

## Joyce's Body Politics in *Ulysses*<sup>\*</sup>

Kiheon Nam

Human body is one of the most important concerns to James Joyce, who once remarked, “[*Ulysses*] is an epic of two races (Irish-Israelite), of the body as well as a little story of a day(life)” (*Letters* I, 146). Joyce’s keen awareness of the undeserved debasement of the body in the tradition of Western metaphysics leads him to deploy an unprecedented degree of interest in physicality or corporeality throughout his works. Even though Stephen’s assertion that he is going to “forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of the Irish race” (*P* 253) seems to underline the human soul and its moral capacity, Joyce does not ignore the significance of the body, not only in that his semi-autobiographical fiction begins with infantile experience of physical senses, but also in that by describing the image of the artist as “the God of creation . . . paring his fingernails” (*P* 215), he emphasizes physicality. According to the Linati schema, one part of the human body is assigned to each chapter of *Ulysses*, interestingly except the first three chapters focusing exclusively on Stephen Dedalus. This means Joyce’s shift of focus from Stephen to Bloom in terms of human body. The first scene of *Ulysses*

---

\* This study was supported by Seoul National University of Science and Technology.

introduces Buck Mulligan, who makes a parody of the Catholic mass while showing his naked body with only the yellow gown on. Mulligan's sacrilegious act provocatively parodies the ennoblement of the soul in the religious ritual, thus surreptitiously interrogating the traditional privileging of soul over body.

I will focus on two persons characterized by physical strength and masculine empowerment—Eugen Sandow, the founder of modern bodybuilding, and Michael Cusack, the founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association. In a seemingly far-fetched association between these two figures, Joyce shows an implicit negotiation between popular discourses of physical culture and muscular Irish politics, both of which anchor at the valorization of the masculine body and virility. The turn-of-the-century physical culture, epitomized by the figure of Eugen Sandow, played an important role in constructing the overlapped interface between popular discourses of physical culture and imperialist ideology. Michael Cusack, the model for the Citizen, on the other hand, played a prominent role in founding the Gaelic Athletic Association, which actively promulgated Irish militant nationalism by promoting physical education programs for the development of masculine strength in order to overturn the feminized image of Ireland. So Joyce seems to map out the cultural topography of the intersections between popular discourses of physical culture and political ideologies of the British empire by incorporating these two conspicuous figures into his works. Furthermore, he exposes the strategic assimilation between British imperialism and Irish fanatic nationalism, both of which hinge on physical violence.

In *Ulysses*, Leopold Bloom's several references to Sandow's exercises show how widely pervasive physical culture was in ordinary people's daily lives.

Got up wrong side of the bed. Must begin again those Sandow's exercises. On the hands down. (*U* 4.323-24)

Must take up Sandow's exercises again. On the hands down. (*U* 15.199-200)

Long before he emerged as the embodiment of physical strength, Eugen Sandow

was born and raised in the historical tumult of East Prussia, his native country. His original name was Friedrich Wilhelm Müller, and he changed his Christian name into Eugen in admiration for Francis Galton's new science, eugenics (Budd 147)<sup>1</sup>). In addition, the family name, Sandov, of his mother, who originally came from Russia, was changed into his stage name, Sandow (Waller 15). While discussing militant nationalism and its relevance to Joyce's use of Sandow, Vike Martina Plock convincingly summarizes the political status of Sandow's home country:

After the Prussian army experienced a humiliating defeat by the Napoleonic armed force in 1812, physical education became a key concern of patriots such as Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (Turnvater Jahn), who establishes the famous Turnvereine, athletic unions with a distinctive nationalist agenda. (115-6)

Although Plock insists that Sandow's physical program is egalitarian and appeals to universal values despite his admiration for eugenics, whose rhetoric is based on the idea of exclusivity (120), Joyce seems to be more aware of the penetration of popular discourses of physical strength into cultural and ideological formations of racial identity and their relations to imperialist ideology. In this sense, physical culture emerged in response to the demand for masculine empowerment by the ideological state apparatuses of the British Empire.

In his biography, David L. Chapman encapsulates how great and how much pervasive his social influence was:

His name is neither recorded in history books nor discussed in university lectures, yet he dramatically changed the way we view ourselves and our bodies. His contribution, however unfamiliar, was as cataclysmic in its particular

---

1) David Waller argues that it seems "unlikely that Galton's erudite publications would as yet have been familiar to the young performer, as they had only recently appeared in English," but he adds to say, "many thought the term eugenics derived from Eugen Sandow's name" even though it is not true (25). This erroneous inversion indicates the degree to which Sandow's physical training programs had an influence on the public mind.

way as many louder social explosions. In Sandow's own day his name was instantly recognizable. A blond, blue-eyed, Teutonic Adonis, he was the very picture of robust good health and manly strength. (Chapman 1)

