

Speaking Through Cashel: Joyce's Irish Identity and Language

Dylan Emerick-Brown

English Department Chair & AICE Cambridge Teacher, Deltona High School

Deltona, Florida, United States

Email: dylaneb@live.com; [djemic@volusia.k12.fl.us](mailto:djemeric@volusia.k12.fl.us)



The Baptism of the King of Cashel by St Patrick by James Barry, 1800-1801

Presented at the XII James Joyce Italian Foundation Conference in Rome:

Joyce's Feast of Languages

Università Roma Tre

One of the most elusive characters in James Joyce's *Ulysses* is also the one with the most unusual name: *Cashel Boyle O'Connor Fitzmaurice Tisdall Farrell*. This distinctly long name carries with it a lot of significance for Joyce. Inspired by the real-life eccentric Dubliner, James Henry Farrell, from which Joyce obtains his last of the six names, this character weaves his way throughout the novel, appearing and disappearing from seven different episodes. However, it's in the one scene in which this odd man with the "bony form" (U.130,8.295) has a speaking line that Joyce reveals the alluring historic and literary significance of his first — and most iconic — name: *Cashel*. Oliver St. John Gogarty hypothesized in *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street* that Cashel "represents in his person an amalgam of the ingredient races that go to make up the nation" (1994, p. 8). While the long list of surnames the real James Henry Farrell used could have had personal significance delving deeper than anyone could ever know, Joyce's use of translingualism and linguistic dislocation of the name Cashel, his mannerisms, and most importantly his use of monologue reveal the author's sentiments regarding the anglicization of Ireland, its people, its politics, its culture, and its language.

It is worth mentioning that as early as 1899, the real-life inspiration for Cashel, James Henry Farrell, began to use "Cashel" in his own name. According to John Simpson's in-depth article on Farrell entitled "Cashel Boyle O'Connor Fitzmaurice Tisdall Farrell (Endymion): the Back-story" published in the *Dublin James Joyce Journal*, "Attempts to interpret James Farrell's long name have concentrated in the past on Irish symbolism. Claire Culleton, for example, remarks that 'Farrell's multiple surnames are engaging specifically because they suggest a political and ironic Irish history'. There is doubtless some truth in this, and it may well be one of the reasons that the names attracted Joyce, Gogarty, and others" (2011, p. 100). This was also the point made in Oliver Gogarty's book, *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street*.

Also, Simpson adds, “The original elaboration of his name involves the addition of ‘Oliver Cashel FitzSymons’. Farrell knows that ‘Oliver Cashel’ is a figure of historical significance for Dundalk [where Farrell was from], and one from whom he claims descent. Cashel Fitzsimons was also, as we have seen from a tombstone transcription, the name of at least one inhabitant of Dundalk in the eighteenth century” (2011, p. 101).

Partly in order to avoid libel when writing about the real Dubliner, Joyce took the original name, *James Boyle Tisdell Burke Stewart Fitzsimons Farrell*, and “excises his own given name *James* from the list, replacing it with *Cashel*, a name suggestive of the prominent Irish ruin” (Culleton, 1994, p. 46). We cannot assume James Henry Farrell had the Irish ruins in mind when choosing the name Cashel. However, it is possible that Joyce took advantage of the name’s historical and political significance in order to highlight his views on the anglicization of Ireland for his own purpose in *Ulysses*.

During the 19th century, the British had been busy both trying to anglicize Ireland and building small, round, defensive stone forts throughout the country. In Irish, these were called caiseals and the most famous is the Martello Tower in Sandymount, featured in the beginning of the novel, *Ulysses*, which James Joyce himself also lived in with Oliver St. John Gogarty — Stephen Dedalus and Buck Mulligan in the novel. Vincent Cheng, in his book *Joyce, Race, and Empire*, wonderfully highlights the symbolism of this imposing structure and the complexity of Ireland’s complicit behavior in its own subjugation: “...the tower is a synecdoche for the Irish condition without Home Rule: it is ‘occupied’ (in both domestic and imperial sense) by a British presence (Haines) and by a native collaborator, the latter having the treacherous qualities of the wooden-horse (Mulligan, ‘equine...grained and hued like pail oak’). Stephen’s very first words in the novel – ‘Tell me, Mulligan...How long is Haines going to stay in this tower?’ (U 1.47-49)

– resonate with the Home Rule question and the longing for Irish autonomy from English occupation” (p. 151-152).

The anglicized version of the word *caiseal* is, of course, *cashel*. Just as Joyce and many of his characters were struggling with the anglicization of their Irish identity, the author chose the anglicized word for his temporary home in which his novel begins as the name to replace his own for this fascinating character. This struggle with cultural identity lies at the center of *Cashel*’s purpose in the novel.

