CORA Cork Open Research Archive
Cartlann Taighde Oscailte Chorcaí

Title	The semiotics of food in James Joyce's "Ulysses"
Authors	Small, Felicity (Flicka)
Publication date	2021
Original Citation	Small, F. 2021. The semiotics of food in James Joyce's "Ulysses". PhD Thesis, University College Cork.
Type of publication	Doctoral thesis
Rights	© 2021, Felicity (Flicka) Small. - https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
Download date	2026-11-01 20:15:40
Item downloaded from	https://hdl.handle.net/10468/12447



UCC
University College Cork, Ireland
Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

Ollscoil na hÉireann, Corcaigh
National University of Ireland, Cork



The Semiotics of Food in James Joyce's *Ulysses*

Thesis presented by

Felicity (Flicka) Small BA, MA

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the National University of Ireland

University College Cork

School of English
Head of School: Prof. Claire Connolly
Supervisor: Dr. Heather Laird

2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements		4
Abstract		9
Introduction		10
Chapter One:	'The Kitchen of Meaning' From Anthropology to Semiotics	14
Chapter Two:	The Language of Gastronomy	43
Chapter Three:	What Food says about Leopold Bloom	78
Chapter Four:	From Raw to Cooked: The Changing Language of Food	104
Conclusion		130
Bibliography		133
Appendix		152

DECLARATION

This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism.

Signed

Felicity Small

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Heather Laird from the depths of my heart. Heather has believed in me from the very beginning of this project, when I didn't really believe in myself, and has waited patiently for me to get over the fits and starts, the off-piste reading, the brick walls, the domestic dramas, and whatever other excuses come to hinder and detract a PhD researcher. I never stopped working on Joyce material but I strayed a long way from the thesis. Thank you Heather for guiding me safely home. I would also like to thank Dr Laird for her meticulous attention to detail which has made the editing process a joy.

I would also like to thank The School of English at UCC and in particular Anne Fitzgerald. I have been around the department for a long time now and I have always been greeted with friendliness and helpfulness. I was honoured to receive financial support from The School of English in form of a PhD Studentship. I would also like to thank the Graduate School of the College of Arts, Celtic Studies & Social Sciences for awarding me a Travel Bursary which enabled me to carry out research in New York Public Library and the John Quinn collection.

I would like to thank Eibhear Walshe for all his support and friendship over the years and for the opportunity to work with him on some of his own literary projects.

I would like to thank my own family Tim and Shona and their partners Jess and Eoin. During the time it has taken me to write this thesis they have all graduated, moved house (several times), changed jobs (several times), got married and given me my first grand-child. I am quite sure they all wondered occasionally if I would ever finish but they have never stopped encouraging, or got 'fed up' with James Joyce becoming part of our household and conversation.

Thanks to my dear Carrie – My closest friend, who has listened, supported, debated, talked and written to me about James Joyce and academia while we have walked and travelled, cooked and dined, cried and laughed, and dealt with life, for the last 45 years.

Thanks to my colleagues and fellow PhD Candidates:

Adrian Goodwin for lots of fun and too many tears. But above all else for an initiation into readings and philosophical debate that I had been looking for all my life.

Marcella O'Connor for being a dedicated scholar and a good friend – and the director of my film on Joyce, *Framed in Cork.*

Mike Waldron for cake and walks. A gentle, kind and supportive friend at all times.

Also special thanks to Oliver O'Hanlon, Peter Adkins, and Ger Crowley.

Thanks to my Mentors:

Alison Armstrong. In Alison's book *The Joyce of Food* I was introduced to the concept of a 'psychonutritional literary theory'. I tracked Alison down in NYC and since then we have spent some good times sharing meals and anecdotes about James Joyce.

Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire. Máirtín responded to my first naive email by inviting me to visit the DIT School of Culinary Arts in Cathal Brugha Street, and since then we have worked together on several projects. The Dublin Gastronomy Symposium is one of the highlights of my conference year. Recently Máirtín added the voice of Bloom and sang *The Last Rose of Summer* for my 2020 BloomsDay online event. Máirtín further encouraged me by publishing a section of my chapter "What Food says about Bloom" in *Reimaging Ireland: Tickling the Palate.*

Regina Sexton. I first met Regina and attended her lectures 'A Little History of Irish food' when I was launching the SlowFood movement in Kerry. Her knowledge of Irish food and recipe manuscripts is bottomless. I would also like to thank her for asking me to teach on her postgraduate diploma in Irish Food Culture at UCC in 2020.

Clare Hutton. I met Clare at several conferences over the years and later joined her on a few panels. Clare gave me so much help when I was starting out on my quest and I could not have written Chapter Four without her advice and her work in *Serial Encounters*.

Katherine Ebury. Katherine edited my work on "Microbes, Germs and Bacteria" and her suggested reading opened up many more fascinating avenues including Walt Whitman and *This Compost*.

Maureen O'Connor. I would like to thank Maureen for being a friendly face at the *Beastly Modernisms* Conference in Glasgow and for introducing me to the work of Jane Bennet in *Vibrant Matter*.

Hilary Lennon. Thanks to Hilary for her early support of my Joycean research and introducing me to Frank O'Connor's reception of James Joyce and *Balzac's Omelette*.

Thanks to my Joycean Friends:

Pat Callan and Treasa Brogan, Donal and Suzanne Thurlow, Pat Courtney, Bill and Liz Wall, Caroline Elbay, Chrissie Van Mierlo, and many more – thank you for nights of craic after the dance.

Thanks for Conferences:

I have been very lucky to travel widely during my studies. New countries and different places have all added to my experience and happiness, but most of all it is the people I have met and the conversations we have had that have been the most enduring. Everyone has added some gem of wisdom but in particular these have been especially significant and supportive.

Trieste: The Trieste Joyce School

John McCourt and Laura Pelaschiar for organising such a wonderful week of lectures, workshops, culture, song and dining, and for asking me to present a paper in 2019.

The Manager and staff of The Residence del Mare in Trieste – a haven and home for 14 days for each of the 3 years I visited.

Zurich: Fritz Senn and the James Joyce Foundation

Michelle Witen – co-ordinator of the *Joycean Animals* Workshop in 2018

Curators: Ruth Frehner and Ursula Zeller

Co-presenter: Christine O'Neill.

KU Leuven: Centre for Irish Studies

Hedwig Schwall and Elke D'Hoker

Dublin: The James Joyce Cultural Centre.

Deirdre Ellis King. Darina Gallagher. Jessica Peel Yates.

For asking me to participate and for hosting *Tasting Joyce* in 2017.

Special thanks to Anne Fogarty. Terence Killeen. Vincent Altman. Lucca Crispi.

London: The International James Joyce Symposium.

Matt Fogarty. Mark McGahon. Catherine Flynn.

University of Notre Dame, Indiana:

Lauren Rich. Lauren introduced me to the term 'Consumer Culture' and her paper 'A Table for One' was a starting point.

David Lloyd – who was generous enough to come and listen to my first ever conference paper.

SUNY Buffalo: The James Joyce Collection:

Curator: Dr Michael Basinski

Ronan Crowley. I met Ronan at UB. He welcomed me to Joyce scholarship and introduced me to genetic research.

New York Public Library, Stephen A. Schwarzman Building, 5th Avenue:

Manuscripts and Archives Division and the Berg Collection.

James Joyce collection of papers. John Quinn papers. Foster Murphy Collection.

Librarian: Joshua McKeon

ABSTRACT

Food lies at the heart of human life, playing a profound role throughout the world and history. This thesis looks at the microcosm of food and foodways in James Joyce's *Ulysses,* through semiotics, anthropology and personal research and experience. A close textual reading of the novel examines how Joyce not only had a keen appetite for cataloguing and describing food, its production, and consumption, but also used it as a sign and symbol to indicate social, political, and cultural nuances of Dublin city in 1904.

From the theories of Roland Barthes and Claude Lévi-Strauss on semiotics and anthropology, to the meditations on gastronomy by Jean-Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, we are invited to know and eat with Leopold Bloom as he rises in the morning and makes breakfast in bed for his wife, through a long day of sharing meals and eating alone, to the memories of exchanged seed-cake spittle when courting his wife Molly many years before. Food builds a picture of Bloom, his physique, his love-life, his fears and his quasi-scientific musings, which is then elaborated on and enhanced by the many additions that Joyce made to the text before the raw serial version became the ready-to-eat finished novel. The final chapter gives forensic examples of passages expanded and enriched by Joyce during the re-drafting process.

In Joycean tradition, this thesis also includes an organ of its own, an appendix. All the food-words from fifteen of the episodes are itemised, showing where they are repeated in the text, and their provenance, meaning and semiotic value.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis, and its appendix, uses food as a medium through which to explore James Joyce's *Ulysses*. It is informed by a range of scholarly approaches, including semiotic, sociological, historical, cultural and anthropological. It moves from Joyce's influences, to the construction of Bloom, to an analysis of the words Joyce added as he neared completion of the published novel. However, it would be nothing without the combined theories of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Roland Barthes to unlock the underlying narrative. Claude Lévi-Strauss was an anthropologist who applied his study of myths to his theory of the 'Culinary Triangle' and the transcendence of cooked over raw food; and Roland Barthes was a philosopher who developed his theory of a 'food system' through semiotics. These two theorists were both influenced by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and adhered to his hypothesis that meaning and signs gave added meaning to a text. A hundred years before Joyce was writing *Ulysses,* the French gastronome Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, writing in *The Physiology of Taste*, made the observation 'tell me what you eat and I'll tell you who you are'. This book was in Joyce's private library and in Chapter Two I argue that it had a considerable influence on his writing of food-matters in *Ulysses*. In 1975 Barthes wrote an introduction to a new edition of *The Physiology of Taste*, noting that Brillat-Savarin's encyclopaedism and humanism gave rise to his conviction that gastronomy is the knowledge of all that relates to man, insofar as he subsists on food (*Rustle* 269), and I believe that Joyce's *Ulysses* is shaped by a similar philosophy. There are significant parallels between Brillat-Savarin's meditation on gastronomy, Joyce's *Ulysses*, and Barthes' literary criticism. The senses are dominant in all three and food unites the authors and their texts.

Embracing Barthes' appreciation of the pleasure of the hidden nuances in the text is the perfect way to read and interpret food in Joyce's *Ulysses*. Barthes said that just reading about the food in Brillat-Savarin's *Physiology of Taste* made him feel hungry, and that this hunger should also be read as a metaphor. The sizzling butter and the faintly scorched kidney is as alluring as the text itself. When we meet Bloom for the first time he is cooking – what do we deduce from this? It is hard to remember what it is like to have never read *Ulysses* but for the ingenuous reader what does this signify? From henceforth we are caught up in Bloom's world – in particular, his domestic world. By the end of this episode we have shared one of his most intimate moments – his visit to the outside jakes. We have heaved and pushed in sympathy with his bowel movements, hardly aware that the style of the prose is making us do this too. 'The reader simply luxuriates in the tantalizing glide of signs, in the provocative glimpses of meanings which surface only to submerge again' says Terry Eagleton of a Barthes' method of reading. And so it is that our attention is drawn to the food, which as we metaphorically digest, constructs a multi-layered scenario – and the text is reimagined in the mind of the reader.

It is said that Myths evolved in order to make sense of the world and Claude Lévi-Strauss draws together myths that differ but say the same thing; here Joyce uses the Greek myth of *The Odyssey* to lay out his foods at a time when modernism was trying to make sense of chaos. In *Mythologies*, Barthes analysed the popular culture of his day. Today we can look at 21st century mythologies about food, that still help us to understand what Joyce was doing in 1904/1922. What a food might have signified to a Dubliner in 1904, is possibly extended and expanded to a European-living Joyce in 1922. Our most contemporary reading of food is molecular-cuisine, that plays with the idea that what we see is not what we eat, but our senses are fooled and our taste buds

are quickened and we salivate. Instagram ensures that food is talked about but not eaten – but who is doing the talking? It is fashionable to queue outside a bakery for cupcakes but not for bread or at a soup-kitchen.

The theories of these socio-anthropologists helps to underpin a detailed analysis of how humans engage with food and in turn become very useful for literary criticism. Food transcends the boundaries between the outside and the inside of the body so that not only the nutritional worth but also the social and cultural properties of the foods become part of the body. Hence even the solitary diner becomes part of a group, his choices defined by culture or social class.

In Chapter Four I make a forensic examination of the food-related additions that Joyce made to the text at a late stage of editing *Ulysses*, by comparing the serialised version in the *Little Review* to the final 1922 version. This is particularly pertinent to the 'Lestrygonians' episode which is laden with references to food, digestion and defecation.