Already in Joyce's early work, *Dubliners*, it is shown that the practical codes of physical culture penetrated into its cultural strata. It is no surprise to recognize Joyce's use of the chapter titles of Eugen Sandow's book, *Strength and How to Obtain It*, such as "How to Exercise," "The Magic Cold Bath," and "My 'Grip Dumb-Bell'." For example, in "The Sisters," the boy's uncle talks about the importance of physical strength by emphasizing on a cold bath:

Let him learn to box his corner. That's what I'm always saying to that Rosicrucian there: take exercise. Why, when I was a nipper every morning of my life I had a cold bath, winter and summer. And that's what stands to me now. (D 5)

In "The Dead," Gretta's complaint that Gabriel forces their son Tom to "do the dumbbells" (D 164) echoes with Sandow's emphasis on the development of physical strength by introducing his own device, "Grip Dumb-Bell." Gabriel's misunderstood relationships with three female characters—Lily, Miss Ivors, and even his own wife, Gretta—are largely due to his tenacious adherence to patriarchal superiority and masculine authority.

Joyce may have witnessed Sandow's performance in Dublin at the Empire Palace Theatre on May 6, 1898 (Waller 136), and, considering the newspaper coverage of Sandow's feats of strength at that time, it would not be surprising that Bloom purchases Sandow's manual for developing muscles (Kershner 153). In addition, Sandow was mobilized not only to endorse patent medicines that promised the increase of virility, but also to appear in children's magazines as an icon of masculine prowess. Furthermore, the imperialist ideologies, which depend on what Ashis Nandy calls "colonial supermasculinity" (9), are masqueraded as commodities like Bovril, one of the representative Victorian patent medicines. Sandow himself

started a patent medicine business in his later years. As he must have felt the public demand for physical training education, he started publishing his own magazine entitled *Sandow's Magazine of Physical Culture*, in one of whose issues he contributed an essay on the importance of physical strength in relation to the military recruiting for the Boer War. The title of this article is "A Nation's Call for Men," in which he deplors the physical conditions of young men who volunteered for the war that the British government was waging in South Africa:

But, if the enlisting of volunteers, has been striking, it has been no less striking to note the large percentage of young men who have been rejected from one physical defect or another: and to reflect that, under a proper scientific regime of physical training in youth, these defects would, in a large proportion of cases, never have existed, or would have been overcome. (*Sandow's Magazine* 196)

Since Sandow's essay insinuates the operation of popular anxiety about weakening masculinity in constructing the wartime ideology of the British empire. Another episode reveals how much actively Sandow was engaged in the imperialist propaganda. In 1900, Sandow made a regular performance at the London Hippodrome, and after finishing his performance, he came back on the stage as Tommy Atkins, a British soldier who was chased by a battalion of Boers, in army khaki uniforms rather than in his trademark leopard-skin briefs (Waller 169). This exemplifies how much the cult of physical strength represented by Sandow's body was inseparably involved in the war time propaganda of the British Empire. By the time of the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904, which is mentioned in *Ulysses*, physical culture had become "a widespread and popular phenomenon, with its fitness and strength publications, instructional schemes, devices and organizations present throughout the West" (Budd 82). In other words, Sandow's success was tangent to the emergent necessity of masculine empowerment for the maintenance of the British Empire abroad. It is true that Sandow's rise from "an immigrant circus strongman" to "a philanthropic benefactor of the national health"

(Kershner 161) shows how deeply the cult of muscular masculinity permeates into the strata of popular culture.

In a scene of “Circe,” in which Bloom’s gender transformation is happening, Bello, Bella’s male counterpart, demands the feminized Bloom do Sandow’s exercise:

Down! (*he taps her on the shoulder with his fan*) Incline feet forward! Slide left foot one pace back! You will fall. You are falling. On the hands down! (*U 15.2847-49*)

Bello’s demand on Bloom to stand on the hands signifies both the pervasiveness of the cult of physical strength, epitomized by Sandow’s body building, and the topsy turvy inversion of gender roles, which subverts a traditional hierarchy of gender. It is worth noting that Bloom, who hates physical violence, purchases such reified commodities as Sandow’s exercise program. This implies that nobody is free at all of the cultural discourses of physical strength advertised through commercial transactions. Bloom, who plays a role in his school day skip, *Vice Versa*, undermines the ideological norm of gender roles by transgressing their boundaries. Through the phantasmagoric role changes in “Circe,” Joyce interrogates the traditional notions of race, gender, and nationality. So Bloom operates as a free agent immune to the transactions of political discourses by denying any assimilation to them.

In “Ithaca,” Bloom recommends to Stephen a method of achieving physical rejuvenation:

The indoor exercises, formerly intermittently practised, subsequently abandoned, prescribed in Eugen Sandow’s *Physical Strength and How to Obtain It* which, designed particularly for commercial men engaged in sedentary occupations, were to be made with mental concentration in front of a mirror so as to bring into play the various families of muscles and produce successively a pleasant rigidity, a more pleasant relaxation and the most pleasant repristination of juvenile agility. (*U 17.512-18*)

Sandow published his first manual for developing physical strength in 1897, “at a time when most men were sedentary and unhealthy, constitutionally disinclined to take any kind of exercise, and when British . . . feared the onset of physical and moral degeneration” (Waller 10). Despite showing his abhorrence to violence, Bloom actively engages himself in the consumption of physical culture, which operates in the transactions of such commodified gadgets as Sandow’s grip-dumbbell and Sandow-Whiteley pulley exerciser.