The skeleton key, so to speak, unlocking this enigma of *Cashel*, is a brief line by Stephen Dedalus early in *Ulysses* in the “*Telemachus*” episode when he was handing back Buck Mulligan’s mirror. It is a mirror “cleft by a crooked crack” (U.6,1.35-36). Stephen said, “It is a symbol of Irish art. The cracked lookingglass of a servant” (U.6,1.46). Joyce saw Irish art – and by extension – Irish culture in a disdainful manner. It was reflective yet plagued with faults. And there was a sense of servitude and submission in it. When Joyce considered Irish culture, art, and identity, the Anglicism of their English oppressors was inescapable.

In the novel, *Cashel* wandered around lampposts and crossed streets, never uttering a word. Then, in the “*Wandering Rocks*” episode he spoke two words in Latin (U.205,10.1106-1113):

“*Cashel Boyle O’Connor Fitzmaurice Tisdall Farrell* walked as far as Mr Lewis Werner’s cheerful windows, then turned and strode back along Merrion square, his stickumbrelladustcoat dangling.

“At the corner of Wilde’s house he halted, frowned at Elijah’s name announced on the Metropolitan hall, frowned at the distant pleasance of duke’s lawn. His eyeglass flashed frowning in the sun. With ratsteeth bared he muttered:

“— *Coactus volui.*”

This brief scene evokes many questions. The first we will address is why Cashel is frowning “at the distant pleasance of duke’s lawn.” In Dublin, the duke’s lawn refers to the Leinster House, built between 1745 and 1748 by James Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare. But then it is still strange as to why someone would frown at something so pleasant. As Haines, the Englishman in the Irish cashel, said in the “Telemachus” episode, “It seems history is to blame” (U.17,1.649). For this subtle political allusion to make sense, one has to dig into Ireland’s past a little. Thankfully, one of Joyce’s other characters already led the way.

Earlier in the same episode, Ned Lambert exclaimed (U.190,10.444-449):

“ — God! he [Lambert] cried. I forgot to tell him [reverend Hugh C. Love] that one about the earl of Kildare after he set fire to Cashel cathedral. You know that one? *I’m bloody sorry I did it*, says he [eighth earl of Kildare], *but I declare to God I thought the archbishop was inside*. He [Love] mightn’t like it, though. What? God, I’ll tell him [Love] anyhow. That was the great earl, the Fitzgerald Mor. Hot members they were all of them, the Geraldines.”

At this point, the connections are beginning to get made. From 1478 to 1513, the eighth earl of Kildare was a ruthless man by the name of Gerald Fitzgerald. During this period, there was a dispute between the Desmonds, Butlers, and Fitzgeralds. The town of Cashel was “unfortunately situated in one respect, being upon the borders of the Butlers’ country, and exposed in their wars with the family of Desmond to the hostile neighbourhood of the Fitzgeralds” (Buffon, 1836, p. 340). All three of these families played a prominent role in this history.

In 1492, the Butlers of Ormonde and the Fitzgeralds of Kildare were involved in a violent feud around who would hold the position of Lord Deputy of Ireland. This feud quickly escalated into an outright war. During a skirmish, the Butlers took refuge in Saint Patrick’s Cathedral in

Dublin. The Fitzgeralds, who had pursued and surrounded them, insisted that they come out and settle on a truce. However, the Butlers were concerned that they would be killed if they left the safety of their holy sanctuary. And so, Gerald Fitzgerald, patriarch of the Fitzgeralds, had a hole cut into the door in which he offered his hand in a gesture of peace. Seeing that Fitzgerald was serious enough about peace to risk having his arm dismembered, the Butlers shook hands and left the cathedral for a truce.

A few years later, the Archbishop of Cashel, David Creagh, had upset Gerald Fitzgerald to the point of rage. In 1495, Fitzgerald set fire to the cathedral in Cashel as Ned Lambert brought up in the novel. According to F.X. Martin, “Sir Edward Poynings was sent to Ireland as lord deputy, held his famous parliament at Dublin in December 1494, arrested Garret [also known as Gerald] in late February 1495 and sent him prisoner to England in early March” (1988, p. 30). Reference was made to this civil conflict between Edward and Fitzgerald in the “Circe” episode of *Ulysses* when Distant Voices declare, “Dublin’s burning! Dublin’s burning! On fire, on fire!” (U.488,15.4660). In the parenthetical description that follows, Joyce wrote a list of conflicting figures throughout Irish history which reflected its anglicization, then mangled some names to include, “Lord Edward Fitzgerald against Lord Gerald Fitzedward” (U.489,15.4686-4687). As Robert Newman and Weldon Thornton wrote in *Joyce’s Ulysses: The Larger Perspective*, “These mirror images lend themselves to a vision of the historical Ireland whose left and right hands have often combatted each other” (1987, p. 225). In fact, Fitzgerald would later hold the position Poynings currently held during this conflict – that of lord deputy –, further illustrating the complexity of the roles the Irish would play in British politics.

