

Fashioning Irish Masculinity: Dandyism and Athleticism in *Ulysses*

Jung-Hwa Lee

I. Introduction

In “Can the Subaltern Speak?” Gayatri Spivak’s answer to her own question is clear: “The subaltern cannot speak” (104). This succinct and definitive answer, whether we agree with her or not, involves rather convoluted arguments and invites some new speculation. The subaltern does not always know what s/he really wants in part because s/he has already internalized the logic of the colonizer. Spivak’s assertion has brought to the fore the complexity of colonial situations, suggesting that colonial subjectivity cannot be fully understood by the facile binary opposition of the colonizer and the colonized, the conqueror and the victim.

While a considerable amount of critical attention has been given to female subjectivity in *Ulysses*, masculinity remained a rather obscure area of study until recently. However, as Tracey Teets Schwarze points out, “Joyce’s *Ulysses* showcases the tension between [...] competing styles of masculinity [of Victorian England] and the confusion they caused among turn-of-the-century men, who

attempted to reproduce the Kingsleyan ethos and locate its externalized Others but who simultaneously feared to discover the locus of difference within the masculine body” (72). Indeed, Dublin men in *Ulysses* point to the interrelatedness of nationhood and manhood, the entangled relationship between imperialistic nationalism and defensive nationalism of the colonized, and the troubling location of the racial other among them. Similarly, while focusing on “the double-bind of Irish manhood”—the English construction of the Irish as feminine on the one hand and beastly on the other—Joseph Valente argues that “Joyce elaborates the problem of [...] the colonial predicament in general and the trauma of Irish manhood in particular” (112). According to Schwarze and Valente, even as the Irish men in “Cyclops” purport to dismantle the Victorian / Edwardian style of muscular manliness, they reinscribe it or reveal an anxiety over their own manliness at best. So the question is again “can the subaltern speak?” This question is particularly relevant to discussions of masculinity in *Ulysses* because, as Moonsook Kim appropriately notes, Joyce suggests an overcoming of subaltern consciousness as a key step toward breaking the mental paralysis of Dublin men (161).

In this essay, I hope to expand the aforementioned critics’ explorations of masculinity by examining the relationship between Victorian / Edwardian notions of masculinity and the construction of Irish manliness in *Ulysses*. While seeing masculinity as theatrical performance both in its nature and in its exertion, I focus on the ways in which dandies and muscular men in 1904 Dublin reproduce the ethos of the colonizer while importing English styles of masculinity. Joyce’s cultural criticism of Dublin is firmly grounded on the awareness of the predicament of the colonial that is often overlooked in the rhetoric of aggressive nationalists. *Ulysses* problematizes internalized colonialism while exploring possibilities and pitfalls of masculine self-fashioning in early-twentieth century Dublin.

II. Dandies in Second-hand Clothes

In *Sartor Resartus*, Thomas Carlyle defines the dandy as “a Clothes-wearing Man, a Man whose trade, office, and existence consists in the wearing of Clothes,” a man who “is heroically consecrated to this one object, the wearing of Clothes wisely and well: so that as others dress to live, he lives to dress” (200). Through this satirical description of the dandical body, Carlyle attacks dandyism as superficial and frivolous. To Carlyle, who privileges ‘nature’ as a source of truth and advocates an organic development of society and individual, the dandy is too self-conscious of his appearance to be ‘natural.’ In Carlyle’s conception of true manliness, appearance should transparently reflect (and not refract) one’s inner self —thus his motto in *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, “Be genuine, be sincere” (125). Carlyle elevates “Man of Letters” to a new hero who “lives in the inward sphere of things, in the True, Divine and Eternal, which exists always, unseen to most, under the Temporary, Trivial” (*Heroes* 155).

Given Carlyle’s overt disdain for the dandical body that is meant to be displayed, it is paradoxical that *Heroes and Hero-Worship* was printed from his public lectures, oratory performances. “While repudiating the dandy’s coat in favor of the prophet’s mantle,” Carlyle nonetheless is “making a spectacle of himself, outwardly distinguished from the dandy only by the particulars of his own idiosyncratic costume and idiom” (Adams 23). The paradox itself is quite illuminating as it betrays the theatricality of masculinity whether it is overt as in the dandy or covert as in Carlyle’s hero. Despite the pose of self-sufficiency, the Carlylean hero is contingent upon hero-worshippers’ recognition and their admiring gaze. James Eli Adams attributes the contradiction in Carlyle’s notion of masculinity to a tension between “masculine self-fashioning” and “an ideal of essential selfhood” (23). The tension helps to explain the fundamental instability of conceptions of manliness. On the one hand, in order for manliness to function as a norm, it should provide the fantasy that any man can emulate, perform, and attain it. On the other hand, however, masculinity functions as a vehicle for articulating

class, ethnic, racial, and national differences; as a distinguishing marker, it needs to maintain a certain degree of exclusivity.