The most striking feature of Sandow’s idea of fitness and bodybuilding was to show photogenic images of the male body against Greek columns, thus validating the idealized beauty of human body. In other words, all the photographic images of Sandow as a strong man represent both the Hellenistic beauty of the almost naked body and its corresponding virility. The measurements of bodily parts such as biceps and thighs were included in his book and magazine. In *Ulysses*, Bloom records the measurements of his own body in order to compare himself with the physical standards suggested by Sandow.

a chart of the measurements of Leopold Bloom compiled before, during after 2 months’ consecutive use of Sandow-Whiteley’s pulley exerciser (men’s 15/-, athlete’s 20/-) viz. chest 28 in and 29 1/2 in, biceps 9 in and 10 in, forearm 8 1/2 in and 9 in, thigh 10 in and 12 in, calf 11 in and 12 in (*U* 17.1815-19)

This anthropometrical standards function to implicitly valorize eugenics, which was developed under the veil of male anxiety. By purchasing and using Sandow-Whiteley’s pulley exerciser, Bloom is self-fashioning this pervasive anxiety about weakening virility, thus following the imperatives of physical culture. Although he tries to build up his bodily shape, Bloom prefers lawn tennis to hurling, an Irish traditional game, since the former reinforces bodily agility in comparison to the Irish game, which embodies “violent exercise” (*U* 12.892). It is noticeable that lawn tennis would be labeled as British, not Irish, games. But Joyce does not make Bloom endorse any political ideology promoted through sports, a reified version of nationalism. Stephen poignantly degrades Lord Tennyson, Poet

Laureate, by calling him “Lawn Tennyson” (*U* 3.492). In addition, the gardener at Oxford University, who works as a lawn mower, bears a resemblance to Matthew Arnold, another proponent of Greek beauty in the Victorian age.

Bloom seems to think of Sandow’s exercises as a personal interest in promoting his physical strength, but as Plock points out, Sandow also reminds him of not only “physical superiority,” but also “professional success in advertising” (119). In terms of commercial success, Sandow surely achieves more than Bloom does.

As a businessman, Sandow was scoping out the enormous commercial opportunities of turning himself into a truly global brand. Like a colonial explorer, he sought to plant the flag of his exercise system in the virgin markets of Britain’s imperial colonies and in America he sought to replicate the success of his magazine and training schools. (Fuller 184)

Fuller’s comparison of Sandow to “a colonial explorer” is not just contingent, because Sandow actively participated in the expansionist ideology of the British empire. As Brandon Kershner remarks, “[t]he key to Sandow’s emergence as a cultural icon was advertisement; and Sandow exemplified better than any other figure of the day the omnivorous and protean nature of advertising as a discourse” (160). Bloom as an advertising canvasser is obviously envious of Sandow’s success and aspires to come closer to it. In a book entitled *The Art of Selling Goods*, which Joyce himself owned, the author gives an important advice to such a salesman as Bloom: “A weak physique is quite as objectionable in salesmanship as a weak mentality. Physical strength carries with it conviction” (Kershner 162, recited). In contrast to Sandow’s internationally successful enterprise, Bloom is just an ordinary ad canvasser, who attempts to get a transaction for Alexander Keys’ advertisement, but his subaltern position inevitably undermines the grand narratives of imperialist expansion and its operant, physical culture.

In *Ulysses*, Joyce creates a conspicuous character, the Citizen, based on Michael Cusack, who was mainly responsible for founding the Gaelic Athletic Association in November 1884. It would be undesirable to identify the Citizen with the real



Cusack, although Joyce's fictional characterization of the real Citizen is "only slightly exaggerated" (Mandel 2).<sup>2</sup> Apart from the debate about how much Joyce's Citizen resembles the real Cusack, Joyce creates a "caricature" of what he knew about the person who called himself "Citizen Cusack" (de Búrca 180). As de Búrca remarks, the Cusack depicted in *Ulysses* bears a faint resemblance to the only Cusack Joyce could have known—during his undergraduate period from 1898 to 1902 (178). Verisimilitude is not important in *Ulysses*, in which Joyce often makes many mistakes such as anachronistic uses of historical facts, whose famous example is the year of the Phoenix Park murders. In other words, the Citizen is a composite figure, based largely on a caricature of the real Cusack. Joyce gives us a description of Cusack's physique in *Stephen Hero*:

A very stout black-bearded citizen who always wore a wideawake hat and a long bright green muffler was a constant figure at these meetings. When the company was going home he was usually to be seen surrounded by a circle of young men who looked very meagre about his bulk. He had the voice of an ox and he could be heard at a great distance, criticising, denouncing and scoffing. His circle was the separatist centre and in it reigned the irreconcilable temper. It had its headquarters in Cooney's tobacco-shop where the members sat every evening in the 'Divan' talking Irish loudly and smoking churchwardens. To this circle Madden who was the captain of a club of hurley-players reported the muscular condition of young irreconcilables under his charge and the editor of the weekly journal of the irreconcilable party reported any signs of Philocentricism which he had observed in the Paris newspapers. (*SH* 61)

Interestingly, another political figure mentioned here is Arthur Griffith, the founder of Sinn Féin and the editor of its official magazine, *Sinn Féin*. Later I will discuss the relation between Griffith and Cusack.

