Likewise, in another conversation with Power regarding *Ulysses*, Joyce said that "one cannot always remain an adolescent. *Ulysses* is the man of experience."<sup>4</sup> Appropriately, Adorno contends that the pursuit of harmony is naïve and that dissonance is the aesthetic preference of one who is mature: "Schoenberg fulfilled the Wagnerian wish that music should finally outgrow its baby shoes. He no longer allows us to abandon ourselves to pure harmony, or to doze in a mood."<sup>5</sup> In other words, dissonance is "what aesthetics as well as naïveté calls ugly."<sup>6</sup>

However, this progression from harmony to dissonance, from youth to maturity, was not an easy one for Joyce. If Joyce made a *non serviam* claim that is similar to Stephen's, it seems that the most difficult thing for him to do was to abandon his pursuit of harmony. That Joyce was working against himself to create a fugue in 'Sirens,' as was argued in Chapter

---

<sup>3</sup> Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, ed. Clive Hart (London: Millington Ltd; Dublin: Cahill & Co. Ltd, 1974), p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> Theodor Adorno, "Towards an Understanding of Schoenberg," trans. Susan H. Gillespie, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California, 2002), p. 630.

<sup>6</sup> Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, p. 46.



Four, could be an indication of the difficulty involved in ceasing to strive for harmony. To repudiate nationality, language and religion was relatively straightforward, but to relinquish his harmonic ideals was to relinquish the illusion that he had hoped would provide him stability amid the chaos of cultural memory and the instability of the modern world. Yet, in the end, it seems that the ‘mature’ decision was to let go of illusions, and in so doing, Joyce’s style conformed to what he had come to believe was more ‘truthful.’ As he once said to Arthur Power:

What makes most people’s lives unhappy is some disappointed romanticism, some unrealisable or misconceived ideal. In fact you may say that idealism is the ruin of man, and if we lived down to fact, as primitive man had to do, we would be better off. That is what we were made for. Nature is quite unromantic. It is we who put romance into her, which is a false attitude, an egotism, absurd like all egotisms. In *Ulysses* I tried to keep close to fact.<sup>7</sup>

In this passage, Joyce sounds very like Adorno in his assertion that romance is a false illusion. By saying that he has tried to stay close to fact, Joyce is arguing for his own version of “truth-content” in art. It seems that Joyce also felt that his revolutionary styles, however incomprehensible, were the only way to represent truthfully his colonial country in the modern world. This wish to be truthful in art can be related to Joyce’s comments to Power about Proust. For Joyce, what Proust had done with language “was not experimentation...his innovations were necessary to express modern life as he saw it. As life changes the style to express it must change also.”<sup>8</sup>

Of course, creating art that truthfully expresses modern life is to create works that, in Joyce and Adorno’s terms, are always “in progress.” With this continual striving in mind, it is not surprising that both Joyce and Adorno have frequently been compared to the figure of

---

<sup>7</sup> Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup> Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, p. 79.



Odysseus and the condition of homeless wandering. As was explored in Chapter Five, this condition of striving is apparent in the “decentred universe” of *Finnegans Wake* where Joyce’s language is always striving to say something, and the “atonal philosophy” of Adorno which does not arrive at discernible conclusions. With this striving in mind, it seems that Joyce would have sympathised with Adorno’s contention in *Minima Moralia* that “In his text, the writer sets up house” and that “For a man who no longer has a homeland, writing becomes a place to live.”<sup>9</sup> For all Adorno’s pessimism, there is still a sense in which such striving is a hopeful pursuit. According to Robert Witkin:

It makes as much sense to me to see this extraordinarily resourceful and restless thinker as sharing some of the characteristics of a modern Odysseus, rather than as a tragic hero or as a Cassandra prophesying doom. A pessimistic Odysseus, perhaps, and yet I cannot read his late essays without feeling that the memory of Ithaca is strong. He is sometimes dispirited and he is often far-seeing, concerning the dangers ahead. But he does seek to steer around them, to find a way through; he never gives up believing that the knot can be undone, the disaster overcome and the ship steered back on course.<sup>10</sup>

To pursue the Odyssean parallel further, it may be that Joyce and Adorno’s paths converge most prominently in the Sirens episode. Odysseus’s encounter with the Sirens is an encounter with the past, for as Adorno and Horkheimer remind us, the Sirens know everything that has ever happened and promise a harmonious resolution. However, the Sirens “demand the future as the price of that knowledge, and the promise of the happy return

---

<sup>9</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*, trans. E. F. N. Jephcott (London: Verso, 1974), p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> Robert W. Witkin, *Adorno on Music* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p. 27. See also Leppert in Theodor Adorno, *Essays on Music, Selected, with Introduction, Commentary, and Notes by Richard Leppert*, trans. Susan H. Gillespie, ed. Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 563: “Adorno chose to imagine utopia, and in that imagining he delineated not the pipe dream of a fool, but the conscious remembrance of harmony, however fleeting, whether in his memories of childhood or in, say, Mahler’s sonic evocations of young life recalled. Modernity, like the new music, was growing old; Adorno’s faithful adherence to the possibility of something better was not.”



is the deception with which the past ensnares the one who longs for it.”<sup>11</sup> The key element in this encounter is that Odysseus makes a *mature* decision. Just as Joyce saw Odysseus as a man of experience, Adorno argues that Odysseus “has reached maturity through suffering.”<sup>12</sup> Consequently, he has the resources to come up with a clever plan to save himself while still facing up to the Sirens and the past which they evoke. As Joyce states, “Ulysses is also a great musician; he wishes to and must listen; he has himself tied to the mast.”<sup>13</sup> Of course, Adorno and Horkheimer’s discussion of Odysseus’s encounter with the Sirens is also a critique of capitalist society: it acknowledges the plight of Odysseus’s men who must row and are prevented from hearing the Sirens’ songs while their leader is allowed to enjoy them. However, Odysseus binds himself in order to escape in a way that is in line with Joyce’s and Adorno’s striving for artistic emancipation while still binding themselves to the truths of history. Of course, it can be argued that Joyce does this far more optimistically than Adorno in that he ends *Ulysses* with “yes,” a fairly positive note. Adorno’s Odyssean wandering has a more pessimistic strain which is especially evident in the conclusion to the “Schoenberg and Progress” section of *The Philosophy of Modern Music*: “Modern music sees absolute oblivion as its goal. It is the surviving message of despair from the shipwrecked.”<sup>14</sup> Yet for all their degrees of optimism or pessimism, the key element is that sailing past the Sirens is a feat of survival.

Although Ithaca is never reached, and in that sense, there is no ‘resolution,’ I would argue that Joyce’s artistic progression from harmony to dissonance is paradoxically also Joyce’s ongoing advancement towards a ‘reconciliation’ with Ireland—a kind of atonement

---

<sup>11</sup> Theodor Adorno, Horkheimer, Max, *Dialectic of the Enlightenment*, trans. John Cumming (London: Verso, 1979), p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> Adorno, *Dialectic of the Enlightenment*, p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> Ellmann, *James Joyce*, p. 430.

<sup>14</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Philosophy of Modern Music*, trans. Wesley V. Bloomster, Anne G. Mitchell (London: Sheed and Ward Ltd., 1948), p. 133.



or some kind of ‘understanding’ between himself and his country. Joyce’s entire career was spent critiquing Ireland on the one hand, and trying to reconcile himself to it on the other. As was argued in Chapter Two, there is a very subtle attempt to effect ‘reconciliation’ in “The Dead” as Gabriel pursues the same kind of harmony that the young Joyce pursued. By attributing Gabriel with his own ideals of harmony, Joyce acknowledges that he was facing the same problems the Revival was encountering, and hints at an admission that his own pursuit of harmony had also been an illusion. As was argued in Chapter Three, Joyce touches upon another admission that he had been wrong in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* through his ironisation of Stephen’s striving towards the “condition of music.”

Joyce’s awareness of the harshness of his critique of Ireland is especially evident in a statement that he made after writing the ‘Cyclops’ episode in the aftermath of the 1916 rebellion: “I don’t want to hurt or offend those of my countrymen who are devoting their lives to a cause they feel to be necessary and just.”<sup>15</sup> It seems that Joyce makes his ‘reconciliation’ for this in Anna Livia Plurabelle’s final monologue when she states, “Why I’m all these years within years in soffran, allbeleaved. To hide away the tear, the parted. It’s thinking of all. The brave that gave their. The fair that wore. All them that’s gunne” (FW, 625). She also addresses Ireland as home and the people as her people: “Home! My people were not their sort out beyond there so far as I can” (FW, 627). Of course, making claims for Joyce’s intentions can be contestable, but from the subtle attempts at reconciliation apparent in “The Dead” and in *A Portrait*, I would argue that Joyce’s “work in progress” from *Chamber Music* to the “pure music” of *Finnegans Wake* is both a progression from harmony to dissonance and a progression of striving towards reconciliation at the same time. For all the humour in Joyce’s works, his writing also gives voice to a kind of sadness which acknowledges that he felt the losses of his country and empathised with the efforts to create

---

<sup>15</sup> Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 152.



harmony out of a painful past, especially since he could be counted among the many who tried. In many respects, the unity between the form and content and the unity created by Anna Livia Plurabelle's mingling with the sea are themes that promote reconciliation. However, the only resolution that was 'truthful' to Joyce was a dissonant union and a resolve that Irish cultural memory could never be compatible with a harmonious resolution. In the end, the "chords" that kept him connected to Ireland, were the means through which he could pursue an 'inharmonious' reconciliation with his country and its past.