In *Ulysses* Joyce aimed to put shape on chaos – in an avant-garde manner – by encompassing and exposing the body in all its realism – and hygiene became a way to tidy things up, or to unblock and give voice to a new identity and to equate this with a cure for constipation. Fitness, discussed later in the thesis in reference to 'manliness', is promoted via a range of devices and dietary cures such as the Wonderworker, Sandow's exercises and Fletcherism, all alluded to in *Ulysses* and taken seriously by Bloom; the wonder worker being a remedy for rectal complaints and instant relief in the discharge of gases. These can all be read as metaphorical aids to modernism, the release of blocked wind, the chewing over of ideas and their complete digestion, and physical exercise to develop the muscles of the brain and aid memory and the imagination. Modernism's interest in vegetarianism became part of this search for

bodily reform. The study of the occult and eastern religions were part of a related mind-reform not only used by Irish revivalists but also visual artists such as Kandinsky and Mondrian (Armstrong 69). Modern discoveries about disease and cures, especially sexually transmitted diseases and personal hygiene, are all referenced by Joyce with the appearance of the 'Microbe Hunters' Louis Pasteur, Robert Koch and Elie Metchnikoff on the pages of *Ulysses* and references to The Lock which was a hospital in Dublin for sexually transmitted diseases. But unlike Yeats and his comrades, Joyce preferred to frequent the commercial theatre rather than the Irish Literary Theatre, saying that the music hall, not poetry, was a critique of real life (Leonard 25).

We are privy to Bloom's everyday life and his inner musings but one of the most concrete things we know about him is his employment as an advertising canvasser.[1] Bloom understands what a consumer desires and how to attract business (curiosity, something to catch the eye, *Ulysses* 147), but despite living at the advent of processed and mass-produced foods, especially from Britain, he buys very little that is packaged. References to tins of sardines and boxes of cocoa are superseded by his own preference for buying raw meat and eating cheese sandwiches, which can be seen as another dimension of Lévi-Strauss's 'Culinary Triangle', aligning processed food with a modernist interpretation of cooked, adding to my discourse on whether this is a further symbol of culture and civilization.

This is my reading of *Ulysses*: how the novel moves through food, from the raw version in the *Little Review* to the final packaged and ready-to-eat edition, published in 1922.

---

[1] Matthew Hayward points out that Bloom is not an actually an advertising canvasser but works directly for the *Freeman's Journal* selling advertising space. See 'Bloom's Job: The Role of the Advertisement Canvasser in Joyce's Dublin' in *Modernism/Modernity* vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 651 – 666.

CHAPTER ONE

'The Kitchen of Meaning': From Anthropology to Semiotics.[2]

'The act of eating is more than a process of bodily nourishment; it is an elaborate performance of gender, social class and self-identity' – Pierre Bourdieu[3]

This thesis, and its appendix, makes particular reference to Roland Barthes' 'Food System' and his theory of semiotics, and Claude Lèvi-Strauss's analysis of Myth and his 'Culinary Triangle'. These are of prime importance in demonstrating how food functions as a signifier in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, and is therefore a language that gives added meaning to the text. From the dawn of culinary practices, food and its conventions have communicated messages (or signs) that are infused with secondary meaning. The semiologist, like the linguist, Barthes aptly says, must enter the 'kitchen of meaning' in order to decipher these messages (*Semiotic Challenge* 158). Analysis of narrative is an important branch of semiotics (Culler, *Signs* 207), but whereas Barthes puts the onus on the reader to interpret cultural objects, such as food, I also use a genetic method of analysis, particularly in Chapter Four, 'The Changing Language of Food', to question *why* Joyce felt it necessary to make so many food-related additions to the later stages of his composition of *Ulysses*. This genetic analysis involves comparing the serialised version of *Ulysses* in the *Little Review* to the fuller final 1922 version, published by Sylvia Beach, exploring the added references to food and culinary-culture. I have been particularly aided in my research by Hans Gabler's *Critical and Synoptic Edition of Ulysses* which brings together all the many manuscripts of that novel in three volumes, with a comprehensive dating schema of additions and changes that traces the

[2] Roland Barthes uses 'The Kitchen of Meaning' as a chapter heading, as well as a point of discussion in *The Semiotic Challenge* (157-159). Originally published in *Le Nouvel Observateur* in 1964.
[3] Quote taken from Gillian Crowther's *Eating Culture*.

evolution of the text. Clare Hutton and Luca Crispi have also been invaluable in conversation and conference papers and have both recently published their painstaking work on the comparisons between the different texts. Hutton's *Serial Encounters* proposes seven types of *Ulyssean* Revision, one of which is Joyce's explicit additions referencing the body and sexuality. Crispi's *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Characters in Ulysses* throws light on the genesis of Molly and Leopold Bloom, whilst encompassing an elucidation of Joyce's many manuscripts. Genetic criticism is the 'true child' of French structuralism, says Hutton, and it reveals much about the creative process (128). In *Stephen and Bloom at Life's Feast*, Lindsey Tucker wrote about the alimentary symbolism and the creative process in *Ulysses*, but I have found that a genetic approach is more relevant for the purposes of this thesis.

Early in my research I learned that Joyce owned a book written by French gastronome Brillat-Savarin, called *The Physiology of Taste,* a book of meditations on the senses, and a history of food and its practices. In 1975 Roland Barthes wrote the 'Introduction' to a new French edition of this self-same book. Discovering that both Joyce and Barthes had read and been extensively influenced by the same work, has added immeasurably to my analysis of food and its manifestations within the pages of *Ulysses*.[4]

In this chapter I will provide the reader with an overview of Claude Lévi-Strauss's structural anthropology and his analysis of the transformations involved in the actual cooking of food that led to the formulation of his 'Culinary Triangle', and the ensuing semiotic theories of Roland Barthes that are located within this structuralist framework, indicating why they are relevant to an analysis of food in Joyce's text. The many descriptions of eating in Joyce's novel not only inform us about the cultural

[4] Chapter Two of this thesis discusses Brillat-Savarin in 'The Language of Gastronomy'.

background of Dublin in the early-twentieth century, but every reference to food is an example of a deeper, underlying meaning.

Barthes used food metaphors to illustrate many of his semiotic theories. His all-embracing interest in food is witnessed when reading his travel writing about Japan and China, in his many interviews, and in *Mythologies*. Even the first chapter of his book on Michelet is titled 'Michelet Eater of History'. When exploring a sequential arrangement of words, he described it as distilling the sediment from the juices of a lamb cutlet (*Semiotic Challenge* 7). In an interview in 1977 Barthes was asked to explain how he thought the art of living was reflected in the way that people eat. He replied:

> As a cultural object food means at least three things to me. First the aura of the maternal model, nourishment as it is considered and prepared by the mother: that is food I like. Second from the home base, I enjoy excursions, digression toward the new and unusual: I can never resist the temptation of a dish endowed with the prestige of novelty. And finally, I'm particularly sensitive to conviviality, to the companionship of eating together, but only if this conviviality is on a small scale: when the company becomes too numerous, the meal becomes tiresome, and I lose interest in the food, or else I overeat from boredom. (*Grain of the Voice* 265) [5]

Alison Armstrong takes up the importance of this 'cultural' component of food, when she points out that the meaning is not always inherent in the dish, but transmitted by the significance of shared social behaviour (Armstrong, *Eating and Reading* 9).

On another occasion, when giving a paper on 'The Image', at the Colloquium at Cerisy-la-Salle in 1978, Barthes described how he became like a 'French fried' under the offensive of a 'quite minor language-system':

> How does an image of myself 'take' to the point where I am wounded by it? Here is a new metaphor: 'in the skillet, the oil spreads, smooth, flat, matte

[5] Brillat-Savarin also discusses the importance of eating and conviviality (189).

> (barely any smoke): Drop a slice of potato into it: it is like a morsel tossed to wild beasts only half asleep, waiting. They all fling themselves upon it, attack it noisily: a voracious banquet. The slice of potato is surrounded – not destroyed, but hardened, caramelized, made crisp; it becomes an object: a French-fried potato.' This is how, on any object, a good language system *functions*, attacks, surrounds sizzles, hardens, and browns. All languages are micro-systems of ebullition, of frying. That is the stake of linguistic *Mache*. The language (of others) transforms me into an image, as the raw slice of potato is transformed into a *pommes frites*. (*Rustle* 355)

Even the simple potato, cooked in oil to transform it from a raw substance to cooked, has many regional variations. If potato is the word, then the sauce is its accent or dialect, says Armstrong. Augmented by condiments, the French eat pommes frites with steak jus, the Germans eat fried potatoes with mayonnaise, the English eat chips with vinegar, and the Americans eat fries with ketchup. Thus meaning is denoted to the potato before it is even eaten (*Eating and Reading* 13).

Barthes was influenced by the writings of the French anthropologist Claude Lèvi-Strauss (Allen 60). Lèvi-Strauss had moved anthropology from the 'primitive' meanings of ritual and myth towards a structural understanding of more 'civilised' societies. Identifying universal underlying patterns in these myths, he equated them to the system of rules used in linguistics. Lèvi-Strauss's interest in structuralism originated from his association with the Russian linguist Roman Jakobson in the 1940s, and he applied what he learnt to his research into 'kinship systems' in South American, staying among the Guaycuru and Bororo Indian tribes between 1935 and 1939. Using a structuralist approach to analyse the transformation that occurs during the cooking of food, he linked the difference between raw ingredients and cooked food to the fundamental distinction between nature and culture (Beardsworth and Keil 61). Lévi-Strauss said that his major interests in Marxism, psychoanalysis and geology reflected

his search for the deeper structures and layers, and thereby his structuralist methods which looked beneath the surface. Likewise, Barthes applied this technique to a critique of literary realism, arguing that the modern novel uses functions and indices of character and atmosphere to generate the illusion of 'reality' (Allen 59).

The title of Lévi-Strauss's book *La Pensée Sauvage,* which should more accurately and honestly be translated as 'Untamed Thought', led to much dissent. He believed that his friend Jean Paul Sartre misunderstood his use of the word 'savage' and consequently dismissed his work. In fact the difference arose from Sartre's existentialist belief in individual consciousness and freewill as opposed to Lévi-Strauss's belief that myths were a series of transformations similar to thought processes, that were imprinted on the human brain. Lévi-Strauss had his detractors, not least because of his apparent idealisation of the supposed innocence of 'primitive' peoples. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu considered that Lévi-Strauss was not sufficiently aware of the realities of social life and social action, putting too much emphasis on thinking, and indeed after his first foray into fieldwork Lévi-Strauss preferred to work from his desk. In a lecture series broadcast in Canada in 1977, Lévi-Strauss was asked if he felt that 'the thinking of so called primitive people is inferior to scientific thinking?' (*Myth and Meaning,* xviii and 15-24). He replied that it had been 'wrong' of him to call people 'primitive' and that he would from henceforth use the term 'people without writing' instead. In turn, he believed that Malinowski was mistaken in thinking that the basic human needs of sex, shelter and food were sufficient reasons to explain myths, and he disagreed with Levy-Bruhl who thought that 'primitive' thinking was determined purely by emotion and mystical representations. Lévi-Strauss thought all people were the same, it was the myths that differed. After lengthy analysis of different cultures he concluded that the myths that he studied for *The Origin of Table Manners* went beyond

the oppositions of the raw, the cooked and the rotten, to establish a deliberate contrast between the roast and the boiled, which represented most basic modes of cooking. Not all societies must necessarily put the boiled into the category of the processed and the roast into the opposite category, he said, but go beyond, and in a concentrated form this outlined the possibility of a structural analysis of the language of cooking (479 – 484).

Contemporary anthropologists see the work of Lévi-Strauss as flawed, pertaining to an ideology that has crumbled, says James Clifford in *Writing Culture* (2). The arc of anthropology has moved from the 'Savage to Self', says Farrah Jarral: from 'armchair' theorists, who drew on the experiences of explorers, traders and missionaries, to participant observation, to a more self-reflexive and personal but objective distance (interview on BBC Radio 4). The predicament of culture finds modernity grappling with the aftermath of colonialism and looking forward to a social science that can be used for the benefit of medicine, finance and social policy. The centrality of food may be useful for analysing modernist culture and the arts, but gastronomy (as we witness in Brillat-Savarin's work) has its own baggage, focusing on consumption over production, and not on its more suspect associations with colonial conquest and elitist distinction (Gladwin 11, Martell 387). A more recent and relevant area of study (especially for this thesis) has been that of Heather Paxson in her study of artisan cheese-makers in the *Life of Cheese,* and Donna Harraway's *Cyborg Manifesto*, where the boundaries between the raw and the cooked, and the human and the non-human, have become blurred. Now we can conveniently 'upend' the 'Culinary Triangle' knowing that different cultures, and even the same cultures in different points in time, are not in agreement about where the border lies, and this leads to differences of opinion about what is edible and what is not (Mouritsen 262). Fermentation and

microbiological conversion of ingredients may be a way to prepare food that is more digestible, or it might lead to decay.