Stephen Dedalus criticizes the British government for sending the boys of the

---

2) Eoghan Corry prefers Liam Ó Cathnín's claim that "Cusack was not anti-Semite or anti-Protestant, and did not favour the IRB or Invincible violence" (9), by denouncing de Búrca's biography as less convincing. But Joyce's Citizen is not identical to the real Cusack. Joyce rather creates the Citizen from available popular images of Cusack.

empire to militant camps.

–But what use are camàns?

–Well, you see, we want to raise the physique of the country.

Stephen meditated for a moment and then he said:

–It seems to me that the English Government is very good to you in this matter.

–How is that may I ask?

–The English Government will take you every summer in batches to different militia camps, train you to the use of modern weapons, drill you, feed you and pay you and then send you home again when the manoeuvres are over.

(SH 63)

Stephen's ironical remark underlines that the ethos of the Gaelic athletic movement to "raise the physique of the country" is not different from that of the British government's military training. It is worthwhile to notice Stephen's delicate combination of the Gaelic sports revival and the military training of the British empire. At this point, Sandow's advice in his essay is superimposed.

In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Stephen's friend, Davin, described as sitting "at the feet of Michale Cusack" (180), shows his enthusiastic engagement in the Gaelic sports, by referring to "a hurling match between the Croke's Own Boys and the Fearless Thurles" (182). It is no accident that the co-founder of the GAA was Maurice Davin. So Joyce creates the Citizen as an epitome of Irish militant nationalism, from the real Cusack, although it is not totally true.

Cusack's increasing interest in hurling led him to found the Dublin Hurling Club in 1882. Here it is necessary that we should distinguish between hurley and hurling, in that the former was a modified version of the ancient Irish sports, hurling. The year of founding the GAA was a period of political tumult. The first meeting of the GAA was held in the Commercial Hotel operated by Miss Hayes, in which no politically distinguished men or renowned clergymen were present, although there were three members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a representative wing of Irish militant nationalism (Mandel 7). So it is possible that

Crime Special Branch concluded in 1888, "After Turles we may look upon the GAA as a purely Fenian society" (Corry 35). Since he must have been keenly aware of the political underpinnings of the revival of Gaelic sports, Joyce deals with the prohibition of gaelic games in the Phoenix Park in *Ulysses*.

In "Cyclops," which deals directly with the Irish sports ban in Phoenix Park, Dublin MP Joseph Nannetti is going to petition the House of Commons for remitting the prohibition. The following parody is written in the style of parliamentary minutes:

Mr Allfours: The answer is in the negative.

Mr Cowe Conacre: Has the right honourable gentleman's famous Mitchelstown telegram inspired the policy of gentlemen on the Treasury bench? (O! O!)

Mr Staylewit (Buncombe. Ind.): Don't hesitate to shoot. (Ironical opposition cheers.)

The speaker: Order! Order! (The house rises. Cheers.)

—There's the man, says Joe, that made the Gaelic sports revival. There he is sitting there. The man that got away James Stephens. The champion of all Ireland at putting the sixteen pound shot. What was your best throw, citizen?

—*Na bacleis*, says the citizen, letting on to be modest. There was a time I was as good as the next fellow anyhow. (*U* 12.872-85)

Mr. Allfours is a parodied version of Arthur James Balfour, Prime Minister in 1904, who was committed to the implementation of the coercion policy, which reinforced the militarized police in order to suppress potential riots, such as the one that took place in Mitchelstown. The above mentioned parody culminates in a reference to a Land League anti-coercion rally in Mitchelstown, County Cork in 1887. When John Dillon, Parnell's associate, attempted to make a speech in this town, three civilians were killed by police's rifle shootings in this tragic meeting (Gifford 341). Lieutenant "Pasha" Plunkett of the Royal Irish Constabulary was reported to have shouted to his men the notorious command, "Don't hesitate to shoot" (Gifford 202). The Mitchelstown telegram was brought as evidence in the court, and Parnell used the slogan, "Remember Michelstown" to rally the opposition (Gifford 342). In

“Scylla and Charybdis,” Stephen combines in a reference to Swinburne’s poem the slaughtered scene of *Hamlet* with the Boer War: “Khaki Hamlets don’t hesitate to shoot. The bloodboltered shambles in act five is a forecast of the concentration camp sung by Mr Swinburne” (*U* 9.133-35). This multi-layered reference shows that Joyce must be emphasizing on the similarity between imperialist ideology and fanatic nationalism.