## Bibliography

### Primary Texts

- Joyce, James. *Chamber Music*. 1907. London: Jonathon Cape, 1971.
- The Critical Writings*. 1959. Ed. Richard Ellmann, Ellsworth Mason. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989.
- Dubliners*. 1914. New York: Penguin Books, 1993.
- Exiles*. 1918. London: Jonathan Cape, 1972.
- Finnegans Wake*. 1939. New York: Penguin Books, 1999.
- Giacamo Joyce*. 1968. London: Faber and Faber, 1983.
- Letters of James Joyce*. Ed. Stuart Gilbert. Vol. I. London: Faber and Faber, 1957.
- Letters of James Joyce*. Ed. Richard Ellmann. Vol. II. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.
- Letters of James Joyce*. Ed. Richard Ellmann. Vol. III. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.
- A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. 1916. Ed. R. B. Kershner. Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- Stephen Hero: A Part of the First Draft of a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. 1944. Ed. Theodore Spencer. London: Paladin Press, 1991.
- Ulysses*. 1922. *The Corrected Text*. Ed. Hans Walter Gabler. New York: Vintage Books, 1986.

### Manuscripts

- The James Joyce Archive*, Ed. Michael Groden, Hans Walter Gabler, David Hayman, A. Walton Litz and Danis Rose, Volume 13, *Ulysses: 'Wandering Rocks,' 'Sirens,' 'Cyclops,' & 'Nausicaa, A Facsimile of Manuscripts & Typescripts for Episodes 10-13*. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977.
- The Joyce Papers 2002*, Early Material; Drafts etc. of Parts of *Ulysses*; Proofs etc. for *Finnegans Wake*. Compiler, Peter Kenny. National Library of Ireland, MS 36,639, Accession No. 6163, Collection List No. 68.



## Secondary Sources

- Adams, Robert M. *Surface and Symbol: The Consistency of James Joyce's Ulysses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Adorno, Theodor. *Aesthetic Theory*. Trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor. Ed. Gretel Adorno, Rolf Tiedemann. London: The Athlone Press, 1997.
- "The Aging of the New Music." Trans. Susan H. Gillespie. *Essays on Music*. Ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California, 2002. pp. 181-202.
- "Alienated Masterpiece: The *Missa Solemnis*." Trans. Susan H. Gillespie. *Essays on Music*. Ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California, 2002. pp. 569-83.
- and Horkheimer, Max. *Dialectic of the Enlightenment*. Trans. John Cumming. London: Verso, 1979.
- "Difficulties." Trans. Susan H. Gillespie. *Essays on Music*. Ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California, 2002. pp. 644-80.
- "Late Style in Beethoven." Trans. Susan H. Gillespie. *Essays on Music*. Ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California, 2002. pp. 564-68.
- Mahler: A Musical Physiognomy*. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Minima Moralia: Reflections from Damaged Life*. 1951. Trans. E. F. N. Jephcott. London: Verso, 1974.
- "Music, Language, and Composition." Trans. Susan H. Gillespie. *Essays on Music*. Ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. pp. 113-26.
- Negative Dialectics*. Trans. E. B. Ashton. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
- "On the Contemporary Relationship of Philosophy and Music." Trans. Susan H. Gillespie. *Essays on Music*. Ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California, 2002. pp. 135-61.
- "On the Social Situation of Music." Trans. Susan H. Gillespie. *Essays on Music*. Ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California, 2002. pp. 391-436.
- Philosophy of Modern Music*. Trans. Wesley V. Bloomster, Anne G. Mitchell. London: Sheed and Ward Ltd., 1948.
- Prisms*. Trans. Samuel Weber, Shierry Weber. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981.
- "Towards an Understanding of Schoenberg." Trans. Susan H. Gillespie. *Essays on Music*. Ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California, 2002. pp. 627-43.



- "Trying to Understand Endgame." Trans. S. W. Nichol森. *Notes to Literature*. Vol. I. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991.
- "Why Is the New Art So Hard to Understand?" Trans. Susan H. Gillespie. *Essays on Music*. Ed. Richard Leppert. Berkeley: University of California, 2002. pp. 127-33.
- Addwell, Edward, Schachter, Carl. *Harmony and Voice Leading*. 3rd ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Group, 2003.
- Antheil, George. *Bad Boy of Music*. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1945.
- Arnold, Matthew. *The Study of Celtic Literature*. 1867. New York and London: Kennikat Press, 1970.
- Attali, Jacques. *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. 1977. Trans. Brian Massumi. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Attridge, Derek. *Joyce Effects, on Language, Theory, and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- "Joyce, Jameson, and the Text of History." *James Joyce, "Scribble 1", Genese Des Textes*. Ed. Claude Jacquet. La Revue Des Lettres Modernes. Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1988. pp. 183-91.
- Peculiar Language: Literature as Difference from the Renaissance to James Joyce*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- and Howes, Marjorie, ed. *Semicolonial Joyce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- "Syntax and the Subject in 'Sirens'." *James Joyce: The Centennial Symposium*. Ed. Morris Beja, Phillip Herring, Maurice Harmon, David Norris. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986. pp. 59-65.
- Aubert, Jacques. *The Aesthetics of James Joyce*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.
- Baccolini. "'She Had Become a Memory': Women as Memory in James Joyce's *Dubliners*." *Rejoycing: New Readings of Dubliners*. Ed. Rosa M. Bollettieri Bosinelli, Harold F. Mosher Jr. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1998. pp. 145-64.
- Ballantine, Christopher. *Music and Its Social Meanings*. New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1984.
- Barenboim, Daniel, Said, Edward W. *Parallels and Paradoxes: Explorations in Music and Society*. Ed. Ara Guzelimian. London: Bloomsbury, 2002.
- Barolsky, Paul. *Walter Pater's Renaissance*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1987.



- Barron, Phillip. *The Harp of Erin*. 1916.
- Barry, Kevin. *Language, Music and the Sign: A Study in Aesthetics, Poetics and Poetic Practice From Collins to Coleridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Barry, Michael Joseph, ed. *The Songs of Ireland*. Dublin: James Duffy, 1845.
- Barthes, Roland. *Image, Music, Text*. Trans. Stephen Heath. London: Fontana, 1977.
- The Grain of the Voice: Interviews 1962-1980*. 1981. Trans. Linda Coverdale. London: Jonathan Cape, 1985.
- Baudelaire, Charles. "The Painter of Modern Life." *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays by Charles Baudelaire*. Ed. Jonathan Mayne. London: Phaidon Press, 1964. pp. 1-40.
- Bauerle, Ruth, ed. *The James Joyce Songbook*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1982.
- ed. *Picking up Airs: Hearing the Music in Joyce's Text*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993.
- and Matthew J. C. Hodgart. *Joyce's Grand Operoar: Opera in Finnegans Wake*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
- Bax, Sir Arnold. "Master of the King's Music." *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*. Ed. Aloys Fleischmann. Cork: Cork University Press, 1952. pp. i-iv
- Beach, Sylvia. "Joyce's Way of Life." *James Joyce: Interviews and Recollections*. Ed. E. H. Mikhail. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1990. pp. 93-95.
- Shakespeare and Company*. London: Plantin Publishers, 1956.
- Bebe, Maurice. "Joyce and Aquinas: The Theory of Aesthetics." *James Joyce, Dubliners and A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: A Casebook*. Ed. Morris Beja. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1973. pp. 151-71.
- Beckett, Samuel. "Dante...Bruno. Vico...Joyce." *Modern Critical Views: James Joyce*. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1986. pp. 7-20.
- Beja, Morris. *James Joyce: A Literary Life*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillian Ltd., 1992.
- Bengal, Michael. "Hosty's Ballad in *Finnegans Wake*: The Galway Connection." *Joyce and the City: The Significance of Place*. Ed. Michael Bengal. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002. pp. 151-61.
- Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Trans. Howard Eiland, Kevin McLaglin. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1999.