Long before Claude Lévi-Strauss and other anthropologists were publishing their findings and their theories, Giambattista Vico, the Italian political philosopher, published *The New Science* in 1725. The key to Vico's 'new science' lay in his perception that so-called 'primitive' men were *not* childishly ignorant and barbaric but instinctively and characteristically 'poetic' in their response to the world (Hawkes 12). Myths, Vico argued, were sophisticated ways of understanding and coping with reality, using language metaphorically to deal with the world, rather than too literally. Lindsey Tucker suggests that Vico's imaginative approach to language undoubtedly contributed to '[James]Joyce's absorbing interest in him' (*Bloom and Stephen's Feast* 8). For instance, Vico believed that the origins of language evolved from the 'passionate monosyllabic' sounds that people used to accompany their gestures, and that these, combined with pronouns, enabled the venting of one's own passions (7). 'Chaos is a prelude to new beginnings and that language's new beginnings were in myth and culture' says Tucker (122). Indeed Saussure argued that 'language was made up of indissociable elements which were on the one hand the sound and on the other the meaning', and Roman Jakobson said that meaning only exists if it has a sound to express it (Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* 53).

Vico argued, '[t]here must, in the nature of human institutions be a mental language common to all nations which uniformly grasps the substance of things feasible in human social life and expresses it with as many diverse modifications as these same things may have diverse aspects'. Similarly, Claude Lévi-Strauss was to argue that however cultures might differ in food strategy, they were combined by the universality of transforming food by cooking, whatever diverse techniques they might use

(Crowther 107). Stories or myths evolved as a way of understanding what was natural or true, and the facility to use language metaphorically rather than literally was a distinctive human characteristic, said Vico, and he therefore suggested that mythology was the 'first' science and could be read as a civil history of the first peoples who were naturally 'poetical'.[6]

Joyce was well acquainted with Vico's writings and believed that Vico was the forerunner of both anthropological and psychoanalytical thought (Ellmann 340). In 1913 the Triestine lawyer Paolo Cuzzi took language classes with Joyce and they discussed Vico (Ellmann 340). Ellmann further tells us that when Joyce was preparing to write *Finnegans Wake*, he returned to the writings of Vico, because he was particularly drawn to his use of etymology and mythology to uncover the significance of events (554). Joyce, caught up in the zeitgeist of his time, bought and read many books about anthropology and sometime between 1919 and 1920 he purchased a copy of *The Study of Sociology*, by Herbert Spencer (Ellmann, *Consciousness* 128). In this work Spenser described society as being made up of organs of the body, and this may have had some bearing on Joyce using the organs of the body as a symbol for each episode in *Ulysses* and portraying Dublin as one large pulsating body. It is perhaps not a coincidence that *Ulysses* was published in the same year that anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski published his book, with a title that also referenced Greek myth, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*.

Claude Lévi-Strauss's research and analysis recognised that by recreating myths there was a continuum of recognisable and repeated forms, which we now know as structuring. Structuralism was originally associated with linguistics, and identified with

[6] In *Ulysses*, Bloom differentiates between 'poetical' and 'esthetical' vegetarian thinkers and 'non-poetical' constables who eat Irish Stew ('Lestrygonians').

Ferdinand Saussure. Saussure put forward the theory that language should be studied not only in terms of its individual parts but also in terms of the relationship between those parts, that is its phonemes, syntax and semantics.[7] His *Course in General Linguistics* was published posthumously in 1916.[8] He drew attention to the distinction between *langue* and *parole* (language and speech), which was of fundamental importance to the structure. He also stressed the importance of the language's diachronic (historical) context and synchronic (structural place in time) context; that is, that each language has a valid existence outside of its history.

Structuralists concerned themselves with patterns, especially those of cultural phenomena, social groupings and activities. The historical changes in the evolution of pronunciation, and the distinction between language (*langue*) and speech (*parole*) were taken over and elaborated on in the field of anthropology. Structuralism depended on a relationship between things, rather than in things themselves, since the world does not merely consist of independently existing objects (Hawkes 17). Linguistics and anthropology therefore came to have an impact on the study of literature because they could be seen to be centrally linked to the study of language, and the use of words making humankind unique.

Language is transformative, Claude Lèvi-Strauss argued, because it is self-defining and capable of re-inventing itself, and as he categorised the details in varying myths, from different tribes, he came to realise that their basic themes were all similar and contained universal cultural signs. Starting with the analysis of just one myth,

[7] These linguistic terms led to Lévi-Strauss calling constituent elements of cuisine 'gustemes' (Beardsworth and Keil 61).
[8] This series of Saussure's lectures was recorded between 1906 and 1911 and published in 1916. Due to two world-wars it was not published in English, and therefore did not influence English or American thinkers, until 1959.

originating from one community, he was able to broaden his field of enquiry and move onto myths from neighbouring societies and contextualise them.

Thus structural linguistics, in tandem with anthropology, saw the relationship between language and the cultural setting within which it occurred, and suggested that the way of life of a community was structured in the same way as that culture's language (Hawkes 31). Jonathan Culler explains how this context works for students of the food system of a culture:

> *Parole* consists of all the events of eating and *langue* is the system of rules underlying these events, rules that define what is edible, what dishes go with or contrast with one another, how they are combined to form meals, in short, all the rules and prescriptions that enable meals to be culturally orthodox or unorthodox. A restaurant menu represents a sample of a society's 'food grammar'. There are 'syntactic' slots (soups, appetizers, entrees, salads, desserts) and paradigm classes of contrasting items that can fill each slot (which soup one chooses). There are conventions governing the syntactic ordering of items within a meal (*soup, entrée, dessert* is orthodox, while *dessert, entrée, soup* is ungrammatical). And the contrasts between dishes within classes (main course, dessert etc.) bear meaning: for instance a hamburger and roast pheasant have different second-order meanings. (*RB* 72-73)

Using categories such as raw and cooked, fresh and decayed, moistened and burned as conceptual tools, Lévi-Strauss could develop and combine abstract ideas and present them as a formula (*Raw and Cooked* 1). He developed a framework or 'Culinary Triangle' of raw, cooked and rotten (or fermented) foods to demonstrate how food was processed by cultural or natural means, and he used the resulting transition to interpret the connection between nature and culture in human thought (*The Origin of Table Manners* 476). Lévi-Strauss proposed that this opposition between the raw and cooked was common to all cultures and that cooking everywhere was associated with civilisation and with socializing and controlling nature (Jurafsky 183). Initially the

'Culinary Triangle' had at its apexes raw, cooked, and rotten, which in turn were converted by air and water. When expanded to include cooking practices such as roasting, smoking and boiling, the consequent transformation of the natural by the cultural, became a symbol of 'civilisation'. What appeared to be random rules of eating actually had some sort of order, and this led Lèvi-Strauss to suggest that behind the apparent chaos of arbitrary myths, there was an order that gave the illusion of understanding the universe. If a culture overcomes nature by 'encoding' or making myths and using language, Lèvi-Strauss suggested, then social behaviour itself might be considered a language. For instance the words raw, cooked, and rotten are in themselves 'empty forms' which tell us nothing about a particular society, but he gives examples of how, in his lifetime, Italian restaurants broadened the category of the word 'raw' by making raw food more sophisticated, and how the American concept of 'rotten' led to Normandy cheese factories being destroyed by liberating soldiers in WWII who thought they smelt 'corpses'. [9] The deliberate contrast that a society might make between roasting and boiling, produces a 'denser meaning' to each term, and gives rise to the potentiality of a structural analysis of the language of cooking (*Manners* 479). A more apposite use of the triangle positions roasted food on the side of nature because it is exposed directly to the fire, whereas boiled food is on the side of culture because it is immersed in liquid and necessitates the use of a man-made receptacle to put over the fire, hence the use of a man-made cooking pot was considered proof of being more civilized.[10] However, like language, cooking methods can be fashionable and are forever changing the sign they emit. Undercooking (blue), overcooking (charred), stewing, slow-cooking, blanching, frying, steaming, grilling

[9] Barthes gives further examples of a French identification with steak and chips (in *Mythologies*) and an American identification with sugary foods (*Psychosociology of Contemporary food* 20*)*.
[10] In Ireland, the *Fulacht fiadh,* a pit dug for the specific function of boiling water and cooking meat, could be viewed as a sophisticated method, equivalent to the use of a clay pot in other cultures.

and smoking have all become variations, and signifiers, on the theme of cooked food. Even 'rotten' foods have become more acceptable when they are processed by fermentation (like Sauerkraut or Kimchi) and moulds (like 'blue' cheeses such as Gorgonzola).[11] Then again, not all cooking systems conform to the basic model of the 'Culinary Triangle'; for example it is possible to add such oppositions as animal and vegetable (non-animal) foods, dairy products, gluten free, etc., and processed or packaged foods that may have been vacuum packed or marinated to prolong shelf-life.

In *The Origin of Table Manners*, Lévi-Strauss records that some tribes could be differentiated by gender roles with regard to cooking. In some, cooking was purely a male task – unless the men were away at war; in others, the women did the roasting and the men the boiling. We can see this division of labour in our western society today, where it is often the men who are associated with barbecuing. However boiled food is not always seen as being less 'sophisticated' or more 'cultured', and the sequence of dishes is not always rigidly fixed. Lévi-Strauss quotes from the work of Brillat-Savarin, 'boiled meat has disappeared from the menus of truly elegant dinner parties; it is replaced by roast tenderloin of beef, a turbot or a fish stew' (485); and from a nineteenth-century cookery book, 'the roast is set down on the table while the boiled food and the entrees are being cleared away…but the time to serve the fish is towards the end of the meat course, between the roast and the dessert' (483).

Because the roast and the boiled are seen to have different functions, their permutations constitute a culinary universe, a miniature reflection of the cosmos (486).[12] Claude Lévi-Strauss says that these contradictory systems, or arrangements that

[11] Bloom eats bread, Gorgonzola cheese, and wine in Davy Byrne's. Each one of these foods has undergone processing or fermentation in their production.
[12] Barthes takes up this same point when discussing Brillat-Savarin in the section 'Cosmogonies' (*Rustle* 254). In *Ulysses* references to eating roast beef (94), cabbage (167), or boiled mutton and carrots (168), all have significant connotations and significance.

subvert the norm, suggest a semantic field that includes many dimensions, which might include economy, waste, or status differences (484)….. For instance he suggests that 'Czechs looked upon boiled meat as man's food [because] their traditional society was more democratic in character than that of their Slovak or Polish neighbours' (485). Brillat-Savarin's aphorism No. XV 'Cooking is an acquired art, but roasting is a gift' (16) becomes more significant when viewed through Lévi-Strauss's view that the contrast between knowledge and inspiration, serenity and violation, moderation and excess, is symbolised by the opposition between the boiled and the roast (486).[13]

Eventually, after three volumes of Lévi-Strauss's very complicated, and sometimes contradictory and far-ranging analysis, it would appear the myths metamorphose into a commentary on the culinary terms and their relationships, rather than the other way around. The various permutations of roasting, boiling and smoking, within the 'Culinary Triangle' become more and more complex: boiling compared to rotting because water is the mediator 'decomposing' the raw; smoking a slow and thorough form of cooking that is mediated by the air; and the fiery, partial cooking of the roast. In a further comparison between boiled and roast dishes, Lévi-Strauss argued that while boiled food was often associated with homely frugality, roasting had a theatrical, ceremonial role, since boiling retained the meat's juices, but roasting was accompanied by loss and destruction; one an economy, the other profligate (*CLS Bio* 293).[14] Furthermore, when it comes to eating rare meat, which combines the raw and the cooked, there is an ambiguity between nature and culture which demonstrates that cooking is not always situated on the side of culture, but belongs on the spectrum and illustrates how food, in its duality, can be said to be symbolic of the world.

[13] In *Ulysses* Bloom uses the analogous aphorism 'God made the food, the devil the cooks' (163).
[14] Patrick Wilcken, Claude Lévi-Strauss's biographer, says that as his arguments became more convoluted he reduced them to algebraic forms that at times even he did not understand, but liked to think were a distillation of chaos into order (268).

Although it is acknowledged that some foods are more popular for private or family meals, whilst others are for banquets and formal occasions, and that there are differences such as irregular or regular meals, and dishes served one after the other or simultaneously, not all contrasts are alimentary in nature, but sociological, economical, aesthetic and religious. Lévi-Strauss points out that it is through the oppositions of men/women, family/society, village/bush, thrift/extravagant, nobles/commoners, sacred/profane, that we can hope to discover how, in any particular society, cooking is a language through which that society unconsciously reveals its structure, unless, just as unconsciously, it resigns itself to using the medium to express its contradictions (495). [15] Notably, the French Revolution radically transformed French (and consequently English) eating habits: *Service à la Rousse* took over from the French style, and reduced the number of courses and dishes that the wealthy had at every stage of the meal, and this is still reflected today in the way in which a restaurant carries out its table service.