F.X. Martin continues with, “This was the lowest point of Garret’s fortunes. His wife [Alison] in Ireland died the following winter while he was lodged in the Tower of London, and it

seemed likely that he would end his life as had his uncle” (1988, p. 30). At his trial in 1496, Fitzgerald claimed, as the story goes, that he would had never set fire to the cathedral if he hadn’t been previously told that the archbishop was inside. His accusers, among them Archbishop Creagh, reportedly claimed according to Martin, “all Ireland cannot rule yonder gentleman,” to which King Henry VII supposedly replied that Fitzgerald was “then most meet to rule all Ireland” (1988, p. 31).

“Garret [also known as Gerald] had not only escaped unhurt but soon had Henry relaxing benignly. Garret, having succeeded so well initially, then with the expertise of the quick-change artist, rapidly assumed the role of clown, and by his witty repartee had the king and his court laughing heartily – laughing however not at Garret but at Garret’s discomfited enemies and accusers who were present” (Martin 1988, p. 9). Fitzgerald was made Henry VII’s deputy and returned to Ireland as the Mor, which is Irish for “great”. This was just one example of the complexities of Irish politics in relation to their British imperial role. Like the cracked lookingglass of the servant mentioned in the “Telemachus” episode, this moment in Irish history bears the wounds of injury and subservience.

Following David Creagh’s tenure as archbishop of Cashel was a member of the Desmond Fitzgeralds who were a part of the original conflict leading to the burning of the cathedral. The new archbishop, who remained in that position from 1504 to 1524, was named Maurice Fitzgerald. This could hint at the fourth name of Cashel: Fitzmaurice. Following Maurice Fitzgerald’s tenure as archbishop of Cashel was Edmund Butler from 1524 to 1551. Butler, was descended from the third family mentioned in the regional conflict and was, ironically, the grandson of Gerald Fitzgerald — the man who set fire to the very cathedral Edmund was responsible for.

A far less obvious, yet relevant and fascinating, connection between Cashel and Fitzgerald lay in the “Circe” episode. In this episode, Leopold Bloom hallucinated in a state of grandeur that he was casting out his old wife and replacing her with someone new. The scene is reminiscent of Henry VII naming Fitzgerald as deputy of Ireland, a position similar to a “Grand Vizier” who is the prime minister of an Ottoman sultan. And remember that he lost his countess, Alison, while awaiting trial in England. “To bind him further to England he [Fitzgerald] was given in marriage one of the king’s cousins, Elizabeth St John in 1496” (Martin 1988, p. 31). Hence, the replacing of wives (U.394,15.1504-1511):

Bloom: My subjects! We hereby nominate our faithful charger Copula Felix [Latin for “fertile or happy coupling” could reference the alliance made between Henry VII and Fitzgerald, England and Ireland] hereditary Grand Vizier and announce that we have this day repudiated our former spouse and have bestowed our royal hand upon the princess Selene, the splendour of night.

(The former morganatic spouse of Bloom is hastily removed in the Black Maria. The princess Selene, in moonblue robes, a silver crescent on her head, descends from a Sedan chair, borne by two giants. An outburst of cheering.)

More strikingly in this monologue is the mention of the princess Selene. For this reference, the reader must delve into Greek mythology, much like the foundation of the entire novel named after Homer’s hero, Odysseus. In a mythological sense, Selene was the goddess of the moon whose parents were the Titans Hyperion and Theia. This is made clear when Joyce described her “in moonblue robes” and with “a silver crescent on her head” who was “borne by two giants”. Reliefs and other images of the goddess, Selene, commonly depicted a crescent moon over her brow. Not coincidentally, Selene was the lover of a mortal named Endymion. Endymion was the

well-known nickname of an eccentric Dubliner Joyce knew of, whose real name was James Henry Farrell — Cashel in the novel. According to Gogarty in his book, *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street*, “...when his doctor told him that his mental disability was likely to become more progressive, but that he would never be violently unbalanced, he remarked: ‘Endymion, whom the moon loved: a lunatic...’” (1994, p. 4). Joyce himself also reflected on the feminine moon’s power over man in the “Ithaca” episode in which the question was asked, regarding Bloom, “What special affinities appeared to him to exist between the moon and woman?” (U.576,17.1157-1158) to which the narrator replied, “...her power to...render insane” (U.576,17.1164-1165).

Later, within the same episode, the vision of Leopold’s grandfather, Lipoti Virag, wearing in his left eye the monocle of Cashel, said to Bloom, “Who’s dear Gerald? Dear Ger, that you? O dear, he is Gerald. O, I much fear he shall be most badly burned” (U.421,15.2462-2463). Here could be reference to Cashel, Gerald Fitzgerald, and the fire he set.

Frowning at the distant pleasance of duke’s lawn, one can easily sense the resentment a man named Cashel would feel at viewing the grand home of a Fitzgerald and earl of Kildare. This clue brings us to the second question of Cashel’s one line of speech in *Ulysses*: “*coactus volui*”. This phrase is Latin for “having been forced, I was willing.” The original, real-life Cashel — James Henry Farrell — was known for his love of Latin quotations according to Oliver St. John Gogarty. As Farrell reportedly said during a Latin bickering match between himself and his landlady, according to Gogarty, “I never allow the common people to outquote me in the classics” (1994, p. 262).