- "Excavation and Memory." *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*. Ed. Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, Gary Smith. Vol. II. Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 1999. p. 576.
- "The Image of Proust." Trans. Harry Zorn. *Illuminations*. Ed. Hannah Arendt. London: Pimlico, 1999. pp. 197-210.
- "On Some Motifs in Baudelaire." Trans. Harry Zorn. *Illuminations*. Ed. Hannah Arendt. London: Pimlico, 1999. pp. 152-96.
- Benstock, Bernard. "Ulysses: The Making of an Irish Myth." *Approaches to Ulysses*. Ed. Thomas F. Staley, Bernard Benstock. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1970. pp. 199-234.
- ed. *James Joyce the Augmented Ninth*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988.
- Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982.
- Bersani, Leo. "Against *Ulysses*." *James Joyce's Ulysses: A Casebook*. Ed. Derek Attridge. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. pp. 201-30.
- Bishop, John. "Introduction." *Finnegans Wake*. New York: Penguin, 1999.
- Joyce's Book of the Dark*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.
- Boldrini, Lucia, ed. *Medieval Joyce*. Vol. 13. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002.
- Bonafous-Murat, Carle. "Disposition and Pre-Disposition: The Art of Involuntary Memory in *Dubliners*." *Classic Joyce, Joyce Studies in Italy 6, Papers from the XVI International James Joyce Symposium, Rome 14-20 June 1998*. Ed. Franca Ruggieri. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1999. pp. 361-71.
- Booker, M. Keith. *Ulysses, Capitalism, and Colonialism*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000.
- Bourke, Angela. "Keening as Theatre: J.M. Synge and the Irish Lament Tradition." *Interpreting Synge: Essays from the Synge Summer School 1991-2000*. Ed. Nicholas Grene. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2000. pp. 67-79.
- Bowen, Zach. "Libretto for Bloomusalem in Song: The Music of Joyce's *Ulysses*." *New Light on Joyce from the Dublin Symposium*. Ed. Fritz Senn. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972. pp. 149-66.
- Musical Allusions in the Works of James Joyce: Early Poetry through Ulysses*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974.
- Bloom's Old Sweet Song: Essays on Joyce and Music*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995.



- Bowie, Andrew. "Music, Language and Modernity." *The Problems of Modernity: Adorno and Benjamin*. Ed. Andrew Benjamin. London and New York: Routledge, 1989. pp. 67-85.
- Bowman, Wayne. *Philosophical Perspectives on Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Boyce, George D. "'No Lack of Ghosts': Memory, Commemoration and the State in Ireland." *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*. Ed. Ian McBride. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. pp. 245-71.
- Boyd, Ernest A. *Ireland's Literary Renaissance*. Dublin and London: Maunsel and Co. Ltd., 1916.
- Boydell, Brian. "Music at the Rotunda Gardens in Dublin, 1771-91: A Change in Musical Taste." *Irish Musical Studies I: Musicology in Ireland*. Ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990. pp. 99-116.
- Boydell, Barra. "The Iconography of the Irish Harp as a National Symbol." *Irish Musical Studies 5: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995, Selected Proceedings: Part Two*. Ed. Harry White, Patrick F. Devine. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996. pp. 131-45.
- Boykan, Martin. *Silence and Slow Time: Studies in Musical Narrative*. Lenham: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2004.
- Boyle, Robert, S. J. "Ulysses as Frustrated Sonata Form." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 11.No.4 (Summer 1965): 247-54.
- Brandes, Georg. *William Shakespeare: A Critical Study*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935.
- Brivic, Sheldon. *Joyce's Waking Women: An Introduction to Finnegans Wake*. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1995.
- Brooke, Charlotte. *Reliques of Irish Poetry (1789) by Charlotte Brooke and a Memoir of Miss Brooke (1816) by Aaron Crossley Hobart Seymour*. Gainesville: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1970.
- Brown Knuth, Carole. "A Sense of Song." *Finnegans Wake Circular* Vol 2.No. 1 (Autumn 1986): 15-17.
- Brown, Malcolm. *The Politics of Irish Literature from Thomas Davis to W. B. Yeats*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972.
- Brown, Terence. "Music: The Cultural Issue." *Music in Ireland 1848-1998*. Ed. Richard Pine. Dublin: Mercier Press, 1998. pp. 37-45.
- Ireland's Literature: Selected Essays*. Mullingar: The Lilliput Press, 1998.



- The Life of W.B. Yeats: A Critical Biography*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999.
- Brunsdale, Mitzi M. *James Joyce: A Study of the Short Fiction. Twayne's Studies in Short Fiction Series, No. 45*. Ed. Gordon Weaver. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1993.
- Buckley, Anne. "And His Voice Swelled Like a Terrible Thunderstorm...!": Music as Symbolic Sound in Medieval Irish Society." *Irish Musical Studies 3: Music and Irish Cultural History*. Ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995. pp. 13-76.
- Bucknell, Brad. *Literary Modernism and Musical Aesthetics: Pater, Pound, Joyce, and Stein*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Budgen, Frank. *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Bunning, Marius. "History and Modernity in Joyce's *Ulysses*." *Joyce, Modernity, and Its Mediation, European Joyce Studies*. Ed. Christine Van Boheemen-Saaf. Vol. 1. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989. pp. 127-40.
- Bunting, Edward. *The Ancient Music of Ireland Arranged for the Piano Forte to Which Is Prefixed a Dissertation on the Irish Harp and Harpers Including an Account of the Old Melodies of Ireland*. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1840.
- Burgess, Anthony. *Re Joyce*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1965.
- Joysprick: An Introduction to the Language of James Joyce*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1973.
- Burns, Christy L. *Gestural Politics: Stereotype and Parody in Joyce*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- Burrows, Donald. "Handel's Dublin Performances." *Irish Musical Studies 4: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part One*. Ed. Harry White, Patrick F. Devine. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996. pp. 46-70.
- Buttigieg, Joseph. *A Portrait of the Artist in a Different Perspective*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1987.
- Cairns, David, Richards, Shaun. *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988.
- Castle, Gregory. *Modernism and the Celtic Revival*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Caulfield, James Walter. "The Word as Will and Idea: Dedalean Aesthetics and the Influence of Schopenhauer." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol 35/36.No. 4/1 (Summer/Fall 1998): 695-714.



- Chapman, Wayne K. *Yeats and English Renaissance Literature*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1991.
- Cheng, Vincent J. *Shakespeare and Joyce: A Study of Finnegans Wake*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1984.
- Joyce, Race, and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Chua, Daniel K. L. *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Clayton, Martin, Herbert, Trevor, Middleton, Richard, ed. *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*. New York and London: Routledge, 2003.
- Cole, David W. "Fugal Structure in the Sirens Episode of *Ulysses*." *Modern Fiction Studies* Vol. 19.No. 2 (Summer 1973): 221-26.
- Connerton, Paul. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Conran, Michael. *The National Music of Ireland, Containing the History of the Irish Melodies, the Harp, and Other Musical Instruments of Ireland*. 2nd ed. London: John Johnson, 1850.
- Cronin, Anthony. *Heritage Now: Irish Literature in the English Language*. Dingle: Brandon Book Publishers Ltd., 1982.
- Cronin, Maura. "Memory, Story and Balladry: 1798 and Its Place in Popular Memory in Pre-Famine Ireland." *Rebellion and Remembrance in Modern Ireland*. Ed. Laurence M. Geary. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001. pp. 112-34.
- Crump, Ian. "Refining Himself out of Existence: The Evolution of Joyce's Aesthetic Theory and the Drafts of a Portrait." *Joyce in Context*. Ed. Vincent J. Cheng, Timothy Martin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. pp. 223-40.
- Culleton, Claire A. "'Taking the Biscuit' Narrative Cheekiness in *Dubliners*." *Rejoicing: New Readings of Dubliners*. Ed. Rosa M. Bollettieri Bosinelli, Harold F. Mosher Jr. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1998. pp. 110-22.
- Dahlhaus, Carl. *Schoenberg and the New Music*. Trans. Derrick Puffett, Alfred Clayton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Davis, Leith. *Music, Postcolonialism, and Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity, 1724-1874*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.
- Davis, Thomas. *National and Historical Ballads, Songs and Poems by Thomas Davis, M.R.I.A.* New and Revised ed. Dublin: James Duffy and Co. Ltd.



- Day, Robert Adams. "Dante, Ibsen, Joyce, Epiphanies, and the Art of Memory." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 25.No. 3 (Spring 1988): 357-62.
- Deane, Seamus. *Celtic Revivals: Essays in Modern Literature 1880-1980*. London: Faber and Faber, 1985.
- "Masked with Matthew Arnold's Face': Joyce and Liberalism." *James Joyce: The Centennial Symposium*. Ed. Morris Beja, Phillip Herring, Maurice Harmon, David Norris. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986. pp. 9-20.
- "Joyce the Irishman." *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*. Ed. Derek Attridge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. pp. 31-54.
- ed. *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*. Vol. I. Derry: Field Day Publications, 1991.
- ed. *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*. Vol. II. Derry: Field Day Publications, 1991.
- "Introduction: Finnegans Wake." *Finnegans Wake*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992. pp. vii-xxix.
- Finnegans Wake. Unpublished Essays*: Notre Dame, O'Connell House, 2004.
- Deming, Robert H., ed. *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage*. Vol. I. London and New York: Routledge, 1970.
- DeNora, Tia. *Music in Everyday Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Devlin, Kimberly J. *Wandering and Return in Finnegans Wake: An Integrative Approach to Joyce's Fictions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Dowden, Edward. *Shakspeare: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1906.
- Duffy, Enda. *The Subaltern Ulysses*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan, ed. *The Ballad Poetry of Ireland*. 1845. 14th ed. New York: Scholars Facimiles and Reprints, 1973.
- Dunan, Joseph E. "The Modality of the Audible in Joyce's *Ulysses*." *PMLA* Vol. 72.No. 1 (1957): 286-95.
- Dunne, Tom. "Haunted by History: Irish Romantic Writing 1800-50." *Romanticism in National Context*. Ed. Roy Porter, Mikulas Teich. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. pp. 68-91.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture*. London: Verso, 1995.