The notion of myth-making, which Vico described as the response to the world by 'primitive' peoples, was central to Lévi-Strauss's thinking. 'It is through the myth of explaining the origin of fire,' he wrote, 'and thus of cooking, that we gain access to myths about man's loss of immortality, and thus the truly essential place occupied by cooking in native thought. Not only does cooking mark the transition from nature to culture, but through it and by means of it, the human state can be defined with all its attributes, even those that, like mortality, might seem to be the most unquestionably natural' (*Raw and Cooked* 164).

[15] A new fashion in Ireland today is to serve cheese before the dessert – a 'cultural' practice borrowed from the French, and thought to be more sophisticated. For myself I wonder if this is a practicality to give the host/chef time to 'finish off' a baked dish such as a soufflé while the guests are busy with cheese and fruit, which has not had to be prepared.

Having established the aforementioned, Claude Lévi-Strauss sets out to identify the constituents of alimentary significance in cultural behaviour; the ceremonies, rites, kinship relations, marriage laws, methods of cooking, and totemic systems, and to see how the relationships between them acted like the structures of language. Thus, like myth, food language was capable of having two levels of understanding, the story and the metaphor, and a relationship between the two.

For Lévi-Strauss, opposites, and the mediation between them, (conflict and resolution) were what formed the basis of social structure and culture, and in the opposition of raw and cooked food he drew a parallel with the transformative character of food. By recognising that cooking, and its techniques, controlled nature, he found the evidence to show how humans can be distinguished from other animals (Crowther 107). The fascination within structural anthropology is that cooking systems can be seen as denoting cultural significance. As hunter-gatherers became more settled, the emergence of agriculture produced a surplus of storable food, and social hierarchies and male privilege established some of the foundations of what was to become the capitalist food system (Holt-Giménez 145). It also gave rise to more sophisticated cooking methods, and rituals grew up around food practices that were cultural, political and spiritual.

In *The Origin of Table Manners,* in the chapter called 'A Short Treatise on Culinary Anthropology' (471), Claude Lévi-Strauss records that in myth the origin of digestion comes from a time when neither men nor animals had anuses and they excreted through the mouth.[16] One could take this further and say that because of women's lowly or subordinated position they only serve, never eat, and therefore have no need to defecate. Lévi-Strauss argues that if and when there is digestion, it is a

[16] In *Ulysses* Bloom links digestion to the statues of goddesses, who have no anuses (168).

natural counterpoint to cooking, because of the transformation of the digested food held in the stomach and intestines before being eliminated in a processed form (476). Compare this with how we understand language by listening to the words, digesting or processing the information, and then speaking through the mouth. Furthermore, when digestion transforms both raw and cooked food into waste-matter, in the form of excreta, it can still be used as a metaphor. Anthony Burgess, in *Rejoyce*, suggests that history is presented in *Ulysses* 'as a sort of cannibalism', in which architecture is the food of time, 'leaving the faeces of rubble and big stones' (*R*123), and Lindsay Tucker sees the body's metabolism as a metaphor for the creative process (1).

The anthropologist Mary Douglas built on Lévi-Strauss's studies of food categories and table manners to write 'Deciphering a Meal'. If food, like language, is a code, she said, then it can send out social messages of hierarchy, inclusion and exclusion, and transactions across boundaries (Counihan 36). In order to look at the codes inherent in a social event she started by analysing the main food categories used at a particular point in time in a particular social system.[17] She took issue with Lévi-Strauss, saying that his conclusions were too universal and could not be validated. She believed that there must be an ordered pattern, and the chain which links the sequence of events (meals, days of the week, holidays, feast days, fast days, birthdays) together, gives each element some of its meaning. 'Eating, like talking, is patterned activity and the daily menu may be made to yield an analogy with linguistic form' (37). She presents a framework of categories for the description of eating where everything is accounted for either in grammatical systems or in classes made up of lexical items. The strength of Douglas's structuralist perspective is that she sees meals and eating as a metaphor and a method of communication, as well as a physical necessity (Beardsworth and Keil,

[17] She used her own home as an example.

63). Shared meals that express a mutual social identity or relationship, tend to be served in an accepted sequence, and items of food are selected one in preference to another, which when strung together make a recipe or a meal.[18] This is comparable, Douglas suggests, to how words and sentences are put together to make sense, and have an underlying significance, in the same way that food has significance when it is served, cooked or eaten in a certain way.

Mary Douglas differed from Lévi-Strauss in her methodology, but they each saw food as a symbolic system of communication. Food that was previously only eaten in order to sustain the body became part of a culinary system and a social marker. They stressed the role of food as a signifier, classifier and identity builder (Schiller 7). Structural linguists used a system of binary opposition of phonemes for their analysis of language. Now Lévi-Strauss and Douglas were mirroring the opposition between nature and culture and using it in their studies on food and eating (Wood 7-18). Alison Armstrong, in *The Joyce of Cooking,* says that we come to recognise the world and assess it by knowing and choosing what to eat and what not to eat. Ever since man ceased living off wild berries, as Barthes (*Psychosociology* 22) and Bloom (*Ulysses* 166) illustrate, eating has evolved from being a necessity to being an indicator of group or class. 'The man who can choose what to eat is a civilised man and triumphant over the primal predatory digestive organism that would drive one to consume all indiscriminately' (Armstrong 238). Armstrong, prompted by the writings of Claude Lévi-Strauss, suggests the possibility of a 'phenomenological psychoanalysis' of the food in *Ulysses*, which would study the text in order to discover what is significant, for example, in Bloom's choice and consumption of particular foods at certain times and

[18] However, Barthes seems to favour the non-hierarchal presentation of the meals, such as those he ate in Japan. There is 'no protocol…: the entire *praxis* of alimentation being in the composition, by composing your choices, you yourself make what it is you eat' (*Empire of Signs* 12).

places, and to what degree the choices are symptomatic of emotional perception of external factors, such as Stephen's indifference to food reflecting his antisocial attitude (229). [19]

Claude Lévi-Strauss's influence cannot be underrated and literary critics who use a structuralist approach to analyse the operation of texts carry on his legacy. In 1958 Lévi-Strauss declined to supervise Barthes' PhD thesis on 'The Fashion System', but he did advise him to look at 'written' fashion, or the way that fashion is written about. Following on from this Barthes developed a new vocabulary that drew attention to 'what goes without saying' and in so doing stimulated social criticism. We can learn a lot from Barthes' early writing about how to read food as a narrative and the ways in which society reveals itself through the ephemera of social life. Joyce had already done this in *Ulysses* long before Barthes was writing, but it can be seen from Joyce Criticism that it took many years before Joyce's use of quotidian objects and actions became a legitimate investigation of the novel. It is interesting to note that both Barthes and Lévi-Strauss are famous for their *Mythologies*, and that, like Joyce, they have used 'myth' at the core of their texts, taking a single myth and moving outwards.

By 1962 Barthes' contribution to semiology and textual analysis was beginning to be superseded by his interpretations of society through signs. In *S/Z,* his 1970s-structuralist analysis of Balzac's novel *Sarrasine*, Barthes cut the text into signifying units to extract the clues and messages, making explicit what one already implicitly knows. When semiologists investigate the food system of a particular culture and try to discover its signifying units and contrasts, they get their best clues from the language in which food is discussed and from what this language names and does not name (*RB*,

[19] In her argument, Alison Armstrong was a forerunner in relating food to emotions, in what we now know as the gut/brain axis.

Culler 73). Writing, says Barthes, is used by society to create its reality through language, and language is itself a structure, therefore reality is achieved both in form and in words (*Semiotic Challenge* 162). Take, for example, an apple; it is an edible object, but its underlying narrative (or myth) can be about creation or woman or temptation or a combination of these. In Barthesian terms, the raw material is the apple – the connotation or the second-order meaning is what society imposes on it by writing.

Although Roland Barthes shifted and evolved his perspectives over time, structuralism was his 'most important source of influence, the fruition of projects and attitudes and the springboard for future manoeuvres' says Jonathan Culler (*RB* 78). Saussure's teaching underpins much of Barthes's work on semiotics, and is further strengthened by the application of Lévi-Strauss's theories. Barthes extracted the meaning from 'systems' such as those pertaining to food or fashion, and produced a secondary meaning to the text, thus breaking the 'code'. This was to become an enormous project, as the importance of signification became more widely recognised in the world of semiotics (Barthes, *SC* 159).

Mythologies was published in 1957; a collection of articles that Barthes had written for the Paris magazine, *Les Lettres Nouvelles*, which were a 'remorseless analysis of myths generated by the French mass media' (Hawkes 110). In his writing he drew attention to the bourgeois values that were being portrayed, from Einstein to margarine,[20] rather than the 'real world', and as time went by he continued to censure the 'symbolic and semantic system of an entire civilization' (Barthes, *SC* 8).

Barthes's essays were a cultural commentary on the value systems of contemporary society. However, applying a structuralist framework to his work, he

[20] In *Ulysses* Bloom equates margarine with poverty (145), because it goes further than butter and costs less. For Barthes it represents prejudices about the 'Established Order' (*Myth* 41).

developed his concept of food as a sign in a system of communication. In 1961 he wrote a paper on 'The Psychosociology of Food Consumption', which was considered to be trail-blazing material in the scholarly arena.[21] A dish of cooked food, a garment, a film, or a piece of music were all signs and had a second message to be read between the lines of the first (*SC* 158). Suggesting that foods, such as sugary foods in America or wine in France, were institutions, he said that they, as such, implied images, dreams, tastes, choices and values. Food was, at that time, considered trivial as an academic pursuit unless it was being addressed under the umbrella of sociology or economics. Changing tastes had overtaken economic circumstances as the instigator of choice when buying food, and the advertisers were already using this to sell their products, acknowledging the fact that the consumer was not really buying the food but what the food signified. In *Ulysses* Bloom understands this when he thinks how an advertisement should 'catch the eye' or arouse 'curiosity' (147) Reiterating his earlier theories about myth and the false value of a product, he believed that people should be re-educated about what food actually is, in order to get over this 'deformation' of thinking. Food is 'a system of communication, a body of images, a protocol of uses, situations, and behaviour', he wrote (Counihan 21). What he meant was that from the time food ceased to be purely a primary need (anthropologically speaking) its signification was seen as a method of communication and so, employing what linguists call 'transformational analysis', he observed the changes that take place in signification when a food is converted from one fact to another. An example would be, for instance, when a plain bread loaf becomes the Jewish Challah for the Sabbath; or bread and wine symbolising for some Catholics the body and blood of Christ. Barthes tried to establish a way in

[21] Originally published in *Annales: Economies, Societies*, *Civilisations*. Vol. 5 (September- October 1961) 977-986.

which foods could be categorised or assembled. He noted other assemblages that could be made and systemised, such as cocktail parties, formal dinners, institutional meals, etc. In *Ulysses* we can do this by categorising how the items for tea vary from cake shops to hotels, or the differences in clientele and menu between a pub like the Burton or the more respectable and professional Ormond Hotel. Or by observing the differences between the culinary activity in the Vice Regal kitchens with the caterers for the Lord Mayor's fundraising banquet at Glencree. In other words items of food can actually change their meaning because their context has been changed. Barthes' critique of consumerism and the culture of commodification is central to showing how the food's meaning, encapsulated in its own particular context, tells us something that is unwritten in *Ulysses*.

After *Mythologies* became a best seller, Barthes was offered a position in the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Études, and in 1962 he was appointed as Director of 'Sociology of Signs, Symbols and Representation'. His youthful interests in political theatre, influenced to some extent by his reading of Kafka and Freud, led to his working on essays about film theory and semiotics. He was able to 'try out' these theories in his seminars and eventually conceived a 'semiology of food, clothing and shelter', which developed from looking at the functions and anthropological significance of modern society in narrative (Stafford 76). He published an abundance of prefaces, book reviews and commentaries, which helped to establish his intellectual and political position. In 1965 he published *Elements of Semiology,* which used examples from everyday life, and it was here that he defined his 'Food System' (Section: 1.2.3).[22] In this he explained how his ideas on semiotics interacted with terms used by Saussure, and his proposed

[22] This was first published as a paper in *Communications*, a significant French journal of which Barthes was the editor.

science of signs incorporated linguistics as one of its components. He drew attention to the importance of how culture shapes human thinking, linking the visual and linguistic message that we receive in areas such as food, cinema, advertising, graphic comics, and photography. Consequently, objects such as clothes and food communicate, not only through the language of the linguist, but through a 'second-order language' or metatext. Food, as a signifying system, embraces Saussure's (and Lévi-Strauss's) distinctions between language (*langue*) and speech (*parole*). The 'language' of food is made up of alimentary taboos, signifying oppositions (such as savoury/sweet), rules of association (simultaneously in a dish, or sequentially as in a menu) and lastly rituals of use, whereas the 'speech' comprises of personal (or familial) variations of preparation and association. The *menu,* he says, illustrates very well the relationship between language and speech: 'any menu is concocted with reference to a structure (which is both national, or regional, and social) but this structure is filled differently according to the day or the user' (Section: 1.2.3.). In the same way, parts of speech such as nouns and verbs are equal to a set of foodstuffs, which have affinities or differences within which one chooses a dish in view of certain meaning, whereas a sentence is like the menu, in that it is a real sequence of dishes chosen during a meal (Leach 47).