The dandical bodies put into display in *Ulysses* are often described with comical nuances, and yet they reveal anxieties of colonial masculinity even as they entertain the hope of fashioning themselves anew. For instance, we meet Kernan in “Wandering Rocks” where Joyce provides a kaleidoscopic view of Dubliners:

Saw him [Mr. Crimmins] looking at my frockcoat. Dress does it. Nothing like a dressy appearance. Bowls them over.

[...]

Mr Kernan halted and preened himself before the clopping mirror of Peter Kennedy, hairdresser. Stylish coat, beyond a doubt. Scott of Dawson street. Well worth the half sovereign I gave Neary for it. Never built under three guineas. Fits me down to the ground. Some Kildare street club toff had it probably. John Mulligan, the manager of the Hibernian bank, gave me a very sharp eye yesterday on Carlisle bridge as if he remembered me.

Aham! Must dress the character for those fellows. Knight of the road, Gentleman. (10.738-49)

Kernan is extremely self-conscious of his appearance and, to be sure, of others' gaze. The overdressed merchant elatedly yet clearly articulates the perceived effect of clothing; it gives him a sense of power (“Bowls them over”). Besides, Kernan believes that clothing makes a gentleman out of a salesman. Whether it is a fantasy or not, to Kernan, clothing is a means by which he can transcend his social status. In this sense, his clothing reflects his desire for dominance as well as his democratic aspiration.

Both his desire for power and his democratic aspiration, however, cannot find any other outlet than to emulate another dandy, “[s]ome Kildare street club toff,” as Kernan supposes. The Kildare street club is an Anglo-Irish men's club (Gifford 273), where Irish dandies might pick up English styles. Whether Kernan's clothing actually has to do with that club or not, the association between the coat and the Anglo-Irish club or his knowledge about the cultural origin of his style

compromises Kernan's "masculine self-fashioning." Kernan's dandyism is second-hand in a double sense; not only is his clothing on which his sense of power depends literally second-hand but his dandical style is also an imitation of English culture.

The most conspicuous dandy in *Ulysses* is Blazes Boylan "in tan shoes and socks with skyblue clocks" (10.1241-42). Without much exaggeration, Boylan's "fashion-plate furnishings [...] rival those of even Gerty MacDowell" (Schwarze 84). He presents himself as a show with overdone costumes and postures, and his display primarily resorts to exaggeration. The paradox of his bodily display is that, as Kimberly J. Devlin observes, "the exaggeration of the pose betrays it *as pose*" (132). While theatricality is an intrinsic component of the dandical body, its excess makes it less effective and often laughable, violating norms of delicacy and refinement that are more subtly coded and accordingly more difficult to deploy than a mere exaggeration. Molly sensitively notices exactly where Boylan's ornamental body falls short: "no thats no way for him has he no manners nor no refinement nor no nothing in his nature" (18.1368-69). Boylan's over-performance of virility and obvious demand for admiration are not quite distinguishable from vulgarity in Molly's eyes.

"The dressy young blade," Malachi Buck Mulligan also consciously plays his role as the dandy (14.884-85). From the very beginning of *Ulysses*, he is introduced as a theatrical being—who plays a priest—and adroitly changes his role as his self-made nickname "Mercurial Malachi" suggests (1.518). He even encourages Stephen to adopt his style even though Stephen finds it pointless and even bothering:

—Ah, poor dogsbody! he said in a kind voice. I must give you a shirt and a few noserags. How are the secondhand breeks?

—They fit well enough, Stephen answered.

Buck Mulligan attacked the hollow beneath his underlip.

—The mockery of it, he said contentedly. Secondleg they should be. God knows what poxy bowsy left them off. I have a lovely pair with a hair stripe,

grey. You'll look spiffing in them. I'm not joking, Kinch. You look damn well when you're dressed.