- Eco, Umberto. *The Middle Ages of James Joyce: The Aesthetics of Chaosmos*. 1962. Trans. Ellen Esrock. Tulsa: University of Tulsa, 1982.
- Ellmann, Richard. *The Consciousness of Joyce*. London: Faber and Faber, 1977.
- James Joyce*. 1959. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Ulysses on the Liffey*. London: Faber and Faber, 1972.
- Etter, Brian K. *From Classicism to Modernism: Western Musical Culture and the Metaphysics of Order*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Fairhall, James. *James Joyce and the Question of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Fallis, Richard. *The Irish Renaissance: An Introduction to Anglo-Irish Literature*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1977.
- Fearn, Raymond. "Homer-Dante-Joyce-Dallapiccola: Four Artists in Search of Ulysses." *Irish Musical Studies 4: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part One*. Ed. Harry White, Patrick F. Devine. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996. pp. 411-21.
- Ferrer, Daniel. "Echo or Narcissus?" *James Joyce: The Centennial Symposium*. Ed. Morris Beja, Philip Herring, Maurice Harmon, David Norris. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986. pp. 70-75.
- "Loci Memoriae: Joyce and the Art of Memory." *Classic Joyce: Joyce Studies in Italy 6, Papers from the XVI International James Joyce Symposium, Rome 14-20 June 1998*. Ed. Franca Ruggieri. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1999. pp. 355-60.
- "What Song the Sirens Sang...Is No Longer Beyond All Conjecture: A Preliminary Description of the New 'Proteus' and 'Sirens' Manuscripts." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 39.No. 1 (Fall 2001): 53-68.
- Fischer, Andreas. "Strange Words, Strange Music: The Verbal Music of 'Sirens'." *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999. pp. 245-62.
- Flannery, James W. *Dear Harp of My Country: The Irish Melodies of Thomas Moore*. Nashville: J.S. Sanders and Company, 1997.
- Fleischmann, Aloys, ed. *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*. Cork: Cork Univeristy Press, 1952.
- Flood, W. H. Grattan. *The Story of the Harp*. London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co. Ltd, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.
- A History of Irish Music*. 1905. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1970.



- Ford, Madox Ford. *Letters of Ford Madox Ford*. Ed. R. M. Ludwig. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.
- Foster, Roy. *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*. England: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1988.
- "Remembering 1798." *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*. Ed. Ian McBride. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. pp. 67-94.
- W. B. Yeats: A Life: The Apprentice Mage 1865-1914*. Vol. I. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- W. B. Yeats: A Life: The Arch-Poet 1915-1939*. Vol. II. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Fox, Charlotte Milligan. *Songs of the Irish Harpers Collected and Arranged by C. Millington Fox*. London: Banley and Ferguson, 1910.
- Annals of the Irish Harpers*. London: John Murray, 1911.
- Frisby, David. "The Flaneur in Social Theory." *The Flaneur*. Ed. Keith Tester. London and New York: Routledge, 1994. pp. 81-110.
- Frith, Simon. "Music and Identity." *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Ed. Stuart Hall, Paul du Gay. London: Sage Publications, 1996.
- Froula, Christine. *Modernism's Body: Sex, Culture, and Joyce*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.
- Fubini, Enrico. *The History of Music Aesthetics*. 1964. Trans. Michael Hatwell. London: Macmillan Press, 1987.
- Gibbons, Luke. *'Tis Songs That Is Most to Be Dreaded': The United Irishmen and Moore's Melodies*. Introduction to *Romancing the Rebellion: 1798 and the Songs of Thomas Moore*: CD of Kathleen Tynan, Soprano and the Irish Piano Trio.
- Transformations in Irish Culture. Critical Conditions: Field Day Monographs*. Ed. Seamus Deane. Vol. 2. Cork: Cork University Press, 1996.
- "Where Wolfe Tone's Statue Was Not': Joyce, Monuments and Memory." *History and Memory in Modern Ireland*. Ed. Ian McBride. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. pp. 139-59.
- "Spaces of Time through Times of Space: Joyce, Ireland and Colonial Modernity." *Field Day Review* Vol I (2005): 71-86.
- Gibson, Andrew, Ed. *Joyce's 'Ithaca'*. Vol. 6. European Joyce Studies. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996.



- Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics, and Aesthetics in Ulysses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- , Morrison, Steven, Van Boheemen-Saaf, Christine, ed. *Joyce's Wandering Rocks*. Vol. 12. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2002.
- Gibson, Nigel, Rubin, Andrew, ed. *Adorno: A Critical Reader*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2002.
- Gifford, Don. *Ulysses Annotated: Notes for James Joyce's Ulysses*. 1974. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Gilbert, Stuart. *James Joyce's Ulysses*. 1930. London: Peregrine, 1969.
- Gillespie, Michael Patrick, Erik Bradford Stocker, ed. *James Joyce's Trieste Library: A Catalogue of Materials at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, the University of Texas at Austin*. Austin: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin, 1986.
- Gillet, Louis. "The Living Joyce." *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*. Ed. Willard Potts. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979. pp. 170-204.
- "James Joyce." *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*. Ed. Willard Potts. Seattle: University of Washington, 1979. pp. 163-69.
- Glasheen, Adaline. *Third Census of Finnegans Wake: An Index of the Characters and Their Roles*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977.
- Gleber, Anke. *The Art of Taking a Walk: Flanerie, Literature, and Film in Weimar Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Goddard, Ethel. *Dreams for Ireland*. Dublin: Hogges, Figgis, & Co., 1903.
- Godwin, Joscelyn. *Harmonies of Heaven and Earth: The Spiritual Dimension of Music from Antiquity to the Avant-Garde*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.
- Goehr, Lydia. *The Quest for Voice: On Music, Politics, and the Limits of Philosophy, the 1997 Ernest Bloch Lectures*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Goldberg, S. L. "Art and Life: The Aesthetic of the Portrait." *Twentieth Century Interpretations of a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Ed. William M. Schutte. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968. pp. 64-84.
- Goldmann, Marie. "'Sirens' the Musical Chapter of *Ulysses*: Technique and Style." *Studies in the 20th Century English Novel* (1999): 29-39.
- Gordon, John. *Finnegans Wake: A Plot Summary*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986.



- Grant, Jurgen E. "Might Be What You Like, Till You Hear the Words." *Joyce Studies Annual*. Ed. Thomas F. Staley. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003. pp. 74-91.
- Graves, Alfred Perceval, ed. *The Irish Songbook with Original Irish Airs*. London: Fisher Unwin; Dublin: Sealy, Bugers and Walker; New York: P.J. Kennedy, 1895.
- Graydon, Philip. "Modernism in Ireland and Its Cultural Context in the Music of Frederick May, Brian Boydell and Aloys Fleischmann." *Irish Musical Studies 7: Irish Music in the Twentieth Century*. Ed. Gareth Cox, Axel Klein. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003. pp. 56-79.
- Gregory, Lady Augusta, ed. *Ideals in Ireland*. London: The Unicorn, 1901.
- Groden, Michael, ed. *Ulysses in Progress*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- "The National Library of Ireland's New Joyce Manuscripts: A Statement and Document Descriptions." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 39.No. 1 (Fall 2001): 29-52.
- Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Ed. Eric Blom. Vol. III. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1954.
- Hanslick, Dr. Eduard. *The Beautiful in Music: A Contribution to the Revisal of Musical Aesthetics*. Trans. Gustav Cohen. London: Nevello, Ewer and Co., 1891.
- Harding, James Martin. "The Lexicon of Music: Adorno, the Philosophy of Music, and Eliot's *Four Quartets*." *Adorno and "A Writing of the Ruins"*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1997. pp. 65-93.
- Harmon, Maurice, McHugh, Roger. *A Short History of Anglo-Irish Literature: From Its Origins to the Present Day*. Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1982.
- Hart, Clive. *Structure and Motif in Finnegans Wake*. London: Faber and Faber, 1962.
- Hayman, David. *Ulysses: The Mechanics of Meaning*. 1970. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982.
- Hegel, G.W.F. *Vorlesungen uber die Asthetik*. Trans. Edward A. Lippman. *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader: The Nineteenth Century*. Ed. Edward A. Lippman. Vol. II. Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1988, pp. 95-133.
- Henke, Suzette A., Unkeless, Elaine, ed. *Women in Joyce*. Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1982.
- Henke, Suzette A. *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire*. New York and London: Routledge, 1990.