Joyce wrote for part of his matriculation course at university in 1899 a piece entitled “The Study of Languages” in which he wrote, “Quotations are constantly employed, even by those

who are not Latin scholars and common convenience would prompt us to study it...For instance a single Latin phrase or word is so complex in meaning and enters into the nature of so many words, and has yet a delicate shade of its own, that no single word in English will properly represent” (Joyce, 2008, p. 16). Of similar linguistic sentiment, Joyce wrote in *Finnegans Wake*, “...a word as cunningly hidden in its maze of confused drapery as a fieldmouse in a nest of coloured ribbons...” (Joyce 1959, p.106). Joyce’s use of dislocation was one of his most intriguing talents as a writer.

This particular line of “coactus volui” came from *Digest* 4:2:21:5, a compilation of Roman laws collected by Justinian I of the Byzantine Empire in the 6th century. It was a judgement by Paulus in which he explained that in contracts, transactions, and other legal matters, “there was no general rule declaring transactions concluded under the influence of duress or coercion invalid” (Zimmermann, 1996, p. 652). According to R.J. Schork of the University of Massachusetts-Boston who wrote the article “Joyce and Justinian: U 250 and 520” for the *James Joyce Quarterly* in 1985, “An opinion by the jurisconsult Paulus is cited: ‘*Si metu coactus adii hereditatem, puto me heredem effici, quia quamvis si liberum esset noluissem, tamen coactus volui.*’ (If I have been forced by fear to accept a legacy, I judge that I am made a legatee, because, although I would not have been willing had it been freely offered, nevertheless, having been forced, I was willing.)” (p. 77). Matters of Roman influence were of interest to Joyce and crept up in *Ulysses* such as in the “Aeolus” episode under the section titled “THE GRANDEUR THAT WAS ROME”. J.J. O’Molloy responds to Professor MacHugh’s lecture on the Roman influence of waterclosets in Britain with, “But we have also Roman law” (U.108,7.499-500).

John Simpson also wrote in his article that “During dinner he [James Henry Farrell (Cashel)] was interrupted by his brother, John Francis Farrell, who suggested he should see a doctor in

order to obtain a certificate to have his ‘leave of absence from his business extended’. Falling in with his brother’s suggestion, Farrell was examined by Dr. Meldon and a colleague. Instead of providing a certificate for the Inland Revenue superannuation section, Dr. Meldon committed Farrell to the Richmond Lunatic Asylum in Dublin, with immediate effect. Farrell remained there until released three months later on Tuesday 12 August [1884]” (2011, p. 91). It could be argued that Cashel’s committal to Richmond, though under duress, would fit within legal bounds according Paulus’s definition of “coactus volui” in which Cashel was forced into the hospital, yet willing to see the doctor initially. As we will see below, there were certainly legal complications for someone in Farrell’s condition. While speculative, Joyce through his friendship with Gogarty, could have been aware of Cashel’s brief incarceration and so this legal code Joyce utilizes in *Ulysses* could easily be applied to him as a useful, multi-purpose phrase.

We have, unfortunately, no way of knowing exactly how Joyce learned of this obscure Latin phrase. As R.J. Schork also wrote, “Roman Law was (and is) a standard subject in the curriculum of English and Irish universities; but Joyce never enrolled in such a course, and it is highly unlikely that this technical passage would have been assigned reading in other subjects” (p. 77). Schork goes on to hypothesize “that sometime during his education, from his readings, or in a conversation with a solicitor, Joyce came across this legal formula adduced to lend quasi-antique support to an argument” (p. 77). And while the Latin phrase “coactus volui” is not found within its pages, Joyce did have in his personal library in Trieste as of 1920 a copy of William A. Holdsworth, Esq.’s *The Law of Wills, Executors, and Administrators: Together with a Copious Collection of Forms*. In Holdsworth’s book, he does mention the modern law of 1882 as it applies to and contradicts the antiquated concept of “coactus volui” and could even be applicable to someone such as James Henry Farrell: “They [contests which take place with reference to the

validity of wills] occur when wills are made by lunatics who have intervals of sanity, by persons whose sanity is questionable, or by persons who, although not lunatics, have not what the law considers a sound disposing mind” (Holdsworth 1882, p. 31-32). Holdsworth goes on to write, “It is clear, however, that although the testator may be weak in health and intellect, and that while in that state another may obtain such influence over his affections and attachment as to be able to *persuade* him to make a particular will, that does not constitute undue influence. The influence exercised must amount to moral coercion” (Holdsworth 1882, p. 35). Again, while speculative, it could be posited that Joyce – who was clearly familiar with the Latin phrase – saw the potential legal troubles ahead for James Henry Farrell and thought it applicable to his fictional avatar, Cashel.