—Thanks, Stephen said. I can't wear them if they are grey. (1.112-20)

Stephen's and Mulligan's attitudes toward clothing reveal different styles of masculinity they are pursuing; while Mulligan's interest lies in a "spiffing" appearance, Stephen's concern is whether clothes fit him and his situation—that is, mourning his mother's death.

As an artist-wanderer, Stephen is pursuing religious, political, and artistic forms that are appropriate to his ideas and beliefs. To him, forms do not take precedence over ideas, so forms that do not correspond to his inner truth are dismissed as spurious semblance or falsehood. Thus, Stephen's refusal to pray for his mother on her deathbed does not contradict his refusal to wear gray clothes since they both are grounded on his mistrust of false forms—even though Mulligan finds them contradictory: "He kills his mother but he can't wear grey trousers" (1.122). In addition, Mulligan fails to understand Stephen's motive by interpreting it as a matter of form once again: "Etiquette is etiquette" (1.121-22). In Stephen's eyes, however, Mulligan's dandyism is but a self-humiliating gesture because it degrades Mulligan to a fetish-object, "youth's proud livery he pranks in" (9.537-38).

Devlin posits that "male masquerade" is "similar in kind to the masquerade of womanliness in its essential fraudulence" (132). Although the dandy carried unstable and even contradictory cultural implications throughout the nineteenth century, it was easily associated with a delicate, sensitive, witty, but somewhat effeminate man. Also the propensity for display has often been perceived as a typically feminine attribute with an implication of passivity. It is not surprising, then, that some critics see a homosexual aura in Mulligan's attempt to Hellenize Stephen and Ireland. Mulligan, who thinks that his name "has a Hellenic ring" (1.41-42) and Stephen has "the real Oxford manner" (1.54), suggests that they go to Athens together (1.42-43) and collaborate to Hellenize Ireland (1.157-58). In *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford*, Linda Dowling explains that Victorian reformers of Oxford University (a.k.a. Tractarians) privileged male-male

bonding over heterosexual love and found a model of spiritual potency in Hellenism. The link among Hellenism, homosexuality, and Oxford was further consolidated as the Oxford Movement was revamped by fin-de-siècle aesthetes such as Oscar Wilde and Walter Pater.

According to Gary Leonard, Mulligan's fascination with Hellenism, his insistence on dressing Stephen in a dandical style, and his reference to Oxford days all point to his homosexual feeling toward Stephen, which Leonard contends is a "cause of Stephen's 'panic' about their relationship" (15-17). However, I concur with Schwarze that Mulligan's fascination with Hellenism marks his inability to create his own masculine style rather than his homosexual tendency. Mulligan's Hellenistic ethos is "yet another English import," or "one more copycat masculinist / artistic pose" because "it is not Irish nor even (any longer) Greek" (Schwarze 89). Proposing to Hellenize Ireland, Mulligan imitates the Oxford reformers who attempted to Hellenize England as a way of revitalizing English culture. Stephen refuses Mulligan's Hellenism because it lacks the cultural potency that is needed to fashion Irish manhood / nationhood. Mulligan asks Stephen, "Why don't you trust me more?" (1.161) For Stephen, Mulligan's unoriginal thinking does not provide a viable alternative to the stagnation of Irish culture. Mulligan can play a role to gain money from the Oxford student and conqueror Haines, but not to stand against him. And Stephen would not trust either Haines the conqueror or Mulligan the imitator of the conqueror.

Ulysses describes Irish dandies who cannot properly fashion themselves. Kernan, Boylan, and Mulligan represent theatrical beings that perform poorly (Boylan) or in second-hand English clothes (Kernan and Mulligan). In fact, the dandy in second-hand clothes is a self-contradiction because the primary tenet of dandyism is self-invention. Then, Mulligan is probably right about one thing: "Do I contradict myself? Very well then, I contradict myself" (1.17). In the following pages, I will examine the ways in which the attempt of fashioning Irish male bodies reveals a similar contradiction by looking into the cult of physical culture in 1904 Dublin.

III. Physical Culture and the Male Body

Dublin in *Ulysses* is replete with athleticism and aggressive muscular masculinity that highlights Bloom's emasculation by contrast. Advertisements of boxing matches and soldiers in the street as well as references to bicycle races and Gaelic sports provide a glimpse of the degree to which men in Dublin are saturated with images of muscular male bodies in their daily lives. Physical culture is so prevalent that even the most unlikely man, the calm intellectual Stephen, is drawn to "a faded 1860 print of Heenan boxing Sayers" (10.831-32), and an advertisement of another boxing match draws Aloysius Dignam's attention even on the day of his father's funeral (10.1131-49).