- Hepburn, Allan. "Noise, Music, Voice, Dubliners." *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999. pp. 189-212.
- "Ulysses, Opera, Loss." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 38.No. 1 and 2 (Fall 2000 and Winter 2001): 63-84.
- Herman, David. "Sirens' after Schonberg." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 31.No. 4 (Summer 1994): 473-94.
- Herr, Cheryl. *Anatomy of Culture*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- "Nature and Culture in the 'Sirens' Episode of Joyce's *Ulysses*." *Modern Critical Interpretations, James Joyce's Ulysses*. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987. pp, 133-43.
- "Ireland from the Outside." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 28.No. 4 (Summer 1991): 777-90.
- Herzog, Patricia. "The Condition to Which All Art Aspires: Reflections on Pater on Music." *British Journal of Aesthetics* Vol. 36.No. 2 (April 1996): 122-34.
- Hobby, Blake G. "Reading, Listening, and Understanding: Wordmusic in Narratives of Joyce and Mann." Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Miami, 2000.
- Hodgart, Mathew J.C., Worthington, Mabel P., ed. *Song in the Works of James Joyce*. New York: Temple University Publications by Columbia Univeristy Press, 1959.
- Hoffmeister, Adolph. "Portrait of Joyce by Adolph Hoffmeister." *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*. Ed. Willard Potts. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979. pp. 127-36.
- Hofheinz, Thomas C. *Joyce and the Invention of Irish History: Finnegans Wake in Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Hogan, Ita Margaret. *Anglo-Irish Music, 1780-1830*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1966.
- Hohendahl, Peter Uwe. *Prismatic Thought*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.
- Holsinger, Bruce W. *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Homer. *The Odyssey of Homer*. Trans. Richmond Lattimore. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1965.
- Honton, Margaret. "Thou Lost One: All Songs on That Theme in 'Sirens'." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 17.No. 1 (Fall 1979): 41-48.
- Howes, Marjorie. *Yeats's Nations: Gender, Class, and Irishness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.



- Hughes, Eamonn. "It Seems History Is to Blame: *Ulysses* and Cultural History." *Ideas and Production* No. 6 (1987): 100-15.
- Hughes, Herbert. *Historical Songs and Ballads of Ireland Arranged by Herbert Hughes*, Vol. I. London: J. B. Cramer and Co. Ltd., 1922.
- Hutton, Clare. "Joyce and the Institutions of Revivalism." *Irish University Review: A Journal of Irish Studies* Vol. 33.No. 1 (2003): 117-32.
- Hutton, Patrick H. *History as an Art of Memory*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993.
- Hyde, Douglas. *Love Songs of Connacht*. Dublin: Gill and Son Ltd; London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909.
- Innes, C. L. "Modernism, Ireland and Empire: Yeats, Joyce and Their Implied Audiences." *Modernism and Empire*. Ed. Howard J. Booth, Nigel Rigby. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000. pp. 137-55.
- Iser, Wolfgang. *Walter Pater: The Aesthetic Moment*. Trans. David Henry Wilson. *European Studies in English Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Jeffares, A. Norman. *Anglo-Irish Literature. Macmillan History of Literature*. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982.
- Johnson, Lionel. "Poetry and Patriotism." *Poetry and Ireland: Essays by W. B. Yeats and Lionel Johnson*. Dundrum: Cuala Press, 1908. pp. 21-54.
- Joyce, P. W. *Ancient Irish Music Comprising One-Hundred Irish Airs Hitherto Unpublished; Many of the Old Popular Songs and Several New Songs Collected and Edited by P. W. Joyce and Harmonised by Professor Glover*. Dublin: M. H. Gill nad Son, 1890.
- Irish Music and Song: A Colleciton of Songs in the Irish Language Set to Music Edited for the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language*. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1898.
- Joyce, Stanislaus. *My Brother's Keeper*. Ed. Richard Ellmann. London: Faber and Faber, 1958.
- Joyce, Sandra. "An Introduction to O'Carolan's Music in Eighteenth-Century Printed Collections." *Irish Musical Studies 4: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part One*. Ed. Harry White, Patrick F. Devine. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996. pp. 296-309.
- Kain, Richard M. *Fabulous Voyager: James Joyce's Ulysses*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947.



- Kearney, Richard. "Myth and Motherland." *Ireland's Field Day*. Ed. Seamus Deane. London: Hutchinson, 1985. pp. 61-82.
- "Utopian and Ideological Myths in Joyce." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 28.No. 4 (Summer 1991): 873-78.
- Kelly, Dermot. *Narrative Strategies in Joyce's Ulysses*. *Studies in Modern Literature* No. 96. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988.
- Kenner, Hugh. *Joyce's Voices*. London: Faber and Faber, 1978.
- Ulysses*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1980.
- Kiberd, Declan. *Irish Classics*. 2000. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Synge and the Irish Language*. 2nd ed. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd., 1993.
- Klein, Axel. "Roots and Directions in Twentieth-Century Irish Art Music." *Irish Musical Studies 7: Irish Music in the Twentieth Century*. Ed. Gareth Cox, Axel Klein. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003. pp. 168-82.
- Klien, Scott W. "John Cage and Finnegans Wake." *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999. pp. 152-70.
- Knowles, Sebastian, ed. *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. New York and London: Garland, 1999.
- The Dublin Helix: The Life and Language in Joyce's Ulysses*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001.
- "The Substructure of 'Sirens': Molly as *Nexus Omnia Ligans*." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 23.No. 4 (Summer 1986): 447-463.
- Knud, Jeppesen. *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1970.
- Kristeva, Julia. "Joyce 'The Gracedhoper' or the Return of Orpheus." *James Joyce the Augmented Ninth*. Ed. Bernard Benstock. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988. pp. 167-80.
- Kumar, Udaya. *The Joycean Labyrinth: Repetition, Time, and Tradition in Ulysses*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Lawrence, Karen. *The Odyssey of Style in Ulysses*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.



- "Bloom in Circulation: Who's He When He's Not at Home?" *Joyce on the Threshold*. Ed. Anne Fogarty, Timothy Martin. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. pp. 15-27.
- Leerssen, Joep. *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century. Critical Conditions: Field Day Essays and Monographs*. Ed. Seamus Deane. Vol. 4. Cork: Cork University Press, 1996.
- Mere Irish and Fior-Ghael: Studies in the Idea of Irish Nationality, Its Development and Literary Expression Prior to the Nineteenth Century. Critical Conditions: Field Day Monographs*. Ed. Seamus Deane. Vol. 3. Cork: Cork University Press, 1996.
- "Celticism." *Celticism, Studia Imagologica: Amsterdam Studies on Cultural Identity* 8. Ed. Terence Brown. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996. pp. 1-20.
- Lees, Heath. "The Introduction to 'Sirens' and the Fuga Per Canonem." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 22.No. 1 (1984): 39-54.
- Richard Leppert, "Music, Domestic Life and Cultural Chauvinism" Richard Leppert, Susan McClary, ed., *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. pp. 63-104.
- and McClary, Susan, ed. *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Levenson, Michael. "Living History in 'The Dead'." *James Joyce, The Dead*. Ed. Daniel R. Schwarz. Case Studies in Contemporary Criticism. Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1994. pp. 163-77.
- Levin, Lawrence L. "The Sirens Episode as Music." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 3.No. 1 (Fall 1965): 12-24.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *The Naked Man: Introduction to a Science of Mythology*. 1971. Ed. Doreen Weightman, John Weightman. London: Jonathan Cape and Harper and Row, 1981.
- Lewis, Pericles. *Modernism, Nationalism, and the Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Lin, Yu-Chen. *Justice, History, and Language in James Joyce's Finnegans Wake. Studies in Irish Literature*. Vol. 9. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2002.
- Lippman, Edward A., ed. *Musical Aesthetics: A Historical Reader: The Nineteenth Century*. Vol. II. Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1988.



- Litz, A. Walton. *The Art of James Joyce: Method and Design in Ulysses and Finnegans Wake*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Lloyd, David. *Anomalous States: Irish Writing and the Post-Colonial Moment*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press Ltd., 1993.
- Loxterman, Alan S. "Every Man His Own God: From *Ulysses* to *Finnegans Wake*." *James Joyce's Finnegans Wake: A Casebook*. Ed. John Harty III. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1991. pp. 115-29.
- Luening, Otto. *The Odyssey of an American Composer: The Autobiography of Otto Luening*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980.
- Luftig, Victor, Spoo, Robert, Wollaeger, Mark A., ed. *Joyce and the Subject of History*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- MacCabe, Colin. *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word*. London: Macmillan Press, 1978.
- "The Voice of Essau." *James Joyce: New Perspectives*. Ed. Colin MacCabe. Brighton: Harvester Press, 1982. pp. 111-28.
- MacCarthy, Denis Florence, ed. *The Book of Irish Ballads*. Dublin: James Duffy, 1869.
- MacDermott, Martin, ed. *Irish Ballads and Songs, Selected by Martin MacDermott*. London: 'Review of Reviews' Office.
- Songs and Ballads of Young Ireland, with Portraits of Authors and an Introduction, Biographical Sketches, and Critical Notes by Martin MacDermott*. London: Downey & Co., Ltd., 1896.
- ed. *The New Spirit of the Nation or Ballads and Songs by the Writers of 'The Nation': Containing Songs and Ballads Published since 1845*. 2nd ed. London: T. Fisher Unwin Paternoster Square; Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker; New York: P.J. Kennedy, 1896.
- MacDonagh, Thomas. *Literature in Ireland: Studies in Irish and Anglo-Irish*. Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1916.
- The Poetical Works of Thomas MacDonagh*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1919.
- Maguire, Peter A. "Finnegans Wake and Irish Historical Memory." *Journal of Modern Literature, Special Issue, Joyce and the Joyceans* Vol. 22.No. 2 (Winter 1998/99): 293-328.
- Mailhos, Jacques. "The Art of Memory: Joyce and Perec." *Transcultural Joyce*. Ed. Karen Lawrence. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. pp. 151-69.
- Manganiello, Dominic. *Joyce's Politics*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.