It has also been suggested that there is a connection between “coactus volui” and “voglio e non vorrei” (Joyce, 1986, p. 52) first mentioned in the “Calypso” episode as Bloom mistakenly remembered Zerlina’s line from Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*. Bloom later corrects this error in the “Hades” episode, but continues to repeat the mistake again. The line from *Don Giovanni* essentially translates to “I want to, but I wouldn’t like to.” This is similar to “having been forced, I was willing” so it is easy to consider that they are interchangeable. However, when considering Joyce’s particularity for words and their order, it would be a literary miscalculation as Joyce specifically chose Justinian I’s Latin phrase over Mozart’s Italian phrase. When telling Frank Budgen that he had been working all day on editing only two sentences in *Ulysses*, Joyce explained, “I have the words already. What I am seeking is the perfect order of words in the sentence. There is an order in every way appropriate” (1960, pg. 20). While the similarity between the phrases is clear, the difference is equally stark. “Voglio e non vorrei” is all about willingness and choice with the words “want” and “like”; in *Don Giovanni* Zerlina has a

yearning yet chooses not to act on it. “Coactus volui” is all about submission; being forced into a scenario and so resigning oneself to it for survival. And so, while it is worth noting a similar linguistic pattern in these repeated phrases, it should be remembered that the linguistic subtleties and context might reveal Joyce’s decision in their varying usages.

Though “coactus volui” may seem to be a random line for Cashel to utter as his sole line of monologue, consider the context. A representative of Cashel looked in disdain at a monument of Fitzgerald and said, “coactus volui”. When considering the turbulent and oftentimes violent nature of Ireland’s past, whether it be conflicts with England or civil strife, the concept of “having been forced, I was willing” would have been a fairly synonymous phrase with Ireland’s history of its oppressive sense of identity and anglicization. There is the fact that it was at Cashel “at which the Irish prelates are alleged to have recognized the civil authority of the English king and the ecclesiastical superiority of the Anglican church [around A.D. 1172]” (Buffon, 1836, p. 340). And over 700 years earlier, in the same place around 450 A.D. Óengus mac Nad Froích, King of Munster, was baptized and it was the famed Rock of Cashel which “is said to have been used by St. Patrick as an altar on that occasion” (Barrow 1976, p. 133). Then, there are the Fitzpatricks of Kildare surrounding the Butlers of Ormonde in Saint Patrick’s Cathedral, coercing a truce with the Butlers who, though willing to have peace, were certainly also forced. Gerald Fitzgerald, sanctioned by Henry VII, became an Irish pawn of the English crown; the earldom of Kildare was an Irish Hiberno-Norman dynasty and the dukedom of Leinster (for which the house was later named as the title shifted) was a title of nobility created by English monarchs. “Though he [Fitzgerald] acknowledged the king of England as his overlord he insisted that Ireland had its own special rights. In that sense he was a patriot and represented part of the process by which an Ireland of mixed races was gradually developing its own unity and separate

identity. However, it would be foolish to try and see Garret Mór [Fitzgerald] as a nationalist...Garret in the 1490s was willing to accept an English monarch...” (Martin 1988, p. 32). Even the name Cashel was an anglicized version of the original Irish caiseal; the very process of accepting an anglicized name, or religion, is in a sense, to be forced and yet be willing. It is a somewhat defeatist attitude, an unsavory characteristic Joyce saw in the Irish people while in self-imposed exile writing *Ulysses*. Utilizing linguistic dislocation, Joyce expertly weaves multiple meanings out of this oftentimes overlooked, yet incredibly meaningful, line of monologue.

Joyce was also known for his wit and humor and a perfect example of this, connected to the anglicization of the Irish people in relation to Cashel comes from the “Ithaca” episode. Here, Joyce wrote, “Bloom assented covertly to Stephen’s rectification of the anachronism involved in assigning the date of the conversion of the Irish nation to Christianity from druidism by Patrick son of Calpornus, son of Potitus, son of Odysseus, sent by pope Celestine I in the year 432 in the reign of Leary to the year 260 or thereabouts in the reign of Cormac MacArt (died 266 A.D.)...” (U.544-545,17.30-35). Interestingly, Joyce spelled Patrick’s grandfather’s name correctly – Potitus – but misspelled his father’s name, Calpurnius. This shift and, one could argue intentional, error from Calpurnius to Calpornus shows Joyce adopting for St. Patrick’s father a pornographic name. It was St. Patrick who baptized the first Christian king of Munster, Óengus mac Nad Froích who lived from 430-489, at Cashel. *The Expulsion of the Déisi*, an 8th century medieval Irish narrative, placed Óengus in the time of Cormac mac Airt of the 2nd century. Despite the discrepancy of 200 years, this error also found its way into Joyce’s description with “Cormac MacArt”. It appears as though Joyce’s intentional misspelling is a slight at the anglicizing saint with also a fascinating connection to the town of Cashel. This is also an image

immortalized in *The Baptism of the King of Cashel by St Patrick* by Irish 18th century painter James Barry. And because Joyce writes that he died in 266 A.D., this reveals he was reading from the *Annals of the Four Masters* as that is the only text which places Mac Airt's death in that year.