Just as some historical events were combined to the effect of revealing the brutality of the British coercion policy, Joyce condenses many features related to Irish nationalist politics into the characterization of the Citizen. Joyce must be aligning the Citizen with the Fenian movement by referring to James Stephens, one of the 1789 revolution leaders, and with the cult of physical strength by referring to the champion of all Ireland, since Cusack won the Irish weight-throwing championship in July 1880.<sup>3</sup>) It would be interesting to quote Greg Winston’s explanation of the difference of the terms.

For in competing at the shot put he in fact practices a militarized, Anglicized version of a traditional Irish and Scottish test of strength. The modern name of “shot put” for the ancient event in fact derives from munitions, a result of British Army athletes in the mid-nineteenth century substituting a sixteen-pound cannon shot for the traditional fourteen-pound fieldstone used in the Tailtean and Highland games. (Winston 95)

Winston adds to emphasize that “British soldiers used the event for physical training” (*Ibid.*). This ironical confusion of the term reveals the underlying operations of imperialist ideology within Irish militant nationalism.

Another parody reinforces the Citizen’s political stance and involvement in physical culture:

---

3) As Gifford notes, the real champion and record holder for this event was Denis Hogan (342), so he never won the all-Ireland but did in fact place in the sixteen- and twenty-five-pound shot events at a Dublin Amateur Athletic Club competition (*de Búrca* 7).

A most interesting discussion took place in the ancient hall of *Brian O'Ciarnain's* in *Sraid na Bretaine Bheag*, under the auspice of *Sluagh na h-Eireann*, on the revival of ancient Gaelic sports and the importance of physical culture, as understood in ancient Greece and ancient Rome and ancient Ireland, for the development of the race. (*U* 12.897-901)

The revival of ancient Gaelic sports is not only encouraged in the broader context of physical culture, but also is supported by *Sluagh na h-Eireann* (the Army of Ireland) “for the development of the race.” The Army of Ireland was “an active patriotic society that complained to Parliament through Nannetti, 16 June 1904, that it was not allowed by the commissioners of police to play Gaelic games in Phoenix Park” (Gifford 341). This means that Michael Cusack and his organization, the GAA, is deeply involved in the political propaganda of militant nationalism.

In a heated argument about the Fenian movement, the Citizen ignores Bloom's account for Joe Brady's erection as a natural phenomenon, when the Invincible member was hanged.

- The memory of the dead, says the citizen taking up his pintglass and glaring at Bloom . . .
- You don't grasp my point, says Bloom. What I means is . . .
- Sinn Fein!* says the citizen. *Sinn fein amhein!* The friends we love are by our side and the foes we hate before us. (*U* 12.498-500)

The phrase “The memory of the dead” refers to John Kells Ingram's poem, from which derives the Fenian slogan, “Who fears to speak of Ninety-Eighty?” In a long list of Irish nationalist movements, the 1789 revolution led by Wolfe Tone is regarded as the first fuse leading to later explosive revolutions. The Citizen's enunciation of the Irish slogan of Sinn Fein is important in two points. First, this corroborates that Cusack was also a believer in the revival of the Gaelic, since he was a member of the Society of the Preservation of the Irish Language, founded in 1876 (Mandel 2). Secondly, Joyce's anachronic use of Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein, which was founded in 1905, seems to intensify the Citizen's essentialist

concept of Irish nationalism, which is invoked through a romanticized history of Irish heroes. As James Fairhall points out, the term “Irish nationalists” can convey “an illusory unity” (177), so it is plausible that Joyce’s list of Irish heroes includes not only fictional characters but also pro-British persons. Therefore, it undermines an essentialist idea of “Irish Ireland,” which persistently hinges on the concept of “pure blood.”

By putting his pacifist hero Bloom into connection with Arthur Griffith, Joyce blurs the authenticity of the idea of Sinn Fein:

. . . Bloom gave the ideas for Sinn Fein to Griffith to put in his paper all kinds of jerrymandering, packed juries and swindling the taxes off of the government and appointing consuls all over the world to walk about selling Irish industries. Robbing Peter to pay Paul. (*U* 12.1574-77)

Although it is wellknown that Arthur Griffith was a potential candidate for Joyce’s ideal politician, since he proposed a seemingly idealistic model of the Hungarian empire, dual monarchy, yet it would be safe to say that Joyce’s attitude toward Griffith was complex. As Dominic Maganiello explains, Joyce preferred the activities of the parliamentarians to Griffith’s movement (122).<sup>4</sup> As Hugh Kenner insists, “Griffith was rumored to have a Jewish adviser-ghostwriter” (133). By making a connection between Griffith’s policy and Bloom’s Hungarian background, Joyce seems to interrogate the purity of nationality. Although John Wyse Nolan suggests and Martin Cunningham corroborates Griffith’s Hungarian policy’s indebtedness to Boom, the Hungarian Jew neither admits nor denies the claim, of which he could have heard probably only through a rumor. Having in mind the Hungarian background of Bloom’s Jewishness, Joyce parodies Griffith’s praise of the coronation of Francis Josef in Buda-Pesth in 1867 in *The Resurrection of*

---

4) Dominic Maganiello accounts for Joyce’s adoption of Griffith’s Hungarian policy, but it is noticeable that the representative political leader of Hungary, Francis Deak, is not mentioned in *Ulysses*, while another leader, Lajos Kossuth, is in Bloom’s mimicry of “many historical personages” (*U* 15.1845, 1847) (120).