- Marcus, Phillip. *Yeats and the Beginning of the Irish Renaissance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970.
- Martin, Jay. *Adorno*. London: Fontana, 1984.
- Martin, Paul. "'Mr. Bloom and the Cyclops'; Joyce and Antheil's Unfinished 'Opera Mekanique'." *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999. pp. 91-106.
- Martin, Peter J. *Sounds and Society: Themes in the Sociology of Music*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- Martin, Timothy, ed. *Joyce and Opera, James Joyce Quarterly* Vol 38.No. 1 and 2 (Fall 2000 and Winter 2001).
- *Joyce and Wagner: A Study of Influence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Mathews, P. J. *Revival: The Abbey Theatre, Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and the Co-Operative Movement. Critical Conditions: Field Day Monographs*. Ed. Seamus Deane. Vol. 12. Cork: Cork University Press, 2003.
- McCarthy, Patrick A. "'Our Wee Free State': *Finnegans Wake* and Irish Independence." *Modern British Literature* Vol. 2.No. 1 (Spring 1977): 75-80.
- McClary, Susan. *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.
- *Conventional Wisdom: The Content of Musical Form*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- McCormack, W. J. "'Nightmares of History: James Joyce and the Phenomenon of Anglo-Irish Literature.'" *James Joyce and Modern Literature*. Ed. W. J. and Alistair Stead McCormack. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982. pp. 77-107.
- and Stead, Alistair, ed. *James Joyce and Modern Literature*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982.
- "*Finnegans Wake* and Irish Literary History." *History and Violence in Anglo-Irish Literature*. Ed. Joris Duytschaever, Geert Lernout. Vol. 71. Costerus New Series. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988. pp. 111-35.
- McCourt, John. "Joyce's Trieste: Citta Musicalissima." *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999. pp. 33-56.



- McDonald, Michael Bruce. "James Joyce and the Aesthetics of Dissonance." Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Oregon, 1991.
- "The Strength and Sorrow of Young Stephen: Toward a Reading of Harmony and Dissonance in Joyce's *A Portrait*." *Twentieth Century Literature* vol. 37.No.4 (Winter 1991): 361-89.
- McGee, Patrick. *Joyce Beyond Marx: History and Desire in Ulysses and Finnegans Wake*. Ed. Zach Bowen. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001.
- McGrath, F.C. *The Sensible Spirit: Walter Pater and the Modernist Paradigm*. Tampa: University of South Florida Press, 1986.
- Meir, Colin. *The Ballads and Songs of W. B. Yeats: The Anglo-Irish Heritage in Subject and Style*. London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1974.
- Melnick, Daniel C. *Fullness of Dissonance: Modern Fiction and the Aesthetics of Music*. Toronto: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1994.
- "Fullness of Dissonance: Music and the Reader's Experience of Modern Fiction." *Modern Fiction Studies* Vol. 25.No. 2 (Summer 1979): 209-22.
- Mercanton, Jacques. "The Hours of Joyce." *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*. Ed. Willard Potts. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979. pp. 206-52.
- Mikhail, E. H., ed. *James Joyce: Interviews and Recollections*. London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1990.
- Moliterno, Frank. *The Dialectics of Sense and Spirit in Pater and Joyce*. Greensboro: University of North Carolina, ELT Press, 1998.
- Moloney, Colette. "Style and Repertoire in Gaelic Harp Tradition: Evidence from the Bunting Manuscripts and Prints." *Irish Musical Studies 4: The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part One*. Ed. Harry White, Patrick F. Devine. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996. pp. 310-34.
- The Irish Music Manuscripts of Edward Bunting (1773-1843): An Introduction and Catalogue. Studies in Irish Traditional Music*. Ed. Nicholas Carolan. Dublin: Irish Traditional Music Archive, 2000.
- Monahan, Michael. *Nova Hibernia: Irish Poets and Dramatists of Today and Yesterday*. 1914. Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.
- Monk, Craig. "Sound over Sight: James Joyce and Gertrud Stein in Transition." *Re:Joyce, Text, Culture, Politics*. Ed. John Brannigan, John Ward, Julian Wolfreys. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998.



- Mooney, Susan. "Bronze by Gold by Bloom: Echo, the Invocatory Drive, and the 'Aurteur' in 'Sirens'." *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999. pp. 229-44.
- Moore, Thomas. *Irish Melodies and Sacred Songs by Thomas Moore; from the Last Edition of His Collected Works*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.
- Irish Melodies by Thomas Moore*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858.
- Moore's Irish Melodies with Symphonies and Accompaniments by Sir John Stevenson and Sir Henry Bishop*. 1891. Dublin: Gilbert Dalton, 1981.
- Morgan, Robert P. *Twentieth-Century Music: A History of Musical Style in Modern Europe and America*. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1991.
- Morris, Lloyd R. *The Celtic Dawn: A Survey of the Renaissance in Ireland, 1889-1916*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1970.
- Myers, Peter. *The Sound of Finnegans Wake*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1992.
- Nash, John. "Reading Joyce in English." *Joyce on the Threshold*. Ed. Anne Fogarty, Timothy Martin. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005. pp. 110-31.
- Nolan, Emer. *James Joyce and Nationalism*. New York and London: Routledge, 1995.
- "Portrait of an Aesthete." *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: A Casebook*. Ed. Mark A. Wollaeger. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. pp. 281-95.
- "Modernism and the Irish Revival." *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*. Ed. Joe Cleary, Claire Connolly. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. pp. 157-72.
- "Irish Melodies and Discordant Politics: Thomas Moore's *Memoirs of Captain Rock* (1824)." *Field Day Review* Vol 2 (2006): 41-53.
- Noon, William T., S.J. *Joyce and Aquinas*. 1957. *Yale Studies in English*. Vol. 133. Hamdon: Archon Books, 1970.
- "Song the Syrens Sang." *Mosaic: A Journal or the Comparative Study of Literature and Ideas, Ulysses and The Waste Land, Fifty Years After: A Critical Retrospective* Vol. VI. Issue I (1972): 77-83.
- Norris, Christopher, ed. *Music and the Politics of Culture*. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1989.
- Norris, Margot. *The Decentered Universe of Finnegans Wake: A Structuralist Analysis*. 1974. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.



- "Finnegans Wake." *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*. Ed. Derek Attridge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. pp. 161-84.
- Joyce's Web: The Social Unraveling of Modernism*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.
- Suspicious Readings of Joyce's Dubliners*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
- "Joyce, History and the Philosophy of History." *James Joyce Studies*. Ed. Jean-Michel Rabate. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. pp. 203-26.
- O Laoire, Lillis. "Irish Music." *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*. Ed. Joe Cleary, Claire Connolly. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. pp. 267-84.
- O Madagain, Brendan. "Song for Emotional Release in the Gaelic Tradition." *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*. Ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993. pp. 254-75.
- O'Boyle, Sean. *The Irish Song Tradition*. Cork: Ossian Publications, 1976.
- Ogain, Rionach Ui. "Traditional Music and Irish Cultural History." *Irish Musical Studies 3: Music and Irish Cultural History*. Ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995. pp. 77-100.
- O'Neill, Capt. Francis. *Irish Minstrels and Musicians: With Numerous Dissertations on Related Subjects*. Chicago: The Regan Printing House, 1913.
- , ed. *Waifs and Strays of Gaelic Melody Comprising Forgotten Favorites, Worthy Variants and Tunes Not Previously Printed*. Chicago: Lyon and Healy, 1922.
- O'Sullivan, Seumas. *Poems*. Dublin: Maunsel and Company, Ltd., 1912.
- Owen, Rodney Wilson. *James Joyce and the Beginnings of Ulysses*. Epping: Bowker Publishing Co., 1983.
- Paddison, Max. *Adorno's Aesthetics of Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Adorno, Modernism and Mass Culture: Essays on Critical Theory and Music*. London: Kahn & Averill, 1996.
- Paddy's Resource: Being a Select Collection of Original and Modern Patriotic Songs, Toasts and Sentiments, Compiled for the Use of the People of Ireland*. Belfast, 1795.
- Paddy's Resource, or the Harp of Erin Attuned to Freedom; Being a Collection of Patriotic Songs; Selected for Paddy's Amusement*. Dublin, 1798.