It was Cormac mac Airt who, according to legend, promised Fionn mac Cumhaill – also known as Finn MacCool, inspirational and mythological Irish figure for *Finnegans Wake* – his daughter, Gráinne, in marriage. However, “falling in love with Diarmad, the handsomest of the Fian, she prevailed on him to elope with her, which they did from the wedding feast” (Watson, p. 350). This love triangle leaving out Fionn mac Cumhaill is reminiscent of the one leaving out Leopold Bloom between Molly and Boylan. And just as Boylan arrived at Bloom's residence around half past four, St. Patrick arrived in Ireland in 432. Just as St. Patrick reportedly drove all the snakes out of Ireland, Bloom would like to drive one particular snake – by connotation of reputation and phallic symbol – out of his marital bed: Boylan. This snake reference is made later in the “Ithaca” episode as Bloom gets into his bed, which Boylan and Molly have had sex in earlier that day [italics are mine]: “the *snakespiral* springs of the mattress being old, the brass quoits and pendent *viper* radii loose and tremulous under stress and strain: prudently, as entering a lair or ambush of lust or *adders*...” (U.601,17.2116-2118).

Also, in typical Joyce humor and use of translingualism, he included the phrase “coactus volui” in one other instance — in the “Circe” episode. Describing in a rudimentary and somewhat crass manner the process of man and woman joining in sex or marriage, Joyce wrote, “Man loves her yoni [Sanskrit for ‘womb’ or ‘vagina’] fiercely with big lingam [Sanskrit for ‘symbol’ or ‘mark’, portrayed by a phallus], the stiff one (*He cries*) *Coactus volui*” (U.424,15.2552-2553). One can see the humor of an older man, perhaps with erectile

dysfunction, making this claim in a brothel if another translation is considered. According to Andras Ungar in *Joyce's Ulysses as National Epic: Epic Mimesis and the Political History of the Nation State*, "Gifford [Don] and Seidman [Robert] translate the phrase as 'I willed it under constraint' (G&S 282)" (p. 103). However, one could also see that Joyce was using the Latin phrase for "having been forced, I was willing" to take a stab at Leopold's complicit cuckolding by Molly – being forced to accept her adulterous feelings, yet willing to allow her to act on them. As the narrator of the "Cyclops" episode said, "Gob, there's many a true word spoken in jest" (U.277,12.1658). And it is notable that this play on marriage has a personal note for Joyce given that the previous time "coactus volui" was uttered was in front of Oscar Wilde's childhood home on Merrion Square where Joyce and Nora — later to become husband and wife — were originally supposed to meet for their first date. Shortly after, Cashel peered at the "window of the Austro-Hungarian viceconsulate" (U.209,10.1263). Andras Ungar briefly links up these usages of "coactus volui", falling just short of the anglicization connection, but directly hitting the use of marital humor. "Cashel Boyle O'Connor Fitzmaurice Tisdall Farrell's aggressive eye joins, even as it threatens, the representatives of the British and Hapsburg crowns. Lipoti Virag joins man and woman, even as he mocks and parodies the coupling" (Ungar 2002, p. 104).

Joyce was clearly reflecting on the anglicization of Ireland through its language. Earlier, in the "Telemachus" episode, an old woman delivering milk, speaking to Hynes at the Martello Tower, said, "I'm ashamed I don't speak the language myself. I'm told it's a grand language by them that knows" (U.13,1.433-434). This is the perfect example of anglicization through language with a native Irish woman telling an English man that though he can speak in her native tongue at will, she cannot. Stephen even muses to himself of the milkwoman, "A wandering crone, lowly form of an immortal serving her conqueror and her gay betrayer, their common

cuckquean...” (U.12,1.404-405). The allusion to the Irish – symbolized by the old woman – caught between the Anglicization by the conquering English and betraying Irish pawns of the crown is obvious. There is even the mention of “cuckquean”, lending a sexual tone to the allusion reminiscent of the cuckolding of Leopold Bloom with the corruption of marriage – applicable to “having been forced, I was willing” as well as Gerald Fitzgerald’s acceptance of Henry VII’s cousin as a bride after the death of his wife while awaiting trial –, and the “Circe” episode in which Virag exclaimed “coactus volui”. This whole scene with the milkwoman, of course, took place in the setting of the Martello Tower, an apartment converted from a cashel.