In Victorian / Edwardian England, physical strength and a healthy male body were identified with national prosperity, which was necessitated by frequent wars and imperial projects as well as an anxiety over moral and physical degeneracy of the race. The vehement and influential proponent of muscular manliness, Charles Kingsley, believed that industrialization caused effeminacy in the entire society and thus the national body of England needed to be rejuvenated and revitalized through physical activities such as sports and imperial adventures. In *Westward Ho!* set in Elizabethan England, he demonstrates that muscular manhood is a prerequisite for successful imperial adventures and a revival of the golden age of England. Inspired by Kingsley, Thomas Hughes's bestseller, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* illustrates that physical exercises became a crucial part of public school education in Victorian England.

In "Cyclops," this interdependence of muscular masculinity and nationalism in the Victorian rhetoric is reproduced by the citizen and other Irish men in Barney Kiernan's pub when they discuss "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" (12.899-901). While attempting to foment Irish nationalistic fervor through sports, the citizen unwittingly adopts the British discourse of aggressive nationalism that he means to refute. The

citizen “whose model was Michael Cusack, the founder of the Gaelic Athletic Association” exemplifies “colonial hypermasculinity, the ultimately self-betraying identification of the conquered with the phallic aggression of the conqueror” (Valente 106).

This predicament of colonial masculinity is also related to the repetitive motif of an adulterous woman throughout *Ulysses*: “A dishonoured wife, says the citizen, that’s what’s the cause of all our misfortunes” (12.1163-64). The citizen metaphorically understands the colonial situation in terms of a triangular relationship that consists of a conquering man (the colonizer), an adulterous woman (the nation-land), and a betrayed man (the colonized). Within this framework, any colonial confrontation is reduced to a man-to-man rivalry, a battle between two competing masculine powers. Conceiving Irish nationalism as a reclaiming of ‘his’ woman, the citizen subjects himself to a sheer power display, espousing “force against force” (12.1364). His attacking Bloom as a cuckold is not only about Bloom’s inability or unwillingness to bring Molly’s infidelity to an end but also about his distance from aggressive patriotic sentiments, both of which are interpreted as a lack of muscular manhood and by extension as effeminacy by the men in the pub, as the citizen’s pointed question implies: “Do you call that a man?” (12.1654)

In addition, Bloom’s Jewishness contributes to his status as “[o]ne of those mixed middlings” (12.1658-59). Bloom is doubly marginalized due to his Jewishness as well as his perceived effeminacy. In the eyes of Dublin men, Bloom’s Jewishness already inscribes emasculation to some extent because “the wandering jew” (9.1209) does not have a country for which his masculinity is supposed to be exerted and displayed:

—And after all, says John Wyse, why can’t a jew love his country like the next fellow?

—Why not? says J. J., when he’s quite sure which country it is.

—Is he a jew or a gentile or a holy Roman or a swaddler or what the hell is he? says Ned. Or who is he, No offence, Crofton. (12.1628-32)

The Irish Jew and cuckolded Bloom serves as the racialized and gendered Other against whom Dublin men measure and affirm their masculinity (Schwarze 78-79). Just as English muscular masculinity mobilized the racial myth of Celtic emasculation, so the citizen attempts to establish his masculinity by Othering Bloom, perpetuating the vicious circle of colonial masculinity.

One of Bloom's preoccupations is to recuperate his threatened masculinity. The exercises of Eugen Sandow, a popular cultural icon of a strong male body, resurface in Bloom's consciousness throughout the day. Feeling unfit for the day to come, Bloom thinks in "Calypso," "Got up wrong side of the bed. Must begin again those Sandow's exercises" (4.233-34). The need to resume Sandow's exercises foreshadows the citizen's attack on Bloom's manliness. It is hardly a coincidence that the exercises come to Bloom's mind given the life story and career of Sandow, the founder of modern bodybuilding and writer of *Strength and How to Obtain It* published in 1897. Born in Prussia, Sandow was frequently beaten by bullies in childhood; having emigrated to England, he became the most successful circus strongman of his time and promotor of individual fitness and personal training programs (Scott 79). As Brandon Kershner notes, Sandow became a "spectacle" (683) by generously offering his own body image on stage and in print as an exemplar of bodily perfection and by "creating himself as folk hero—one who, paradoxically, is both overwhelmingly superior to ordinary humanity and yet wholly emulable" (687). In other words, Sandow's exercises provided an accessible means of masculine self-fashioning, with Sandow himself exemplifying the dramatic transformation of a weakling into a strongman—something that the Wonderworker promises: "making a new man of you" (17.1829). It should not come as a surprise, then, that Sandow's book decorates Bloom's bookshelf as we find out in the "Ithaca" episode. Bloom does not escape physical culture, but he prefers the individual exercise regime designed for modern sedentary workers that emphasizes "mental concentration in front of a mirror" (17.515-16) over the more aggressive version of muscular manliness that the citizen embodies.