	System *[Parts of speech: nouns verbs etc]* *[metaphor]*	Syntagm *[Sentence]* *[metonymy]*
Food "system" [language code]	Set of food stuffs which have affinities or differences, within which one chooses a dish in view of a certain	Real sequence of dishes chosen during a meal: this is the menu

	meaning: the types of entrée, roast, or sweet. [Horizontal reading of menu]	[Vertical reading of menu]
	A restaurant 'menu' actualizes both planes: the horizontal reading of the entrées, for instance, corresponds to the system, the vertical reading of the menu corresponds to the syntagm.	
[Dictionary	A set of connected things or parts forming a complex whole	A linguistic unit consisting of a set of linguistic forms (phonemes, words, and phrases) that are in sequential relationship to one another]

Fig 1. This is a modified table based on Edmund Leach (*Lévi-Strauss* 47) and Barthes' original diagram in *Elements of Semiology* (63).

Confusingly, the word language (*langue*) is also used to refer to non-verbal forms of communication (Leach 46). *Langue,* or tongue as it would be translated in French, is also complicated by its metonymic use, mediating the physicality of both language and the body.[23] Its 'double' meaning enhances, exaggerates, and deepens the links between language and gastronomy, or language and the body, that Brillat-Savarin, Joyce and Barthes all share. Barthes loved food, words and the body: Graham Allen describes him as having 'libidinal theories' in the *Pleasure of the Text* (*Review*), and indeed Barthes in his writing does give words an oral voluptuousness.[24] Taste, which

[23] It would appear that translators are also confused. In Barthes' preface to Brillat-Savarin's book in *The Rustle of Language*, Howard translates the section heading *La Langue* as Language (257) but in the same article elsewhere it is translated as Tongue (Blonsky 66).
[24] Read, for instance, 'he savours this union in [my] mouth' (*Lovers* 226).

happens on the tongue, and brings back memories to the brain, should be mentioned here too as it is also a metonym that is employed by Brillat-Savarin.

Thus when Barthes suggests that the reader has a very personal function in the interpretation of a text, influenced by his/her interests and time in history, this should also be in light of a reader's specific knowledge that brings external sources (or the senses) into play. A text's interpretation may vary over time too, but nonetheless the cultural activity is there to be found and recorded, and used by semiotics, even if was not the author's intent. Hence, in order to look for the 'plurality' or 'multiplicity' in a text, the reader has to work harder and look at the very nature of language itself (Hawkes 113).

But does the past inform the present? Is it necessary to look at the history of food in order to engage with a twenty-first century interpretation, especially in light of food shortages or economic crises? When history is denied, Barthes says in *Degree Zero*, what is *not* said is also a sign; when historical forces are not acknowledged, they are unmistakably at work. This will be an important point when analysing how apparently little mention is made of the famine in *Ulysses*. The 'absence' of the famine is in fact a way of communicating its presence; it is a 'language', a system of second order meaning attached to it by social convention (Culler, *RB* 35-40). In 'Edible Ecriture' Terry Eagleton, who elsewhere notes Joyce's lack of commentary on the famine, says that the Irish famine caused the slow death of language as well as of one million people (*The Times Higher Education* October 1997).

Barthes suggests that semiotics is a way of reading that extracts a meaning, not unlike the essential juices being filtered from a piece of meat. He illustrates his point:

> Louis XVIII, a royal gourmet, had his chef prepare several cutlets piled one upon the other and ate only the one on the bottom, which had received the juices trickling into it from the others. Likewise I [Barthes]

> should like the present moment of my semiological adventure to receive the juices of earlier ones. For the sieve to be, as in the case of the royal cutlets, woven of the very substance it strains. (*SC 7*)[25]

Language is transformed into meaning in the same way that food is digested and excreted. Reading and excreting are indeed related etymologically: 'excrete' from the Latin *ex + cerne*, meaning to separate or sift, much like the thoughtful reader that Barthes envisages (Osteen 86). Joyce brings these elements together when Bloom reads a copy of *Titbits* and then uses it to wipe himself in the 'jakes' (*Ulysses* 67).

In his 'Food System', Barthes uncovers the underlying significance of what we eat and this is called signification or connotation. However, the act of cooking on its own cannot be said to differentiate humans from other animals without it being contextualised within other cultural systems such as production, exchange, consumption, kinship, gender and politics, says Crowther (107). Brillat-Savarin's axioms 'you are what you eat' and 'show me what you eat and I'll show you who you are' are obviously analogous with these connotations.

If semiology is 'the study of signs in general, and of the operation of the vast number of codes in any culture which enable us to interpret these signs satisfactorily' (Sturrock 7-8), then this methodology is pervasive throughout this thesis and particularly in Chapter Three, 'What Food says about Leopold Bloom', assembling as it does the items of food and food practices to reveal the meaning that might be suggested about the participants and observers (*Signs* 53). In addition, Barthes, taking the mystique or mystery out of marketing or advertising, is pertinent to Bloom the self-styled advertising canvasser, and the notion that our senses pertaining to food are manipulated and used in advertising.

[25] It is interesting to note that Bloom 'relishes' kidneys and liver, which are 'filter' organs.

Barthes explains how this method of semiotic analysis of food can expose crucial and significant double meanings, or signification, in food language. In this example he shows how a word such as 'crudité' can be 'raw twice over':

> Crudity in French refers to language and to food; in reference to food it means *raw*… In the field of language, denotation is really affected only by Sade's sexual language; elsewhere, it is merely a linguistic artefact; it then serves to render hallucinatory the pure, ideal, credible *naturalness* of language, and corresponds, in the field of food, to the crudity (rawness) of vegetables and meats, a no less pure image of Nature. But this Adamic state of nourishment and of words is *untenable*; crudity is immediately taken as a sign of itself: crude language is pornographic language and *crudités* are merely mythological values of the civilised meal or aesthetic ornaments of the Japanese tray. Crudity therefore shifts to the abhorred category of the pseudo-natural: whence, great aversion for crudity of language and rare meat'. (*Barthes on Barthes* 62-63)

Barthes' theories are complex and sometimes paradoxical because he changed or improved his methodology and approach over the years, but he never strayed from using food as a metaphor or analogy. He embraced new theories and sought to integrate them into his doctrine of language and his practice as a critic (Lavers 204). Barthes found pleasure in details of daily life, in novels, biographies and histories: 'the pleasure of the text is that moment when my body pursues its own ideas' he declared (*Pleasure* 17). In pursuit of more topical interpretations he often combined sexual imagery with food to illustrate his points, regardless of time or place. Food was becoming a 'product of a cultural enthusiasm' (Parham 35), particularly in literature and advertising, and Barthes planned to write an 'Encyclopaedia of Food', which would address 'dietetics, history, economy, geography, and above all the *symbolics* of food' (*Barthes by Barthes* 150).

In his essay 'The Death of the Author' Barthes advocates that the essential reading of a text should depend on the reader's impressions (*Rustle* 49).[26] For instance, it could be proposed that not all readers have the same understanding about cooking or foodways and therefore their interpretations about these occasions will differ. But as knowledge of food and its customs becomes more popular in the twenty-first century, from television shows to recipe books, this knowledge certainly encourages another way of reading *Ulysses*, which in Barthes' terms might seem to be an 'unintelligible' text. Jonathan Culler claims that such divergence makes reading more interesting (*Signs* 51). References to food are laid over the narrative of *Ulysses* like a palimpsest, and the corporality of the body is like an encyclopaedia.[27] 'The body is a particular and ambivalent type of text' says Simona Stano in 'Introduction: Semiotics of Food'. It is important, she says, to analyse food-related experiences 'paying particular attention … to the delicate balance between social roles and the expression of the self' (21).

The occasions of food in *Ulysses* should be like the weft and the warp in the weaving of a text(ile) because they give history (*diachroneity*) and meaning. Many of the food references in *Ulysses* bring what Barthes termed 'a secret or ultimate meaning to the text' (*Rustle* 54). Joyce suggested that '[a] reader should devote his whole life to reading my works'(Ellmann, *JJ* 703), but at the same time he also professed to a potential publisher of *Dubliners* that the moral of his stories were discernible in the 'nicely polished looking-glass' he held up to the Irish people.[28] However in *Ulysses,* when Stephen says that the symbol of Irish Art is the cracked looking glass of a servant (7), there is obviously a second-order meaning here in which the servant is also Ireland

[26] Lévi-Strauss predicted the death of painting and a new a-pictorial age in *The Raw and the Cooked* (*CLS Bio* 295).
[27] 'It [*Ulysses*] is the cycle of the human body…it is also a sort of encyclopaedia' (letter from Joyce to Carlo Linati, 21 September 1920).
[28] Letter to Grant Richards 23 June 1906.

and conforms to Barthes' advocacy that the reader should be allowed to look for other potential meanings. In *Pleasure of the Text* and *S/Z* Barthes assigned the work of construction to the readers themselves (Smith 49), and in so doing he makes the distinction between the readerly and the writerly text, or the *ecrire* and *ecriture*. The writerly text, Barthes says, demands a greater effort from the reader. The reader is actually reconstructing the act of writing, especially if he/she goes one step further and suggests reading across [think warp and weft] the various 'codes' that one can find inscribed in the text, and uncover a fresh understanding. If, as Zadie Smith suggests, these two types of writing could be distinguished as two *styles* of writing, and that the more writerly is the one that mimics 'obstruction and slow struggle' (50) then the 'Lestrygonians' food-laden, peristaltic, episode certainly fulfils this style and ambition. Not only hard to read, but we must read this episode as if we have constipation, yielding but resisting, until we have a successful outcome. Smith also argues that reading in an *active* way means we get to reinscribe the novel with our own interests and concerns (51). Thus when reading *Ulysses* a contextual knowledge of food, its history, and its customs, (as provided in this thesis' Appendix), enhances the reader's ability to look beneath the surface for added meaning.

Joyce acquired a copy of the French gastronome Brillat-Savarin's *Physiology of Taste* sometime between 1915 and 1921; Barthes wrote a preface to it in 1975, glossing the original text while giving his own particular viewpoint (Knight 205). There is a remarkable confluence between Brillat-Savarin's meditation on gastronomy, Joyce's *Ulysses*, and Barthes' literary criticism. Taste, language and sex are paramount in all three; food unites the authors and their texts; each tries his hand at 'pseudo-science' to describe the actions of the tongue, and all bring together the orality of taste

and speech.[29] The way in which Joyce cannibalised the work of Brillat-Savarin, and Barthes' analysis of Brillat-Savarin's work, will be explored in the next Chapter. Suffice to say here that Barthes' fascination with the function of the tongue, which, as he pointed out, is used to eat, to speak, to sing, and to kiss (*Rustle* 257), underpins much of his work, just as Brillat-Savarin conflated the oral pleasures of food and language in his treatise. Brillat-Savarin classifies the movements of the tongue as it participates in chewing: '[T]he tip of the tongue protrudes between the lips which squeeze it… then rolls it around the space between the cheeks and palate' (54); Bloom describes his first kiss with Molly in *Ulysses:* '[S]oftly she gave me in my mouth the seedcake warm and chewed. Mawkish pulp her mouth had mumbled sweet and sour with spittle' (167); and Barthes' description of the prostitute's kiss in *RB by RB*: '[H]e thrusts his tongue into your mouth and turns it obstinately' (*RB by RB* 170). Humankind's ability to invent language and love, to be able to talk and kiss at the same time, localised in the same site, is akin to the pleasure Barthes found in the text. Barthes' theories converge here – in food and love, where they are not merely nutritive or erotic subjects, but unearth a commentary on a cultural system.

[29] Knight says that Barthes produces a pseudo-scientific backup in his reading of BS (207). Stanislaus Joyce says in his diary that Joyce was adept at 'pseudo-medical phraseology'.

CHAPTER TWO

The Language of Gastronomy

'Tell me what you eat and I shall tell you who you are' – Brillat-Savarin

In this chapter I compare the textual similarities between *Ulysses* and the celebrated nineteenth-century cookbook *The Physiology of Taste: or Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy* by Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin. Brillat-Savarin described this book as a collection of anecdotes, epigrams, recipes and titbits (348). It is indeed that and much more, being divided into sections, which act like the courses of a grand banquet. In these sections, which are called 'Meditations', Brillat-Savarin ruminates on such topics as the senses, appetite, food, gastronomy and the pleasures of the table, discussing, amongst other things, digestion, dreams, diet, obesity, exhaustion and death. A history of cooking, the inception of restaurants, and anecdotes with recipes complete the work. Witty and imaginative, he embraces science and myth in his discourse, from his enthusiastic appreciation of Newtonian mechanics, chemistry and philosophy to his devotion to Gasterea, the Goddess of Gastronomy (Pont 179).