In *Finnegans Wake* there is also the sense of conflict between English and Irish associated with identity and language, relating back to Joyce’s choice of Latin for Cashel’s monologue. In Book 1, chapter 1, Joyce wrote, “Behove this sound of Irish sense. Really? Here English might be seen. Royally? One sovereign punned to petery pence. Regally? The silence speaks the scene. Fake! / So This Is Dyoublong?” (Joyce 1959, p. 11). According to Roland McHugh’s annotations, this is a playful reference to Jonathan Swift’s “*Epigram on the Magazine* (in Phoenix Park): ‘Behold a proof of Irish sense! Here Irish wit is seen! Where nothing’s left that’s worth defence, They build a magazine’” (McHugh 2006, p. 13). “Fake” is attributed to the Irish “Feach” which means “to look” and of course “So This Is Dyoublong” is a pun on M.J. MacManus’s book *So This Is Dublin*, published in 1927, in which MacManus wrote about Dublin’s various locations and citizens, even noting Joyce’s visit to the city in search of inspiration for *Ulysses*. It is fascinating that Joyce chose Swift to parody as he was a cleric of the Church of Ireland, an Anglican branch of Christianity. “Petery pence,” as McHugh noted, is a play on Saint Peter and the currency, pence, to suggest a donation to the Roman Catholic church. Here, Joyce could be revealing the complications of national identity not only through language,

as we shall see, but also through the church's historic influence in Ireland, reminiscent of the prelates and St. Patrick at Cashel.

One can also look closely at the original and note some interesting changes Joyce made. One alteration is "sound" for Swift's "proof" which could allude to Irish being also the language spoken and thus heard, not just the nationality. There is also the substitution of "Irish" for Swift's "English" which again gives the reader the feeling Joyce is also referring to the Irish and English as languages as English would have been the dominant language of Dublin, not Irish, hence: "Here English might be seen." This is the written language as opposed to the previously mentioned spoken language which is a "sound." While "Fake!" could certainly be the Irish "Feach!" meaning "Look!", it could also be Joyce's use of dislocation alluding to English being the "fake" language of Ireland with Irish being its natural and original tongue. "The silence speaks the scene" is similar to the phrase "the silence is deafening" as a reference to the lack of Irish being spoken in Dublin is noticeable. And there is no doubt that Joyce is making a pun on MacManus's book with "So This Is Dyoublong?" But there is the inescapable sense of questioning one's identity in Joyce's substitution for "Dublin". Interestingly, Joyce wrote an essay entitled "Ireland: Island of Saints and Sages" in 1907 in which he noted, "Ten years ago it [Irish] was spoken only by peasants in the western province, on the Atlantic coast, and a little on the small islands that stand like pickets at the advance outpost of Europe facing the western hemisphere...The [Gaelic] League organizes festivals, concerts, debates and social gatherings at which the speaker of *Beurla [sic]* (that is, English) feels like a fish out of water, lost in the midst of a crowd chatting away in a harsh, guttural tongue" (Joyce 2008, p. 109). It is almost as if Joyce, in *Finnegans Wake*, is questioning if Dubliners are truly Irish if the language they speak is English. So what could it say of Cashel, as well as the numerous other Irish citizens such as

Joyce who were taught Latin in school, that he speaks Latin – the mother tongue of English, but not the linguistic root of Gaelic?

It is evident as well in Joyce's own non-literary writings that he felt strongly about the anglicization of the Irish language, not only by the English, but also through the Irish people's own complicity. On December 22, 1910, Joyce wrote an article entitled "The Home Rule Comet" on Ireland's anglicization and wrote, "It almost entirely abandoned its language and accepted the language of the conqueror without being able to assimilate its culture or to adapt itself to the mentality of which this language is the vehicle" (Joyce, 2008, p. 159).

In *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Stephen Dedalus said to Davin in response to being told to "try to be one of us," "My ancestors threw off their language and took another... They allowed a handful of foreigners to subject them" (Joyce, 2007, p. 178). Joyce's thoroughly considered views on the anglicization of Ireland were everywhere in his writings.

And anecdotally, let us not forget that in the beginning of our original quote was the mention of "Wilde's house" (U.205,10.1109). This was a subtle reference to Oscar Wilde, a prominent Irish writer with an unusually long name not unlike Cashel, known also for his sense of nationalism. 1 Merrion Square North was where Oscar Wilde's parents, Sir William and Lady Speranza Wilde lived. Joyce even played with Wilde's name in his article for *Il Piccolo della Sera* from 1909 entitled "Oscar Wilde: The Poet of 'Salome;'" Joyce began the article with, "Oscar Fingal O'Flahertie Wills Wilde. Such were the high-sounding titles that with juvenile vanity he wanted to have printed on the title-page of his first collection of poetry" (Joyce, 2008, p. 148). In the rest of the paragraph, Joyce outlined the symbolism of Wilde's multiple names. And when reflecting on Wilde's trial, Joyce wrote, "His greatest crime was to have caused England a scandal..." (Joyce, 2008, p. 150). Wilde had even defended Charles Stewart Parnell in

the *Daily Chronicle* when he was accused of inciting murder. Here is more conflict between Ireland and England as well as an intricately long name of which Joyce enjoyed delving into. And then there was the mention of “Elijah’s name announced on the Metropolitan hall...” (U.205,10.1109-1110). This was a reference to Dr. John Alexander Dowie, restorer of the church of Zion, speaking about Elijah. Metropolitan Hall was really Merrion Hall, a former Plymouth Brethren church built in 1863. Here we have a Protestant speaking at a former church in a Catholic-dominant country. Dowie speaking at Merrion Hall is just a subtle reminder of the fervor easily stirred up in a country in which politics and religion are so incredibly entwined. One cannot come to terms with Ireland’s complicated history with England and not sort out the conflict of the Catholic and Protestant churches, as well as the role the Catholic church played in political matters such as condemning Parnell when he was discovered to be an adulterer. It was merely salt in the wound that Parnell, the Irish nationalist, was having an affair with Katharine O’Shea, an Englishwoman.