Another reference to Sandow's exercises appears in "Circe" as Bloom enters the

nighttown before he undergoes bodily and mental degradations: “Must take up Sandow’s exercises again. On the hands down” (15.199-200). According to Kershner, “On the hands down” does not actually appear in Sandow’s *Strength and How to Obtain It* (n.14). Although the source of that particular phrase is unclear, the addition is significant. The insertion of the imaginary posture highlights self-control and restraint that were theoretically at the core of muscular manliness but were easily lost in practices of physical culture. As Valente explains, “A muscular ideal of manhood consisted precisely in the *simultaneous* necessity for and exercise of [the] capacity for rational self-control—in strong passions strongly checked—from which the virtues of conventional ‘masculinity’ (fortitude, tenacity, industry, candor) were assumed to derive” (97-98). Of course, self-control is what the citizen does not possess. The fact that Bello repeats “On the hands down!” (15.2848-49) to discipline Bloom further suggests that Bloom’s masculine fashioning involves a simultaneous cultivation of energy and restraint.

IV. Masculinity and Theatricality

Charting Bloom’s masculinity in *Ulysses*, a number of critics have focused on what he eventually accomplishes through a series of sexual crises. For example, Neil Davison maintains that Bloom regains his masculine self by embracing and affirming his Jewishness. According to Davison, while Stephen “remains a static character,” Bloom “confronts his own ‘Jewishness’ as well as his anti-Semitic attackers, and so achieves a sense of equilibrium and perhaps even a renewed masculine power” (186). Despite the difference in approach and emphasis, Joseph Allen Boone seems to reach a similar conclusion when he reads “the reformulated sexual identity of the man who returns, both to the realms of the conscious and to Molly’s bed, at the end of the novel” (68).

While Davison and Boone see Bloom’s sexual crisis as a transformative and reformative experience, which not only enables him to revitalize himself but also

provides an indirect criticism of other men's stereotypical manliness, Sandra Gilbert contends that Bloom's transvestism in "Circe" is no more than a route to the reinforcement of male mastery and thus of social stereotypes: "Casting off his false female costume, he has begun to dis-cover and re-cover his true male potency, his masterful male self" (396). Although they disagree about the outcome of Bloom's metamorphosis in "Circe," they seem to share the assumption that there is a "true" masculinity that can be recovered or otherwise discarded. However, the political edge of Bloom's transformation in "Circe" is that it reveals masculinity as transformable and therefore artificial. The dramatization of Bloom's sexuality in "Circe" does not simply illustrate Joyce's another formal experiment; rather, it illuminates a crucial characteristic of masculinity—masculinity as an unstable social construct.

Throughout "Circe," Bloom oscillates between being a domineering hypermasculine man and playing a helplessly subservient woman. Bloom's already problematized masculinity in earlier chapters is once again threatened by a series of society ladies: "Geld him. Vivisect him" (15.1105). What follows this scene is Bloom's hypermasculine fantasy in which he is transformed into "the world's greatest reformer" (15.1459) and then an "undoubted emperor-president and king-chairman, the most serene and potent and very puissant ruler of this realm" (15.1471-72). As a strong and imperious ruler, a revolutionary, and a spiritual leader, Bloom embodies a patriarch who has "law and mercy" (15.1480-81) at his command. To make the list of his capacity even longer, he subsequently impersonates a messiah, a martyr, and "a man like Ireland wants" (15.1540), embodying multiple types of heros. This sequence of transformation lays bare often contradictory cultural definitions of what constitutes masculinity. As Bloom constantly changes and finally emerges as "a finished example of the new womanly man" (15.1798-99), it becomes clear that "in *Ulysses* as in life, sexual identity is largely a cultural or even a theatrical phenomenon" (Herr 153).