The Physiology of Taste was one of an eclectic collection of books in James Joyce's Trieste library (Ellmann, *Consciousness* 103). The edition Joyce owned was in French, published in Paris by Garnier Frères, no date.[30] Ellmann points out, as do others who have seen his library, that unfortunately Joyce did not annotate his books, leaving scholars to cross reference letters and manuscripts, and use close textual readings, to find definitive correlations between the books Joyce read and his own writings (*Consciousness* 6). The edition of *The Physiology of Taste* used for this thesis was translated and annotated by M. F. K. Fisher in 1949. Ms Fisher was a renowned food

[30] An 1848 facsimile version is available on *www.Gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliotheque nationale de france*.

historian and commentator, whose notes are always informative, and whose knowledge of Paris was contemporaneous with Joyce. In the 2009 introduction to Fisher's translation, Bill Burford writes, '[e]verywhere the same message: food is more than itself. It is not everything, but it is touched by almost everything: memory, weather, dirt, hunger, chemistry, and the universe' (xii).

I propose that when Joyce read Brillat-Savarin's *The Physiology of Taste,* he recognised how the treatise demonstrated the ability of food to convey meaning, in addition to nourishing the body, and he was inspired to strengthen the imaginative and psychological range of the alimentary chapters in *Ulysses* and to flesh out his character Leopold Bloom by giving him some of the physical and intellectual attributes of the great gastronome.

Born in 1755 in the south-east of France, Brillat-Savarin was a Judge in the Paris court of appeal.[31] In 1794 he had to flee France when he was denounced as a federalist and a traitor.[32] He crossed the border into Switzerland where he stayed with his grandparents until sailing for New York where he remained until the fall of Robespierre in 1796.[33] However, his whole life was dedicated to the enjoyment of food, its history, its provenance, how to cook it and how to serve it. *The Physiology of Taste* took thirty years to write, was published two years before Brillat-Savarin's death in 1826, and has never been out of print since, giving Brillat-Savarin undying fame amongst chefs and gourmets. Today a gateau, a ring shaped cake-tin and a cheese all

[31] His hometown was Belley. Coincidentally, Gertrude Stein, Joyce's arch literary rival, rented this house in the summer of 1927 when she was living in Paris (Stein 223).
[32] This was during the 'Terror', which lasted from 6th September 1793 to 28thJuly 1794 at the onset of the French Revolution. Mass executions occurred as the two rival factions of the Girondins and the Jacobins fought each other.
[33] It is interesting to note how often there are biographical similarities between James Joyce and Brillat-Savarin. Joyce also moved to Switzerland during a time of war. Joyce taught English in Pola and Trieste when he left Ireland, in the same way that, as an exile in America, Brillat-Savarin earnt a living by teaching French.

bear his name. Roland Barthes called Brillat-Savarin a 'polymorphous subject: jurist, diplomat, musician, man of fashion … [who was] familiar with foreign parts and the provinces, so [that] food was not an obsession for him but rather a kind of universal operator of discourse' (*Rustle* 269). *The Physiology of Taste* is still famous as a 'comprehensive philosophy of the palate and of the table, and far beyond' as described in a recent catalogue of high-quality books (*Rabelais Fine Books on Food and Drink*. Catalogue Five, 36).

Brillat-Savarin's book is called a 'physiology of taste' because his investigations into the way in which the bodily parts of a human-being function, with special attention to digestion, are what give rise to his meditations on taste and the other senses, which in turn give way to an appreciation of gastronomy. Brillat-Savarin laid down twenty aphorisms as a preamble to his work. Many of them are well known and have been quoted and misquoted in many contexts up to the present day. 'Tell me what you eat and I shall tell you what you are', and 'The destiny of nations depends on how they nourish themselves' being two of them; these and other Brillat-Savarin aphorisms appear in *Ulysses*.

In 1975 Roland Barthes wrote an introduction to a new French edition of *The Physiology of Taste*. Barthes says that Brillat-Savarin's book is encyclopaedic, bringing together, in the name of gastronomy, the various 'meta-languages' of physiology, chemistry, geography, history, economy, sociology, and politics (*Rustle* 269).[34] Barthes was the first person to hold the Chair of Literary Semiology at the College de France, and in this role he pioneered the semiologist interpretation of foodways [35] by writing

[34] My references are to Barthes' Introduction to *The Physiology of Taste,* which is reproduced as 'Reading Brillat-Savarin' in *The Rustle of Language*, translated by Richard Howard. The same introduction can also be found in *On Signs,* edited by Marshal Blonsky.
[35] Foodways is a term used when studying how food intersects with culture, traditions and history.

texts, such as this introduction to *The Physiology of Taste* (Counihan 417).[36] That food is life and life can be studied and understood through food, (Counihan 1) is endorsed by Barthes in his essay 'Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption' where he maintains that items of food contain information, because they sum up and transmit a situation (Counihan 22).

As mentioned previously, Barthes argues that Brillat-Savarin's encyclopaedism and humanism gave rise to his conviction that gastronomy is the knowledge of all that relates to man, insofar as he subsists on food (*Rustle* 269), and I argue that Joyce's *Ulysses* is shaped by a similar philosophy. I am not suggesting that Joyce took his whole stratagem from Brillat-Savarin, but it is widely accepted that he liberally borrowed from other books and that, according to Ellmann, Joyce needed to address the difficulties he anticipated in writing a novel in a completely un-novelistic style. In consequence it follows that a work that related the eating of food to other aspects of life was bound to have its attractions. In her Introduction to *A Barthes Reader,* Sontag describes the innovative modernist style of writing which on one hand dispensed with punctuation in order to make the words flow, and on the other multiplied the ways in which to interpret words and achieve digressiveness (xv). Joyce uses the first, most notably in the 'Penelope' episode, and the second is illustrated in 'Lestrygonians' where a stop-start combination of words and sentences facilitates a peristaltic way of reading an episode that is about food and digestion. Joyce told his friend Frank Budgen that his book was 'the epic of the human body' (21), making *Ulysses*, like *The Physiology of Taste*, commensurate with a living organism.

[36] One of Barthes' projected books was to have been 'an *Encyclopedia of Food* (dietetics, history, economy, geography, and above all, *symbolics'* (RB 150).

Frank Budgen first met Joyce in 1918, appropriately in the garden of a café on the slopes of the Zürichberg. James Joyce had moved from Trieste to Zurich in the early days of the First World War and at the time he was composing 'Lestrygonians', or the food chapter of *Ulysses* (Budgen 343). We do not know whether Joyce took Brillat-Savarin's book to Zurich with him or bought it there, but it was certainly in his Trieste library before he left to live in Paris in 1920. The Brillat-Savarin book in his library is embossed JJ with a stamp that Joyce first used in Zurich and left behind him when he departed from Trieste to Paris. This means that he could have been using the book in Zurich when he was writing the 'Lestrygonians' episode, and need not necessarily have had it with him when he made further revisions pertaining to food in 1921. We know from Ellmann that the book was left in Trieste and that it is now in the Harry Ransome library in Austin, Texas. Budgen recounts how one day, after some discussion about the emerging episode 'Lestrygonians', Joyce told him he had located the very words he needed to describe Bloom's 'hungrily abject amorousness'. Budgen intuited that Joyce had found a new province of material, but he was ignorant to what this might be. Later that same day, sitting in the Astoria Café, Joyce explained how Phineas Fletcher had already tried a similar approach in his book *Purple Island* but that that work had been purely descriptive. Instead, '[t]he words I write are adapted to express first one of [the body's] functions then another', he said, adding that '[i]n 'Lestrygonians' the stomach dominates and the rhythm of the episode is that of the peristaltic movement' (Budgen 21), the indication being that as early as 1918 the concept of this episode was very evident to Joyce. Is it possible that he had picked up a copy of Brillat-Savarin's book on a bookstall that very afternoon? Although Michael Groden and Stuart Gilbert both talk of the 'alimentary allusions' added to the episode over a period of time, they do not conjecture as to why Joyce added food words at a later date, or speculate that he

might have been influenced by Brillat-Savarin's book. However Joyce would have found the spirit of *The Physiology of Taste* and its predominant discussions on digestion and the five senses pertinent to his work. Joyce's 'epic of the human body' would inevitably be concerned with eating, which in addition would encapsulate Joyce's interest in food itself as attested to by his letters.

There are recognisable comparisons between Bloom and Brillat-Savarin. In *Ulysses* Lenehan describes Bloom as 'a cultured allroundman … he's not one of your common or garden…you know…[t]here's a touch of the artist about [him]' (225). Budgen, when describing the depiction of Bloom portrayed by Joyce, reiterates that he is an all-round man, 'a son, father, husband, lover, friend, worker and citizen' (65). As such he is 'kindly, prudent, level tempered, submissive, tragically isolated, shrewd, sceptical, simple [and] uncensorious' (66).

We know that Joyce drew on the characteristics of others - such as John Joyce, Ettore Schmitz, Alfred Hunter, and Stanislaus Joyce, to name but a few – for his Bloom character, but I believe that Brillat-Savarin is also part of the composite man. Both are men who love food and talk about it in a personal as well as in a pseudo-scientific way. In *Ulysses* Bloom makes many pronouncements on food, digestion and science that are synonymous with Brillat-Savarin's philosophy on gastronomy. They also share some physical attributes: Brillat-Savarin describes himself as carrying around a fairly prominent stomach, with well-formed lower legs and calves with sinewy muscles (241). Ellmann points out that Bloom's stature of short legs and a long upper torso, like Homer's Ulysses in the *Iliad,* is the clue to Bloom's 'funny walk' referenced in 'Circe' when the Motorman says 'Shitbreeches, are you doing the hat trick?' (*Ulysses* 414, *Consciousness* 42). Elsewhere Bloom says of himself that he has a 'slack fold to his belly' (174). At five foot nine and a half inches tall and eleven stone four pounds

(*Ulysses* 621), Bloom was more likely 'out of breath' (140) from being unfit than being overweight (McClung 19). Or maybe like Brillat-Savarin he had to fight hard to limit his stomach's outlines (241). Brillat-Savarin's good friend Balzac, described him as being 'thickset, with more than a hint of a paunch … but with handsome legs' (Fisher 165).[37] When Bloom stands on the beach in 'Nausicaa' he realises he '[o]ught to attend to my appearance at my age. Didn't let her see me in profile' (353), because presumably he is concerned about what Brillat-Savarin describes as 'obesity [that] fills up those hollows which nature intended' (248).

Both Brillat-Savarin and Bloom are obsessed with their 'protuberant bellies'. The phenomenon and mythology of losing weight 'is like a religion' says Roland Barthes, with its lapses, guilt, and a sense of wrongdoing. Books about diet, he continued, can be compared to the 'gospels' with their strict rules and a propensity for failure (Blonsky 33). Any diet should be accompanied by wearing 'day and night a belt which supports the belly…and moderately confines it' writes Brillat-Savarin under the heading 'The Antifat Belt' (259). The detailed instructions and benefits of this belt are reminiscent of Bloom's description of the 'Wonderworker', a remedy for rectal complaints (674).

In his 'Author's Preface' Brillat-Savarin aligns himself with Homer's Greek hero and asks, '[i]s it my fault that, like Ulysses, I have known the manners and the towns of many nations?' (31). Like the ancient Greeks, Brillat-Savarin rated guest friendship and hospitality very highly, and one of his Aphorisms reads, '[t]o invite people to dine with us is to make ourselves responsible for their well-being for as long as they are under our roofs' (16). In a similar fashion, Bloom is more than eager to

[37] See Chapter Three for more on Bloom's physique, and exercise and diet regime.

welcome Stephen into his home, to make cocoa for him, to urge him to eat, and to offer him a room.

In his section on the 'History of Cooking', Brillat-Savarin discusses how the discovery of fire enabled food to be cooked. He describes a type of grill used to keep the meat out of the wood-ash that he believes was used as far back as 'Homer's day'. He then proceeds to tell the story of how Achilles entertained, in his own tent, three of the most important Greeks in myth, one of whom one was the King Odysseus, or Ulysses (286).[38] He quotes the poem that describes the heroic feast and, like Joyce, he uses a Latin version of Homer.[39]

Having already decided to use *The Odyssey* as a template for his great novel (Budgen 15), Joyce would have appreciated the way that Brillat-Savarin approached the antecedents of his own discourse when it came to cooking. Brillat-Savarin argues that the reason Achilles himself prepared the food for his distinguished guests was so that he could pay them the highest respect (287). 'It must be understood that if Achilles and Patroclus themselves took care of the preparations for the banquet', he says, 'it was something out of the ordinary, to pay all the more homage to the distinguished guests they entertained, for ordinarily the duties of the kitchen were left to slaves and to women' (287). In *Ulysses* women are scarcely connected with the preparation and serving of food; indeed, Bonnie Kime Scott argues that the women in Joyce's writings are mainly represented as 'mothers, maids or whores' (Maddox 277). But in light of Brillat-Savarin's argument it is worth considering that Bloom's preparation of food for both Molly and Stephen is an indication of the importance of their triumvirate relationship. Bloom and Stephen can also be seen to mirror the relationship between

[38] The others being Ajax and Phoenix.
[39] It was a bone of contention for Joyce that he was not a Greek scholar despite his fluency in other languages (Ellmann 472, Budgen 359).