Throughout his career from matriculation at university to *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce clearly had passionate and complex views on Irish identity, anglicization, and language’s ability to express those views in a myriad of ways. Cashel frowned at the duke’s lawn and muttered “coactus volui”, symbolizing the contentious history of Ireland, not only coming to terms with England, but also reckoning with its own identity — its anglicization. Through the analyzing of Cashel’s name as well as his distinctly unique line of monologue, the reader can more fully appreciate how Joyce — the self-imposed exile — felt about his own country. As Richard Ellmann recounted in his biography of Joyce that in *Ulysses*, Stephen’s obsession with Shakespeare’s real-life influences on his characters “suggests that *Ulysses* divulges more than an impersonal detached picture of Dublin life; it hints at what is, in fact, true: that nothing has been admitted

into the book which is not in some way personal and attached” (Ellmann 1983, p. 364). From a post-colonial critical perspective, it makes sense that a writer of Joyce’s caliber would include in his detailed portrayal of Dublin and its inhabitants a sense of their history, their politics, their culture, and the complexity of learning how to become an independent nation with such a submissive past. In his endeavor to communicate such a complex view in his writing, it can be argued that he chose to use the character of Cashel to meet that end.

Bibliography

- Allingham, W. (1869). *Lawrence Bloomfield in Ireland*. Retrieved from <https://celt.ucc.ie//published/E850006-002/index.html>
- Barrow, L. (1976). The Rock of Cashel. *Dublin Historical Record*,29(4), 133-137. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30104385>
- Budgen, F. (1960). *James Joyce and the Making of Ulysses*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Buffon, C.W. (1836). Cashel. In *The Penny Cyclopaedia of The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*. (Vol. VI., pp. 340). London, England: The Penny Cyclopaedia of The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.
- Cheng, V. (1995). *Joyce, Race, and Empire*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Culleton, C.A. (1994). *Names and Naming in Joyce*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Ellmann, R. (1983). *James Joyce: The First Revision of the 1959 Classic*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Holdsworth, W. A. Esq. (1882). *The Law of Wills, Executors, and Administrators: Together with a Copious Collection of Forms*. London: George Routledge & Sons. Retrieved from <https://archive.org/stream/lawwillsexecuto00holdgoog#page/n4/mode/2up/>
- Joyce, J. (2007). *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. John Paul Riquelme (Ed.). New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Joyce, J. (1959). *Finnegans Wake*. New York, NY: The Viking Press.
- Joyce, J. (2008). *James Joyce: Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing*. Kevin Barry (Ed.). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

- Joyce, J. (1975). *Selected Letters of James Joyce*. Richard Ellmann (Ed.). New York, NY: Viking Press.
- Joyce, J. (1986). *Ulysses*. Hans Walter Gabler, et al. (Ed.). New York, NY: Random House.
- Martin, F. (1988). The Crowning of a King at Dublin, 24 May 1487. *Hermathena*, (144), 7-34.
Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23042009>
- McHugh, R. (2006). *Annotations to Finnegans Wake* (3rd Ed.). Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Newman, R., & Thornton, W. (Eds.). (1987). *Joyce's Ulysses: The Larger Perspective*. Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press.
- Ó Gráda, C. (2006). *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Roos, B. (2002). James Joyce's "The Dead" and Bret Harte's Gabriel Conroy: The Nature of the Feast." *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 15(1), 99-126. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Schork, R. (1985). Joyce and Justinian: U 250 and 520. *James Joyce Quarterly*, 23(1), 77-80.
Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25476701>
- Simpson, J. (2011). Cashel Boyle O'Connor Fitzmaurice Tisdall Farrell (Endymion): The Back-Story". *Dublin James Joyce Journal* 4, 87-106. James Joyce Research Centre at University College Dublin.
- St. John Gogarty, O. (1994) *As I Was Going Down Sackville Street*. Dublin, Ireland: The O'Brien Press.
- Ungar, A. (2002). *Joyce's Ulysses as National Epic: Epic Mimesis and the Political History of the Nation State*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida.
- Watson, W.J. (1916). The Death of Diarmad. *The Celtic Review*, 10 (40), 350-357.

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/30070440.pdf?refreqid=search%3A4e6cd18116ea7ebd4eabd9bd94748019>

Zimmermann, R. (1996). *The Law of Obligations: Roman Foundations of the Civilian Tradition*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.