*Hungary*, by incorporating Bloom's fantasized coronation in "Circe" (Gibson 121). The upbeat debate about Jewishness is followed by the parody of newspaper reports, in which "the select orchestra of Irish pipes struck up the wellknown strains of *Come Back to Erin*, followed immediately by *Rakóczy's March*" (*U* 12.1867-68). The apposition of these songs is what Gibson calls "a mocking fusion of Irish and Hungarian" (121). In this sense, Joyce surreptitiously delineates a composite figure drawn from various Irish nationalists in order to reveal a similarity between British imperialism and Irish militant nationalism.

The verbal fracas between the Citizen and Bloom triggers another debate about boxing matches in terms of national competition. In "Counterparts," people in the pub are talking about "feats of strength" (*D* 84), the kind of event in which Sandow was engaged in order to compete with other strong men such as Sampson and "Cyclops." Especially, Sampson appeared on the stage, showing his strength by lifting up even an elephant. But after Sandow defeated both Sampson and "Cyclops" in competitions of physical strength, Sandow became an epitome of muscular masculinity. Considering the fact that Farrington, the Irish strongman, competes with Weathers, the English acrobat, to "uphold the national honour" (*D* 84), Sandow's exercises could never have been irrelevant to nationalist political agendas. At the gambit of discussing "violent exercises," Alf Bergan brings up the Keogh-Bennet match, in which feats of strength are inevitably understood as competitions between the representatives of two nations, England and Ireland. In the succeeding parody of sports journalism, their military status is emphasized along with their nationality: Myler Keogh as "the Irish gladiator" (*U* 12.968) and Percy Bennet as the "welterweight sergeantmajor" (*U* 12.964). In addition, we remember that Blazes Boylan profited from a bet on the "boxingmatch Myler Keogh won again that soldier in the Portobello barracks" (*U* 8.801-2). The Citizen calls Blazes Boylan as "the traitor's son" (*U* 12.949), which associates masculine prowess with the theme of betrayal. Furthermore, Boylan's father made a fortune by being engaged in the British imperialist expansion: "Dirty Dan the dodger's son off Island bridge that sold the same horses twice over to the government to fight the Boers"

(U 12.998-99). Alf's reading of the *Police Gazette* reinforces the pervasiveness and perversion of physical culture, since the popular magazine devoted many articles to boxing matches and carried with it many advertisements of patent medicines promising to cure weak masculinity. As Joseph Valente emphasizes, "the eternally returning spectre of feminization" of Erin urged Irish nationalists to exorcise it by asserting the manliness of the Irish race (103). The valorization of physical strength by Irish nationalists including Cusack only reiterates "colonial hypermasculinity." So the Citizen's emphasis on masculine prowess, which is the underpinning of Irish fanatic nationalism, just mirrors the imperialist ideology of physical domination.

Joyce exposes the brutality exemplified in some historical tragedies, even though sometimes anachronistically employed. The Royal Irish Constabulary played a crucial role in implementing the coercion policy, thus resulting in some shooting massacres. In the following parody, Joyce deftly combines a tragic massacre with the slaughter of animals pathologically diagnosed as being infected with foot and mouth disease.

Mr. Cowe Conacre (Multifarnham, Nat.): . . . may I ask . . . whether . . . these animals shall be slaughtered though no medical evidence is forthcoming as to their pathological conditions? . . .

Mr. Orelli O'Reilly (Montenotte, Nat.): Have similar orders been issued for the slaughter of human animals who dare to play Irish games in the Phoenix park?  
(U 12.860-67)

Another proleptic anachronism is employed here: the Croke Park Massacre, in which English soldiers killed Irish people in a football match sponsored by the GAA, after Michael Collins's squad shot dead 12 British officers in separate places, not to mention several wounded ones, in the early morning of 'Bloody Sunday' (Mandel 192-93).