Achilles and Petroclus, which is a deep and meaningful one between an older and younger man.

Brillat-Savarin is not averse to eating raw flesh. In fact he tells us that he finds it quite agreeable, apart from the fact that it sticks to the teeth (284). He calls this eating in the Croatian fashion, after the habit of a friend of his in a Croat regiment. This has twofold significance for Joyce: Croatia was, at the time Brillat-Savarin was writing, like Trieste, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; and secondly it makes a link between raw food and teeth. Homer used the metaphor of a 'hedge of teeth', to describe the hungry Lestrygonians, or cannibals, as they stood on guard in *The Odyssey* (Gilbert 186).[40] Brillat-Savarin lists the uncooked and raw flesh that is available for consumption in his neighbourhood, proving that 'we have not completely lost our thrice-removed ancestors' predilection for raw flesh' (285): Italian and Arles sausages, smoked Hamburg beef, salted anchovies and herrings are none of them subjected to fire but they still arouse the appetite.[41]

In addition Brillat-Savarin makes many references to Oriental foods and their associated spices and perfumes, and these also pervade the pages of *Ulysses*. When Brillat-Savarin describes the feasting Greeks as soft and voluptuous people lying on couches while they eat and drink, it is tempting to compare the image of Molly in this context, lying in her bed, her swelling breasts and her warm flesh exciting Bloom, as she drinks her tea and eats bread and butter, creating a contemporary caricature of the Grecian image (61). Or perhaps Molly is like Madame Recamier, the object of Brillat-Savarin's love to whom he dedicated his book. Graham Pont argues that Madame Recamier is the 'thinly disguised' tenth Muse, Gasterea, the personification of good

[40] The eating of raw food and the significance of teeth are discussed elsewhere in this thesis.
[41] In 'Cyclops' Joe makes a reference to 'sausageeating' Prussians and Hanoverians (316).

taste. In *Ulysses*, Bloom declares that 'Gastronomy' is one of the 'new nine muses' (463).[42]

Joyce, fluent in a multiplicity of languages, came to use similar techniques and devices to those used by Brillat-Savarin, who stated that he would have to 'borrow or steal' from other languages because he thought his own language 'comparatively thin' (33). The reader will have to 'translate me or to guess my meaning. He has no other choice!' he writes (33). Similarly, Joyce is reputed to have quipped to Jacques Benoîst-Méchin (French translator of *Ulysses*) that he would keep readers and scholars 'busy for centuries' arguing over what he meant by his 'enigmas and puzzles' (Ellmann 521). Brillat-Savarin believed that the English had an 'immense advantage' over the French in regard to language (33), an opinion that Joyce shared, according to Arthur Power, who reports that 'Joyce spoke of the power of language and he compared the English language to an organ for its sonorous wealth' (O'Connor 97). Joyce supported his argument by quoting passages of the English Bible and then quoting corresponding passages in French, insisting that the English version was superior in language, music and strength to the French (97).

For Brillat-Savarin, taste is the most important sense, with the primary organ being the tongue, followed by the teeth, palate and stomach. The fact that the word tongue can also be used to mean a particular language, style or manner of speaking, was as important to Brillat-Savarin as it was to Joyce, and both writers deliberate over the words 'tongue' and 'taste' and all the connotations that these two words imply. Michael Groden suggests that Joyce added many alimentary allusions relating to the oesophagus, hunger and teeth during the later stages of his revision of *Ulysses* (197).

[42] In 'Circe'. The others are Commerce, Operatic Music, Amor, Publicity, Manufacture, Liberty of Speech, Plural Voting, and Private Hygiene.

Barthes tells us that Brillat-Savarin's overriding interest was how gustative sensation, through overlapping stages of taste, developed meaning and how Barthes himself believed that sequence of phenomena was one of the most important formal categories of modernity (*Rustle* 250). In Chapter 3 we will see that many of the actions that concern Bloom are also alluded to in the *Physiology of Taste*, such as desire and disgust, thinness and obesity, grief and dying – all in relation to food or eating. In Chapter 4 I take this a step further to explore the alimentary words and phrases that Joyce added, and the fluctuating boundary between the raw and the cooked, or nature and culture, through the act of chewing.

Pont finds Brillat-Savarin's use of the word taste to encompass all the accessories of luxurious society, as well as to the 'jouissance' of taste, a problem (180). That is, it is not used merely about food in the narrow sense of nourishment but of the pleasures of the table in general and by extension to issues of desire and procreation. Brillat-Savarin begins his 'Meditations on The Senses' with an analysis of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch, with special emphasis on taste. A reader's familiarity with *Ulysses* will bring forth images specifically related to food: the sight of men eating, hearing the sizzling of butter, the smell of jam puffs coming through the grating in the pavement, the taste of kidneys faintly scented with urine, the feel of cool waxen fruit and the smell of their perfume. 'The senses are the organs by which man communicates with the world outside himself,' says Brillat-Savarin (37). However, he adds a sixth sense that he calls physical desire, and Barthes calls the *genesic*. Brillat-Savarin explains how physical desire should not be confused with or linked to the sense of touch for he believes this desire is in fact triggered by taste, and attracts men and women to each other with the express purpose of procreation (37). He argues that 'primitive man' became human and individual only through the use of the senses, and that eating food

without thought or reference to the senses, is comparable to 'copulating with brutality instead of pleasure' (38).

It is true that as the day progresses the thought of physical desire between a man and a woman is never far from Bloom's mind, very often coupled with eating. Brillat-Savarin thought that music and harmony doubled the sense of hearing and as Bloom eats his meal in The Ormond, to the accompaniment of music, he also seems to hear the 'jingle' of Molly's bedsprings reflected in the 'jingle' of the wheels of the horse-drawn carriage taking Boylan to Molly's bed. However, Bloom's desire is complicated by the fact that he is afraid that copulation *will* lead to procreation. In Joyce's time, there was a 'slow seismic shift from perception of sexuality as serving ends of reproduction, to a perception of sexuality as in the service of pleasure' says David Cotter (Vichnar 157). Bloom and Molly have not had penetrative sex since their son Rudy died and his desire is more often consummated in fantasy and masturbation.

Brillat-Savarin believed that eating had a two-fold way of maintaining the survival of the human race. Eating, in its crudest form, he argued, sustains and keeps the human species alive, whilst any heightening of the senses during eating leads to a desire which ensures the procreation of humankind. Childbirth, which plays a major role in 'Oxen of the Sun', and mirrors the birth of the English language, is an action denied to Bloom who can only feel compassion for poor Mrs Purefoy's long labour; or as in 'Circe' where Bloom imagines what it would be like to be a woman giving birth to a child. Brillat-Savarin suggests that when all the senses have been caressed during eating, the after effect will leave a person with 'an unfamiliar languor [creeping] over him, objects fade, his body grows limp, his eyes close; everything disappears and his senses fall into a complete repose' (42). There appears to be a direct link here between Brillat-Savarin's advocation of 'making sure that mankind will continue' (43) with the

languor of the 'Lotus Eaters' episode, which culminates in Bloom's visit to the public baths, where, lying back in repose and watching his limp penis, '[he] saw the dark tangled curls of bush floating, floating hair of the steam around the limp father of thousands, a languid floating flower' (83).

Brillat-Savarin links sight and sound to taste, suggesting that this gave rise to the spoken word and was then used to interpret emotions; the sense of touch being used to correct errors in sight. In *Ulysses* we see this when Bloom considers what it would be like to be blind: '[s]ense of smell must be stronger too: smells. Tastes. They say you can't taste wines with your eyes shut or a cold in the head' (173). Compare this with Brillat-Savarin, who writes: 'When the sense of smell is cut off, taste itself is paralysed'. He then proceeds to conduct certain experiments to prove his case, finding for instance that 'when the nasal membrane is irritated by a violent *coryza* (head cold), taste is completely wiped out' or 'while pinching the nostrils … the sense of taste is 'imperfect and faint' (49). Hearing and smell, as well as being acutely important to a blind person, also help the sighted to protect themselves. Bloom's susceptibility to his senses helps make him aware of his vulnerability to danger and how he may be hurt by other people, such as Boylan or the Citizen, and as a result he can try to protect himself from making any mistakes. A form of self-preservation, that occurs, says Brillat-Savarin, when taste is sharpened by appetite, hunger and thirst, ensuring a developed awareness of food (44). The men in the Burton who are 'swilling, wolfing gobfuls of sloppy food, their eyes bulging, wiping wetted moustaches' and the man who is 'shovell[ing] gurgling soup down his gullet' (161), are in essence arousing the same disgust in Bloom, that Brillat-Savarin is alluding to when he says that a '[s]ense of smell, faithful guide, warns (him) of the revolting…..; his eyes pop out as if he recognises real danger; disgust is plainly written on his face; already his stomach

heaves' (51). When Bloom pushes open the door of The Burton restaurant, the '[s]tink gripped his trembling breath', and the '[s]mells of men made his gorge rise', so that he '[c]ouldn't eat a morsel here' (161). The stench in the Burton turns him away to find a more palatable and meatless meal in Davy Byrne's, where taste asserts itself, and the action of the Burgundy on his palate leads him to a reverie of the sensual pleasure he once had with Molly.

For Brillat-Savarin, it is this taste and smell that arouses feelings of pleasure that help us choose what to eat. Bloom looks along Davy Byrne's shelves and makes these choices, all pre-empted by their associations with things other than food. Joyce uses a method of 'selective terminology' says Stuart Gilbert (185), when he adds food items to his text, so that his choices become Bloom's choices. In this way Joyce creates a meta-language of food, in order to point to other, and underlying, meanings in his text. As Brillat-Savarin says, '[a] whole new language would be needed to describe the indeterminate nuances of tastes and their effect on us'.

Taste, says Brillat-Savarin, has several layers, and '[m]en who eat quickly and without thought do not perceive the taste impressions of this second level, which are the exclusive perquisite of a small number of the chosen few' (52). When drinking wine for instance, Brillat-Savarin describes how it is initially savoured in the mouth but it is never completely appreciated until one has finished swallowing, and only then can one discern the true taste of the bouquet peculiar to each variety of grape (51). Compare how this is exactly what happens to Bloom when he is drinking in Davy Byrne's, and the '[g]lowing wine on his palate lingered swallowed' indicates to him that the drink has been 'crush[ed] in the winepress grapes of Burgundy' (167).

When Brillat-Savarin describes the process of eating and how taste leads to pleasure and digestion, it is as layered and sequential as Saussure's structural

linguistics. 'Joy: I ate it: Joy' (167), Bloom exclaims, as he remembers how he felt when he ate the chewed seedcake from Molly's mouth. The intimate exchange with her is exhilarating, but Brillat-Savarin would say that technically the feelings of 'joy' are caused by a chemical reaction, which is triggered because the tongue of a person, as opposed to the tongue of an animal, has been brought to a state of rare perfection by being omnivorous, eating both plants and meat. He explains that as soon as a morsel of food is put in the mouth it is 'seized' upon by gases and moisture; the lips stop crumbs from escaping; the teeth bite and break it; saliva drenches it; and the tongue mashes and churns it (50). Similarly, when Molly gives the seedcake to Bloom it is warm and chewed, the '[m]awkish pulp her mouth had mumbled sweet and sour with spittle' (167). And yet these memories give Bloom a sense of sadness too; the taste reminds him that some of the other pleasures associated with Molly are now absent, and his snack in Davy Bryne's moral pub is '[t]ouched [with] sense moistened remembered' (167).

Joy or sadness can therefore result through taste, above all the senses, Brillat-Savarin theorizes (52). He says that one of the reasons for this is that it can mingle with all the other pleasures consoling us for the absence of others. Through eating we experience a certain special and indefinable well-being which arises from our instinctive realisation that by the very act of eating we are repairing our bodily losses and prolonging our lives (52).

Thus Bloom feels restored after his glass of Burgundy and continues on his way, stopping to admire the porcelain toilet bowls in a plumber's shop window which leads him to think about the path of digestion and 'the biliary duct, spleen squirting liver, gastric juice coils of intestines like pipes' (171). Brillat-Savarin is also interested in the science of gastronomy. Chefs might have kept recipes to themselves, he says, but

scientists have analysed the alimentary substances and made the results known to everyone. These scientists 'watched the passing or permanent effects of diet … they studied its effect on human thought' (60). Bloom, obviously influenced by reading a similar type of scientific evidence, says that he would not be surprised if it was 'that kind of food you see produces the like waves of the brain the poetical' (158). He rationalises that with an x-ray (Rontgen ray) one could follow the course of a swallowed pin travelling around the body, especially if it was coloured green with something like spinach (171).