- Parrinder, Patrick. "A Portrait of the Artist." *James Joyce's A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: A Casebook*. Ed. Mark A. Wollaeger. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. pp. 85-128.
- Patell, Cyrus R. K. *Joyce's Use of History in Finnegans Wake*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Pater, Walter. *The Renaissance*. 1873. Chicago: Academy Chicago, 1977.
- Plato and Platonism: A Series of Lectures*. London: Cambridge Scholars Press Ltd., 2002.
- Pearce, Richard, ed. *Molly Blooms: A Polylogue on 'Penelope' and Cultural Studies*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Perlis, Alan D. "Beyond Epiphany: Pater's Aesthetic Hero in the Works of Joyce." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 17.No. 3 (Spring 1980): 272-80.
- Perloff, Marjorie. "Yeats and Goethe." *Comparative Literature* Vol. 23.No. 2 (Spring, 1971): 125-40.
- Petrie, George. *The Complete Collection of Irish Music*. Ed. Charles Villiers Stanford. London: Boosey and Co. Ltd., 1902.
- Pierce, David. "Joyce's Use of Language in 'Sirens'." *Joyce and Company*. London and New York: Continuum, 2006. pp. 116-34.
- "The Politics of *Finnegans Wake*." *Critical Essays on James Joyce's Finnegans Wake*. Ed. Patrick A. McCarthy. New York: G. K., Hall & Co., 1992. pp. 243-57.
- Piette, Adam. *Remembering the Sound of Words: Mallarme, Proust, Joyce, Beckett*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Platt, Len. "'If Brian Boru Could but Come Back and See Old Dublin Now': Materialism, the National Culture and *Ulysses*." *Joyce's 'Ithaca'*. Ed. Andrew Gibson. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996. pp. 105-32.
- Joyce and the Anglo-Irish: A Study of Joyce and the Literary Revival*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998.
- Poirier, Richard. "Pater, Joyce, Eliot." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 26.No. 1 (1988): 21-36.
- Potts, Willard, ed. *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979.
- Joyce and the Two Irelands*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000.
- Pound, Ezra. *Ezra Pound and Music*. Ed. R. Murray Schafer. London: Faber and Faber, 1978.



- Power, Arthur. *Conversations with James Joyce*. Ed. Clive Hart. London: Millington Ltd; Dublin: Cahill & Co. Ltd, 1974.
- Prippen, G. R. *Land of Song: A Geography Drawn from Irish Folk Songs and Ballads*. Grantham: Esher Publishing, 1993.
- Rabate, Jean-Michel. "Joyce's Negative Esthetics." *Beckett, Joyce and the Art of the Negative*. Ed. Colleen Jaurrette. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005. pp. 181-96.
- Radford, F. L. "King, Pope, and Hero-Martyr: *Ulysses* and the Nightmare of Irish History." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 15.No. 4 (Summer 1978): 275-323.
- Rameau, Jean-Philippe. *Treatise on Harmony*. 1722. Trans. Philip Gasset. New York: Dover Inc., 1971.
- Randel, Don Michael, ed. *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Reilly, Seamus. "James Joyce and Dublin Opera, 1888-1904." *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing Co., 1999. pp. 3-32.
- Renan, Ernest. *The Poetry of the Celtic Races, and Other Studies by Ernest Renan*. 1896. Trans. William G. Hutchison. New York and London: Kennikat Press, 1970.
- Rice, Thomas Jackson. "The Distant Music of the Spheres." *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999. pp. 213-28.
- Rickard, John S. *Joyce's Book of Memory: The Mnemotechnic of Ulysses*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Riquelme, John Paul. "Stephen Hero, Dubliners, and a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: Styles of Realism and Fantasy." *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*. Ed. Derek Attridge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990. pp. 103-30.
- Rogers, Margaret. "Thoughts on Making Music from the Hundred Letter Words in *Finnegans Wake*." *James Joyce's Finnegans Wake: A Casebook*. Ed. John Harty III. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc, 1991. pp. 189-97.
- "Mining the Ore of 'Sirens': An Investigation of Structural Components." *Bronze by Gold*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999. pp. 263-276.
- Rooney, Herbert E., ed. *The Well Known Songs of Ireland*. Dublin: James Duffy and Co. Ltd.
- Rose, Gillian. *The Melancholy Science: An Introduction to the Thought of Theodor W. Adorno*. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1978.



- Rosen, Charles. *Schoenberg*. London: Marion Boyars, 1975.
- Russel, Myra T. "Chamber Music: Words and Music Lovingly Coupled." *Bronze by Gold: The Music of Joyce*. Ed. Sebastian Knowles. New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999. pp. 57-90.
- "The Elizabethan Connection: The Missing Score of James Joyce's *Chamber Music*." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 18.No. 2 (Winter 1981): 133-46.
- Russell, George. "Literary Ideals in Ireland." *Literary Ideals in Ireland*. London: Fisher Unwin; Dublin: Daily Express Office, 1899. pp. 49-54.
- "Nationality and Cosmopolitanism in Literature." *Literary Ideals in Ireland*. London: Fisher Unwin; Dublin: Daily Express Office, 1899. pp. 79-88.
- , ed. *New Songs: A Lyric Selection Made by A.E. From Poems by Padraic Colum, Eva Gore-Booth, Thomas Keohler, Alice Milligan, Susan Mitchell, Seumas O'sullivan, George Roberts, and Ella Young*. Dublin: O'Donoghue & Co.; London: A. H. Bullen, 1904.
- Collected Poems by A.E.* 1913. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1920.
- Ryan, Joseph J. "Assertions of Distinction: The Modal Debate in Irish Music." *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*. Ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993. pp. 62-77.
- "Nationalism and Irish Music." *Irish Musical Studies 3: Music and Irish Cultural History*. Ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995. pp. 101-15.
- "The Tone of Defiance." *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture 1800-1945*. Ed. Michael Murphy, Harry White. Cork: Cork University Press, 2001. pp. 197-211.
- "Opera in Ireland before 1925." *Irish Musical Studies 7: Irish Music in the Twentieth Century*. Ed. Gareth Cox, Axel Klein. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003. pp. 39-55.
- Ryan, W. P. *The Irish Literary Revival: Its History, Pioneers and Possibilities*. London: Paternoster Steam Press, 1894.
- Ryder, Sean. "The Politics of Landscape and Region in Nineteenth-Century Poetry." *Ireland in the Nineteenth Century: Regional Identity*. Ed. Leon Litvack, Glenn Hooper. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000. pp. 169-84.
- Saddlemyer, Ann. "Synge's Soundscape." *Interpreting Synge: Essays from the Synge Summer School 1991-2000*. Ed. Nicholas Grene. Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 2000. pp. 177-91.
- Sadie, Stanley, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd ed. Vol. 26. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001.



- ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 2nd ed. Vol. 25. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001.
- Said, Edward. *Musical Elaborations*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1991.
- Samuel, Raphael. *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*. Vol. I. London: Verso, 1994.
- Sarbu, Aladar. "Repose, Stasis, Rhythm: Walter Pater and James Joyce." *Focus: Papers in English Literary and Cultural Studies, Special Issue on James Joyce*. Ed. Maria Kurdi, Antal Bokay. Pecs: University of Pecs, 2002. pp. 87-107.
- Scarry, John. "Mozart, Beethoven and John McCormack in *Finnegans Wake III*." *Etudes Irlandaises, James Joyce Centenary Issue* Vol. 3 (1982): 101-10.
- Schoenberg, Arnold. *Theory of Harmony*. 1911. Trans. Roy E. Carter. London: Faber and Faber, 1978.
- Scholes, Robert, Kain, Richard M., ed. *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for a Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965.
- Schutte, William M. *Joyce and Shakespeare: A Study in the Meaning of Ulysses*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.
- Schwarz, Daniel R. "Gabriel Conroy's Psyche: Character as Concept in Joyce's 'the Dead'." *James Joyce the Dead*. Ed. Daniel R. Schwarz. Case Studies in Contemporary Criticism. Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1994. pp. 102-24.
- Scotto, Robert M. "'Visions' and 'Epiphanies': Fictional Technique in Pater's *Marius* and Joyce's *Portrait*." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 11.No. 1 (Fall 1973): 41-50.
- Senn, Fritz. "Vexations of Group Reading: 'Transluding from the Otherman'." *Finnegans Wake: Fifty Years*. Ed. Geert Lernout. *European Joyce Studies*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990.
- Shepherd, John. *Music as Social Text*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.
- Sherry, Vincent. "Distant Music: 'Wandering Rocks' and the Art of Gratitude." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vo. 31.No. 2 (Winter 1994): 31-40.
- Shields, Hugh. "The History of the Lass of Aughtrim." *Irish Musical Studies I: Musicology in Ireland*. Ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990. pp. 58-73.
- Shields, Rob. "Fancy Footwork, Walter Benjamin's Notes on Flanerie." *The Flaneur*. Ed. Keith Tester. London and New York: Routledge, 1994. pp. 61-80.