At this point, we need to ask ourselves why the founder of the GAA is demoted to the present social status of the Citizen, since he is described as a drunken failed Fenian in the "Cyclops" episode. It would be better to trace Cusack's trajectory of



his political career related to the GAA. In less than two years after the foundation meeting at Hayes's Hotel, Cusack was dismissed from the role of general secretary to the GAA, despite his contribution to founding this nationalist organization, and then he tried to keep his political influence by writing sports columns in his own newspaper, the *Celtic Times*, and in another Irish nationalist newspaper, *Shamrock*. But his newspaper suffered a serious financial crisis, and resulted in its demise. In "Aeolus," a locale of Irish journalism, Lenehan comes out of the inner office with *Sport's* tissue, and mentions the Gold Cup of horseracing. This newspaper is the subsidiary weekly of the daily *Freeman's Journal*, which deals with sports events (de Búrca 80). Edmund Dwyer Gray, the proprietor of the *Freeman*, and MP, was in conflict with Cusack, for some obscure reasons, because Fred Gallagher, the manager of *Sport*, was reported to instruct his editorial staff to decline Cusack's reports of hurling (de Búrca 80-81). This situation can account for the Citizen's fallen state from the exalted position of the founder of the GAA. The trajectory of Cusack seems to fall a prey to Joyce's parody of Irish fanatic nationalism in the caricature of the Citizen in "Cyclops."

The "Cyclops" chapter ends with the Citizen's throwing of a Jacob's biscuit can, which can be understood as an effeminated version of his feat of strength, because he was said to be a "champion of all Ireland at putting the sixteen pound shot" (*U* 12.881-82). In her discussion about Charles Kingsley's notion of "anxious masculinity," Tracey Teets Schwarze emphasizes that Kingsley "valued the robust strength of Esau over the intellectual softness of Jacob" (118). In *Ulysses*, the biblical story of Jacob's usurpation of Esau's patrimonial birthright as the first son reverberates with the phrase "the voice of Esau" (*U* 15.1220). So the name of the biscuit company, Jacob, seems to undermine the Kingsleyan endorsement of virile strength. Bloom dexterously avoids the Citizen's biscuit can, with physical agility, which is associated with lawn tennis in Bloom's thought.<sup>5)</sup>

---

5) Enda Duffy even connects the biscuit factory of Jacob & Jacob with the stronghold occupied by the rebels during the 1916 Rising (124). He adds to say that the English readers . . . read this episode published in the *Little Review* in 1919, which coincided

By juxtaposing two characters representative of physical culture and sports nationalism respectively, Joyce must undermine the megalith of masculine empowerment supported and endorsed by both the British empire and Irish militant nationalism. Bloom's rejection of three concepts, "Force, hatred, history" (*U* 12.1481), reveals not only his pacifist attitude but also Joyce's implicit strategy of undermining every kind of justification of violence. Even though Bloom is eulogized as a pacifist, he is not immune to the pervading discourses of physical culture, which emphasizes virility, in that he tries to do Sandow's exercises in expectation of rejuvenating his virility. Bloom is not an activist for any ideological apparatus, but rather is an ordinary consumer who buys anything useful to him. Joyce seems to point out the pervasive and inconspicuous operations of ideological apparatuses through commodity culture.

Joyce's use of the association between Sandow and Cusack is finalized in the accompaniment of a canine figure:

A couched spear of acuminated granite rested by him while at his feet reposed a savage animal of the canine tribe whose stertorous gasps announced that he was sunk in uneasy slumber, a supposition confirmed by hoarse growls and spasmodic movements which his master repressed from time to time by tranquilising blows of a mighty cudgel rudely fashioned out of paleolithic stone. (*U* 12.199-205)

The Citizen's dog, Garryowen, "that bloody mangy mongrel" (*U* 12.119-20), functions to connect these two figures, in that it can be the counterpart of Eugen Sandow's dog, Sultan. It should be noticed that Irish ancient heroes often have their hounds—for example, Finn and his Bran (Schwarz 178). As Vincent J. Cheng argues, the invocation of 'A Nation Once Again,' the patriotic song by Thomas Osborne Davis, reinforces the idea of "Irish Ireland," a notion of national identity based on "the solidarity and integrity of Ireland and of its 'national' purity" (216). The Citizen's mongrel undermines the mythical status of Irish racial purity, which

---

with "the guerilla war of Irish independence" (Ibid, my ellipsis.).

Joyce attacks with his own rhetoric of diversity.

Our civilization is a vast fabric, in which the most diverse elements are mingled, in which nordic aggressiveness and Roman law, the new bourgeois conventions and the remnants of a Syriac religion are reconciled. In such a fabric, it is useless to look for a thread that may have remained pure and virgin without having undergone the influence of a neighboring thread. What race, or what language . . . can boast of being pure today? And no race has less right to utter such a boast than the race now living in Ireland. (CW 165-66)

Joyce's subaltern position inevitably uses a strategy of hybridity in order to undermine the valorization of masculine empowerment prevalent in Irish nationalist politics, tangent to a broader phenomenon of physical culture. Joyce's persona, Bloom, transgressively wanders in and out the militarized zone of any ideological grand narrative such as racism, imperialism, national purity, etc.