Bloom's transsexual episode, which is coupled with Bella Cohen's transformation, reveals that one's sexual identity is neither innate nor fixed but fluid

and tentative. Bloom's masculinity (or femininity) is only provisionally determined depending on which part he is playing; so is Bella / Bello's sexual identity. Furthermore, Bloom's interplay with Bella / Bello powerfully demonstrates that masculinity or femininity is culturally constructed as a work of power dynamics of domination and submissiveness—the role play staged in the entire society where one impersonates a certain gender role assigned by cultural scripts such as tradition, cultural expectations, and stereotypes, which in turn reinscribe and fortify power differentials. Even so, as the “Circe” episode implies, the boundary between *playing* a role and *becoming* it is never clear because one lives and internalizes that role while he plays it. In response to Bello's mockery of his wearing Molly's clothes, Bloom blames his transvestite propensity on Gerald and a school play he participated in: “It was Gerald converted me to be a true corsetlover when I was female impersonator in the High School play *Vice Versa*” (15.3009-3011). As Cheryl Herr cogently argues, “the presentation of Bloom's excuse encapsulates a culture's fear that from playing a role to being that role is one very easy step” (153). Bloom's explanation suggests that there is only a tenuous boundary between playing a “female impersonator” and becoming one.

However, this ambiguity or rather the inseparability of playing and becoming implies more than a cultural fear about gender identity, especially with regard to the predicament of colonial masculinity. Discourses of manhood and nationhood have evolved in parallel because, as David Rosen insightfully observes, manhood is a politically invested concept that defines who is qualified to rule and govern (21). In response to racial emasculation that has defined them to be unfit for self-governance, Dublin men in *Ulysses* are eager to display manliness either as dandies or as muscular men. They perceive masculinity as something fashion-able, thus refusing the idea of the feminine Celtic ‘nature’ that nineteenth-century English intellectuals like Matthew Arnold famously propagated. And yet, they go no further than demonstrating that they can be as dandical and muscular as English conquerors.

Worse still, Irish men, as Joyce portrays them in *Ulysses*, unwittingly subscribe

to the English notion of masculinity that has historically relegated them to the position of the racial inferior. The dandical bodies of Kernan, Boylan, and Mulligan as well as the aggressive nationalist masculinity of the citizen illustrate the ways in which they internalize the logic of the colonizer while importing and enacting English styles of masculinity. In so doing, they subject themselves not only to the gaze of others but also to English culture. In “Circe,” Joyce seems to offer a double-edged answer to this dilemma of colonial masculinity. There is no essential masculinity (and femininity by implication), but instead one adopts or fashions masculinity. However, performance constitutes an identity that cannot be undone simply by doffing costumes.

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Abstract

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This paper discusses the relationship between Victorian / Edwardian styles of masculinity and the construction of Irish manliness in *Ulysses*. Seeing masculinity as theatrical performance both in its nature and in its exertion, I focus on the ways in which dandies and muscular men in 1904 Dublin reproduce the ethos of the colonizer while importing English styles of masculinity. Irish dandies, Kernan, Boylan, and Mulligan in particular, entertain the fantasy of fashioning themselves, and yet they fall short of self-invention and norms of delicacy. The enthusiasm for athleticism and muscular manliness, most notably demonstrated by the citizen, replicates the Victorian / Edwardian cult of physical culture along with its aggressiveness and racial Othering. The citizen metaphorically understands the colonial situation in terms of a triangular relationship that consists of a conquering man (the colonizer), an adulterous woman (the nation-land), and a betrayed man (the colonized), thus reducing a colonial confrontation to a man-to-man rivalry, a battle between two masculine powers that are oppositional yet similar in kind. The dandies and athletes in *Ulysses* illustrate that they internalize the logic of the colonizer while enacting English styles of masculinity. In so doing, they subject themselves not only to the gaze of others but also to English culture. In "Circe," Joyce seems to offer a double-edged answer to this dilemma of colonial masculinity. There is no essential masculinity (and femininity by implication), but instead one adopts or fashions masculinity. However, performance constitutes an identity that cannot be undone simply by doffing costumes.

■ Key words: James Joyce, *Ulysses*, colonial masculinity, dandy, physical culture, Sandow's exercises, theatricality
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