- Siegerson, George. *Bards of the Gael and Gall, a Preface by Dr Douglas Hyde*. Dublin: The Phoenix Publishing Co. Ltd; New York: Lemma Publishing Cooperation, 1974.
- Simms, Bryan R. *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg 1908-1923*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- and Wright, Craig. *Music in Western Civilization*. Belmont: Thomson Schirmer, 2006.
- Snyder, Bob. *Music and Memory: An Introduction*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000.
- Some Irish Songs and Ballads*. London: G. Byrne Publishing, 1915.
- Somer, John. "The Self-Reflexive Arranger in the Initial Style of Joyce's *Ulysses*." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 31.No. 2 (Winter 1994): 65-80.
- Soupault, Phillipe. "James Joyce." *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*. Ed. Willard Potts. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979. pp. 108-18.
- The Spirit of the Nation, Ballads and Songs by the Writers of "The Nation" with Original and Ancient Music, Arranged for the Voice and Piano Forte*. Dublin: James Duffy, 1845.
- The Spirit of the Nation: Or Ballads and Songs by Writers of the Nation, Forward by J.P. Dalton*. 59th ed. Dublin: James Duffy and Co., Ltd., 1934.
- The Spirit of the Nation by the Writers of the Nation Newspaper*. Dublin: James Duffy, 1843.
- Spoor, Robert. *James Joyce and the Language of History: Dedalus's Nightmare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- "Tropics of Joycean Discourse: Representations of the Historical Process in *The Critical Writings*." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 28.No. 4 (Summer 1991): 819-26.
- Spurr, David. *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing and Imperial Administration*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.
- Joyce and the Scene of Modernity*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002.
- Stanier, Michael. "'The void awaits surely all them that weave the wind': 'Penelope' and 'Sirens' in *Ulysses*." *Ulysses, James Joyce*. Ed. Rainer Emig. New Casebooks. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. pp. 92-106.
- Storey, Mark, ed. *Poetry and Ireland since 1800: A Source Book*. London and New York: Routledge, 1988.
- Subotnik, Rose Rosengard. *Developing Variations: Style and Ideology in Western Music*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.



- Deconstructive Variations: Music and Reason in Western Society*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Sultan, Stanley. "Sirens at the Ormond Bar: *Ulysses*." *The University of Kansas Review* (Winter Number, 1959): 83-92.
- Synge, John Millington. *J. M. Synge Collected Works, Prose*. Ed. Alan Price. Vol. II. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- The Aran Islands*. 1907. Ed. Robin Skelton. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Tadie, Benoit. "Memory and Narrative Deadlock in *Dubliners*." *Classic Joyce, Joyce Studies in Italy 6, Papers from the XVI International James Joyce Symposium, Rome 14-20 June 1998*. Ed. Franca Ruggieri. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1999. pp. 373-80.
- Tarasti, Eero. *Myth and Music: A Semiotic Approach to the Aesthetics of Myth in Music, Especially That of Wagner, Sibelius, and Stravinsky*. The Netherlands: Mouton Publishers, 1979.
- Taylor, Juliette. "Foreign Music: Linguistic Estrangement in 'Proteus' and 'Sirens'." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 41.No. 3 (Spring 2004): 407-21.
- Teeling, Charles Hamilton. *History of the "Irish Rebellion" of 1798: A Personal Narrative*. London: Stationers' Hall Court; Glasgow: Cameron and Ferguson, 1876.
- Tester, Keith, ed. *The Flaneur*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Thuente, Mary Helen. *The Harp Re-Strung: The United Irishmen and the Rise of Irish Literary Nationalism*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994.
- Tindall, William York. *A Reader's Guide to Finnegans Wake*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1969.
- Toch, Ernest. *The Shaping Forces in Music: An Inquiry into the Nature of Harmony, Melody, Counterpoint, Form*. New York: Criterion Music Corp., 1958.
- Topia, Andre. "'Sirens': Emblematic Vibration." *James Joyce: The Centennial Symposium*. Ed. Morris Beja, Phillip Herring, Maurice Harmon, David Norris. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986. pp. 76-81.
- "Compartments and Series: The Space of Memory in 'Evelyn' and 'Ithaca'." *Classic Joyce, Joyce Studies in Italy 6, Papers from the XVI International James Joyce Symposium, Rome 14-20 June 1998*. Ed. Franca Ruggieri. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1999. pp. 387-97.
- Tracy, Robert. *The Unappeasable Host: Studies in Irish Identities*. Dublin: University of Dublin Press, 1998.
- Tymoczko, Maria. *The Irish Ulysses*. Berkeley: University of California, 1994.



- Ure, Peter. *Yeats and Anglo-Irish Literature: Critical Essays by Peter Ure*. Ed. C. J. Rawson. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1974.
- van Boheemen-Saaf, Christine. *Joyce, Derrida, Lacan, and the Trauma of History: Reading, Narrative and Postcolonialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Vance, Norman. *Irish Literature: A Social History: Tradition, Identity and Difference*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.
- Irish Literature Since 1800*. London: Pearson Education Limited, 2002.
- Verene, Donald Phillip, ed. *Vico and Joyce*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987.
- Walker, Joseph Cooper. *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*. London: T. Payne and Son and G.G.J. and J. Robinson, Pater-Noster-Row, 1786.
- Watson, George. "Celticism and the Annulment of History." *Celticism, Studia Imagologica: Amsterdam Studies on Cultural Identity 8*. Ed. Terence Brown. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996. pp. 207-20.
- Watson, G. J. "The Politics of Ulysses." *Joyce's Ulysses: The Larger Perspective*. Ed. Robert D. Newman, Weldon Thornton. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987. pp. 39-58.
- Irish Identity and the Literary Revival: Synge, Yeats, Joyce and O'Casey*. 1979. *Critical Studies in Irish Literature*. 2nd ed. Vol. 4. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994.
- Weaver, Jack W. *Joyce's Music and Noise: Theme and Variation in His Writings*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998.
- Webb, Timothy. "'Planetary Music': James Joyce and the Romantic Example." *James Joyce and Modern Literature*. Ed. W. J. McCormack, Alistair Stead. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982. pp. 30-55.
- Weber, Max. *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*. Trans. Don Martindale, Johannes Reidel, Gertrude Neuwirth. Ed. Don Martindale, Johannes Riedel, Gertrude Neuwirth. Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1958.
- Welch, Robert. *Irish Poetry from Moore to Yeats. Irish Literary Studies 5*. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1980.
- Weldon, Thornton. "Voices and Values in Ulysses." *Joyce's Ulysses: The Larger Perspective*. Ed. Robert D. Newman, Weldon Thornton. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987. pp. 244-70.



- Whaley, Helen R. "The Role of the Blind Piano Tuner in Joyce's *Ulysses*." *Modern Fiction Studies* Vol. 16.No. 4 (Winter 1970-71): 531-34.
- White, Harry. "Church Music and Musicology in Ireland." *Irish Musical Studies 2: Music and the Church*. Ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993. pp. 333-37.
- "Music and the Irish Literary Imagination." *Irish Musical Studies 3: Music and Irish Cultural History*. Ed. Harry White, Gerard Gillen. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995. pp. 212-27.
- The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770-1970. Critical Conditions: Field Day Monographs*. Ed. Seamus Deane. Vol. 6. Cork: Cork University Press, 1998.
- "Music, Politics and the Irish Nation." *Music in Ireland 1848-1998*. Ed. Richard Pine. Dublin: Mercier Press, 1998. pp. 27-36.
- "Nationalism, Colonialism and the Cultural Stasis of Music in Ireland." *Irish Musical Studies 7: Irish Music in the Twentieth Century*. Ed. Gareth Cox, Axel Klein. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003. pp. 257-71.
- "James Joyce, Music and Dublin." *The Progress of Music in Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005. pp. 111-20.
- Witkin, Robert W. *Adorno on Music*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Wollaeger, Mark A., ed. *James Joyce's A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: A Casebook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Worthington, Mabel P. "Irish Folk Songs in Joyce's *Ulysses*." *PMLA* Vol. 81.No. 3 (1965): 321-39.
- Yates, Frances. *The Art of Memory*. London: Pimlico, 1966.
- Yeats, Grainne. *The Belfast Harpers Festival 1792*. Dublin: Gael-Linn Toe, 1980.
- The Harp of Ireland, the Belfast Harpers' Festival, 1792, And the Saving of Ireland's Harp Music by Edward Bunting*. Belfast: Belfast Harpers Bicentenary Ltd., 1992.
- Yeats, W. B. *Autobiographies*. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1955.
- A Book of Irish Verse, Selected from Modern Writers with an Introduction and Notes by W. B. Yeats*. London: Methuen and Co., 1895.
- "Poetry and Patriotism." *Poetry and Ireland: Essays by W. B. Yeats and Lionel Johnson*. Dundrum: Cuala Press, 1908. pp. 1-18.
- The Letters of W.B. Yeats*. Ed. Allan Wade. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954.



—"At Stratford-on-Avon." *Essays and Introductions*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1961. pp. 96-110.

Yee, Cordell D.K. "St. Thomas Aquinas as Figura of James Joyce: A Medieval View of Literary Influence." *James Joyce Quarterly* Vol. 22.No. 1 (Fall 1984): 25-38.

Zatkalik, Milos. "Is There Music in Joyce and Where Do We Look for It?" *Joyce Studies Annual*. Ed. Thomas F. Staley. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001. pp. 55-64.

Zimmermann, Georges-Denis. *Songs of Irish Rebellion 1780-1900*. Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1967.

Zuidervaart, Lambert. *Adorno's Aesthetic Theory*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1991.