(Seoul National University of Science and Technology)

## Works Cited

- Budd, Michael Anton. *The Sculpture Machine: Physical Culture and Body Politic in the Age of Empire*. New York: New York UP, 1997.
- Chapman, David. *Sandow the Magnificent: Eugen Sandow and the Beginning of Body-building*. Chicago: Illinois UP, 1994.
- Cheng, Vincent J. *Joyce, Race and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.
- Corry, Eoghan. *An Illustrated History of the GAA*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2006.
- De Búrca, Marcus. *Michael Cusack and the GAA*. Dublin: Anvil Books, 1989.
- Duffy, Enda. *The Subaltern Ulysses*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
- Fairhall, James. *James Joyce and the Question of History*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.
- Gibson, Andrew. *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics and Aesthetics in Ulysses*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.
- Gifford, Don, with Robert J. Seidman. *Ulysses Annotated: Notes for James Joyce's Ulysses*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.
- Joyce, James. *Ulysses*. New York: Random House, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Dubliners*. New York: Vintage, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: Text, Criticism, and Notes*. Ed. Chester G. Anderson. New York: Viking, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Stephen Hero*. Eds. John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon. New York: New Directions, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*. Eds. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann. Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Letters of James Joyce*. Vol.1 Ed. Stuart Gilbert, New York: Viking, 1957. Vols. 2 & 3. Ed. Richard Ellmann. New York: Oxford UP, 1982.
- Kenner, Hugh. *Ulysses*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1980.
- Kershner, R. Brandon. *The Culture of Joyce's Ulysses*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

- Manganiello, Dominic. *Joyce's Politics*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Nandy, Ashis. *The Intimate Enemy*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983.
- Plock, Vike Martina. *Joyce, Medicine, and Modernity*. Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2010.
- Sandow, Eugen. *Strength and How to Obtain It*. London: Gale and Polden, 1897.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sandow's Magazine of Physical Culture*. Vol 4. January to June 1900. London: Harrison & Sons, 1900.
- Schwartz, Tracey Teets. "'Do You Call That a Man?': The Culture of Anxious Masculinity in *Ulysses*." *Masculinities in Joyce*. Eds. Christine van Boheemen-Saaf and Colleen Lamos. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001. 113-35.
- Schwarz, Daniel R. *Reading Joyce's Ulysses*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1987.
- Valente, Joseph. "'Neither fish nor flesh': or how 'Cyclops' stages the double-bind of Irish manhood." *Semicolonial Joyce*. Eds. Derek Attridge and Marjorie Howes. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000. 96-127.
- Waller, David. *The Perfect Man: The Muscular Life and Times of Eugen Sandow, Victorian Strongman*. Brighton: Victorian Secrets, 2011.
- Winston, Greg. *Joyce and Militarism*. Gainesville: UP of Florida, 2012.

## Abstract

### Joyce's Body Politics in *Ulysses*

Kiheon Nam

James Joyce, who once remarked, "*Ulysses* is an epic of . . . the body", interrogates the valorization of soul over body by deploying discourses of physicality to a great degree throughout his works. By mapping out the interface of physical culture and militant nationalism, I will show how Joyce employs the representative figures—Eugen Sandow, the founder of physical training, and Michael Cusack, the founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association.

Born and raised in the militant atmosphere of his native country, Prussia, Eugen Sandow emerged as the icon of masculine empowerment, and followed the imperialist imperatives for physical reinforcement by engaging himself in promoting physical culture and developing training programs. In *Ulysses*, Bloom buys Sandow's exercises, his program book and a patent device, Sandow-Whiteley pulley exerciser in order to recuperate his virility. Sandow's emergence as a strong man on the stage coincided with the demand for physical strength, in particular, on young men who were conscripted for the war that the British government waged in the South Africa. Sandow appeared on the stage, dressed in a military uniform, and promoted his physical training program in his own magazine.

In "Cyclops," which deals with Irish nationalist agendas, Joyce creates the Citizen, based on the real Cusack, the founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association. Although it is a complicate problem to identify some features of Cusack's real life, Joyce creates a composite "caricature" of Irish nationalist. In a parody of parliamentary minutes, Joyce deals with the ban of Irish games in Phoenix Park. MP Nannetti attends a parliamentary session, whose committee members are characterized as engaging in imminent political agendas. Joyce's anachronistic use

of the Croke Park massacre reinforces his keen awareness of the brutality of Prime Minister Balfour's coercion policy, which permits the reinforcement of military policing.

Joyce's final deployment of an associative device is the Citizen's canine fellow, Garryowen, not only because Sandow is accompanied by his hound, Sultan, but also because ancient Irish heroes also have their hounds, for example, Finn and his Bran. The Citizen's mongrel canine is employed to undermine the national purity promoted through a concept of "Irish Ireland," which naturally excludes an alien like Bloom. In conclusion, Joyce shows the pervasive dominance of masculine prowess promoted by the cult of physical strength, and the similarity between imperialist ideology and Irish militant nationalism.

■ **Key words**: James Joyce, *Ulysses*, Eugen Sandow, Michael Cusack, the Gaelic Athletic Association, Irish nationalism, body politics, physical culture  
(제임스 조이스, 『율리시스』, 유진 샌도우, 마이클 쿠색, 게일운동 협회, 아일랜드 민족주의, 몸의 정치학, 운동문화)

논문접수: 2013년 12월 11일

논문심사: 2013년 12월 12일

게재확정: 2013년 12월 21일