For Brillat-Savarin, gastronomy 'concerns also every state of society, for just as it directs the banquets of assembled kings, it dictates the number of minutes needed to make a perfectly boiled egg' (61). Although the cooking of eggs is thwarted several times in *Ulysses*, either because there is a drought or because Molly does not have any intention of giving Bloom breakfast in bed, Joyce did tell Frank Budgen that 'how a man eats his egg will give a better clue to his differentiation than how he goes forth to war' (75). Perhaps Joyce was thinking of Brillat-Savarin's definition when he was talking to Budgen in Zurich. Although Brillat-Savarin mentions the 'perfectly' boiled egg a few times in his book, it is 'political gastronomy' that really interests him (64). Affairs of importance are settled at the table, he says, and it is 'in an atmosphere of feasting that savages decide to make war or peace … villagers carry on their business in their taverns' and 'the fate of whole peoples is decided at a banquet' (64). He observes that 'a well-fed man is not at all the same as a hungry one'. Similarly Bloom thinks to himself when he comes out of the Burton, '[a] hungry man is an angry man (161), and later in Davy Byrne's he says to himself '[p]eace and war depend on some fellow's digestion' (163).

Brillat-Savarin's chapter on banqueting may have triggered Joyce's inclusion of the Glencree Dinner, as it is one of the few episodes seen in detail that does not happen in the city. It presents Joyce with a way in which to talk about those that Brillat-Savarin calls 'men of note' (300), like the Lord Mayor of Dublin Val Dillon and other Dublin dignitaries. Brillat-Savarin says that political banquets are something for which enjoyment can only be felt in retrospect, and indeed all the commentators on the Glencree Dinner (Molly, Lenehan and Bloom) look back on the banquet, which took place ten years before in 1894.

Brillat-Savarin says that women come to these banquets in what he describes as a lady's 'full battle dress' (159). In his 'Portrait of a Pretty Gourmande' he describes her as having '[a] napkin tucked in most sensibly, one of her hands lies on the table, the other carries elegantly carved little morsels to her mouth, or perhaps a partridge wing on which she nibbles'. Physically 'her eyes shine, her lips are soft and moist, her conversation is pleasant and all her gestures are full of grace; she does not hide that vein of coquetry which show in everything they do' (159). Compare this to the more irreverent 'portrait' of Molly who says of herself, 'The lord mayor looking at me with his dirty eyes … I first noticed him at dessert when I was cracking the nuts with my teeth I wished I could have picked every morsel of that chicken out of my fingers it was so tasty and browned and as tender as anything only for I didn't want to eat everything on my plate' (701). This is one of the occasions on which I suggest Joyce takes Brillat-Savarin's words or theory on food and makes a parody out of it, highlighting the difference between post-famine Ireland and post-revolution France. Roland Barthes likens this sort of conviviality, where there is complete involvement with those at the same table, to the action of a novel (*Grain* 223), but he also suggests that Brillat-Savarin's conviviality is less innocent than it appears, for he tends to spy on his fellow

diners, especially if they are women, seeking out the voluptuous effects caused by the pleasure of eating. Barthes calls this voyeurism a kind of 'erotic rape' or sadism (*Rustle* 252). In the 'Circe' episode of *Ulysses*, Boylan invites Bloom to spy on him and Molly, 'you can apply your eye to the keyhole' (527); and Mina Kennedy and Lydia Douce, watching the ensuing sex act, exclaim that what they see is 'like mouthfuls of strawberries and cream' (528). After watching the pleasure stimulated in these women, and trying to deduce whether eating one or several simultaneous dishes brought it about, Brillat-Savarin observes that they physically express their satisfaction with a kind of 'shininess', or an erotic bloom. Barthes calls it the 'lubrification' of pleasure aroused by carnivorous aggression (253). Ellmann says that 'womanizing is like gormandizing' and as such he calls Blazes the 'Lestrygonian Boylan', meaning that he is as a cannibalizer of women (*Liffey* 80/81), making an interesting counterpoint to Barthes' observation that the women in Brillat-Savarin 'do[es] not devour, but bite, and the bite radiates' (253).

If appetite is activated by the memory of previous meals that have pleased the taste, and imagination is sparked by visualising them, then numerous times during the day Bloom recalls and imagines meals that he has eaten, such as the choir picnic on the sugarloaf (148), or the Glencree Dinner (148), or merely 'frying up those pieces of lap of mutton for her supper with the Chutney sauce she liked' (149). But when Bloom sees a 'barefoot Arab' inhaling the fumes from a bakery to 'deaden the gnaw of hunger' (150), he is sympathetic to the idea that the memory of food can also bring more pain than pleasure when one is hungry and denied food. He realises that he too is hungry when he sees flakes of pastry on Mrs Breen's dress, and the sight of a dab of sugary flour on her cheek creates in his mind the image of a rhubarb tart which is rich in fruit. Hunger is the sentinel that alerts us to eat and keep the complicated machinery of the

human body alive, says Brillat-Savarin. The signs of hunger are brought on by the digestive mechanism, he says, adding that 'the stomach becomes sensitive to the touch; gastric juices flow freely; interior gases move about noisily; one's mouth waters' (67). Both Brillat-Savarin and Joyce recognise that the digestive system is of major importance to the smooth running of the human body. 'A Man does not live on what he eats, but on what he digests', Brillat-Savarin says, describing how the 'teeth break up the solid foods … the mouth moistens them … the tongue mashes and blends them … they are received by the pharynx, which contracts and propels them into the oesophagus, whose peristaltic action takes them as far as the stomach' (208/9).

In *Ulysses* Stephen personifies hunger and malnourishment. Brillat-Savarin would have diagnosed Stephen with being mentally exhausted and speculate that this had been brought on by hunger. He would recommend a walk in the fresh air, then a bath (which Stephen would be loath to take), and suggest that a little meal would do him good. Bloom uses these same ploys when caring for Stephen, sobering him up and trying to get him to eat some solid food. Brillat-Savarin also says that grief can bring on abstention from food without a person even realising that that is why he is refusing it, and as a result sadness and fasting can become like a religious act (269). Stephen is grieving for his mother who is 'beastly dead', malnourished because his family is so poor, and hallucinates in the brothel that his mother has come back from the dead. Too much drink deadens Stephen's desire to eat at the end of the day, but he did eat breakfast in the Martello tower in the morning. Stephen does admit to observing religious fasts when he is living with his sisters, eating herrings on a Friday 'in accordance with the third precept of the church to fast and abstain' from meat on the days commanded (576).

However the differences that Brillat-Savarin draws between eating meat and not eating meat, is not about fasting but about a society's diet. His many pronouncements

about various types of meat and game and fish make it obvious that he believes that a meat diet is 'strengthening and restorative' and that fish eaters are less brave than meat eaters (100). He believes that a diet of starch (i.e. potatoes, cereals or pulse vegetables) 'softens a man's flesh and even his courage' (77). He argues that the Indians who live exclusively on rice are prey to almost anyone who wishes to conquer them. Similarly Bloom suggests that cannibals eat lemon and rice as an accompaniment to their victims (163). Bloom vaguely remembers a limerick about the reverend Mr MacTrigger whose genitals were eaten by cannibals. Rice and lemon in conjunction with cannibals is taken up again in 'Circe' when Bella/o threatens to roast Bloom and serve him with rice and lemon, or currant sauce (499). It is these convergences of Brillat-Savarin's 'primitive' man (like the men in The Burton) and the dichotomy of eating flesh or vegetables that contribute to Bloom's choice of sandwich in Davy Byrne's bar. Brillat-Savarin's deliberations on diet lay the foundations for a way in which Joyce can illustrate what Ellmann describes as the sentimental versus the pitiless, when Bloom tastes his way between the opposing perils of vegetarianism and cannibalism, by eating a Gorgonzola sandwich (*Consciousness* 41).

A vegetable diet as a moral stance is the privilege of those who can afford to make a choice. As Felipe Fernandez-Armesto points out, 'cannibals turn out to have a lot in common with vegans' when they chose a diet for self-improvement or moral superiority (32). Bloom weighs up what he knows about vegetarians: 'They say it's healthier', he says, and wonders if that 'kind of food' produces a poetical brain (158). The vegetarians that Bloom knows about are Theosophists, a philosophy that was subscribed to by a group of intellectuals in Dublin who were also involved in the Celtic revival. Theosophists were not necessarily vegetarian but they advocated animal rights, and vegetarianism was seen as a protest and consequently an important aspect of

nineteenth-century feminism (Regan 464 - 466). A small magazine called *The Crank*, published during this period, was described in *The Irish Times* as 'a lively and aggressive little magazine, most of [the writers] apparently ladies or vegetarians … trying to set the world right' (*The Irish Times*, September 24th 1904).

Brillat-Savarin believed, as did many others after him, that meat-eaters were empire-builders. He discusses in depth 'colonial' foods such as sugar (119), coffee (113) and chocolate (118). These are the types of food which cultural anthropologist Sidney Mintz dubbed 'proletarian hunger-killers' because, he argued, even the colonised poor (Ireland was still a British colony in 1904) were linked to Caribbean slaves and Indian peasants in what amounted to colluding with the growth of Western civilisation by using these products (360). Chocolate was a spoil of war, says Szogyi, and 'the ideal of the noble savage existed simultaneously with the reality of European colonisation and enslavement' (100). However, for Brillat-Savarin their importance was primarily as foods that enhanced gastronomy with their flavour.[43] Many Europeans thought of chocolate as an aphrodisiac, reflected in the writings of Casanova and M de Sade who describe chocolate as a sexual stimulant. The chocolate that Brillat-Savarin writes about is usually the mixture of roasted cacao bean and sugar made into a paste and used for drinking, and not so often the chocolate 'meant to be eaten as a delicacy' (118). In *Ulysses,* Bloom makes a drink of cocoa for Stephen (an inferior mixture to the one consumed by the aristocracy in France), and takes bars of chocolate with him to the brothel, giving some of it to the prostitutes.

Brillat-Savarin discusses the difficulties of making what he considers good drinking chocolate saying that the official way is to take 'about an ounce and an half

[43] 'Gastronomy has its own baggage that food studies does not … Gastronomy has tended to focus on consumption over production'. See Martell's review of Gastro-Modernism in *JJQ* vol. 58, no. 3, Spring 2021, p 387.

… for each cup, dissolved slowly in water as it heats, stirring … boil for fifteen minutes' (124). Likewise, in 'Ithaca', when Bloom is entertaining Stephen in Eccles Street, he reads from the label, 'two level teaspoons [of cocoa] for two cups, and sufficient time for infusion' (629). Bloom uses the word 'collation' which, Fisher notes, was a popular word in France at the time Joyce was writing. When discussing chocolate and how some people find it hard to digest, Brillat-Savarin recommends that it is easier to assimilate chocolate if a person fortifies themself at breakfast with a little meat pie, a cutlet, or a skewered kidney (120). Drinking Chocolate was a luxurious and sacred beverage 'stolen from the massacred Indians', and therefore both physically and metaphorically bitter and sweet says Sandra Gilbert (73).

Joyce, who was familiar with libertine literature (Brown 133), would know that the M de Sade gave his conquests chocolate to make their stools softer for the act of coprophila, an act also enjoyed by himself and Nora (Maddox 139) and brought to our attention by Bell/o in 'Circe' when s/he calls Bloom a dungdevourer (498).[44] Roland Barthes has written that chocolate, and the part that it plays in 'coprophagic passions', fulfils the function of food in the Sadean city, when it is used to 'restore, poison, fatten and evacuate' (Szogyi 104).[45] Joyce used such pornographic material to flesh out details of personal psychology and to assist in extended characterization, according to Richard Brown (133).

Brillat-Savarin also pays attention to the method of brewing coffee, and he digresses into a meditation on mechanisation and the disadvantages of milling coffee beans which may reduce them to a mere dust. In preference, he advocates the action of

[44] Brenda Maddox tells us that Joyce went so far as to persuade Nora to defecate while he lay under her and watched (139).
[45] Chocolate imagery in avant-garde art was prevalent at the time Joyce was writing, especially in Tristan Tzara's *Dada Manisfesto 1918*. Joyce would have seen the large sign for chocolate over the building of the Gallery Dada in Zurich, advertising Lindt and Sprungli Chocolate (Szogyi 94).

a wooden pestle and mortar over a grinding mill (114). Barthes, whilst initially drawing attention to Brillat-Savarin's love of the artisan over the industrial in food production, calls this his 'nostalgia for the natural' (256). In Barthes' Introduction to *The Physiology* he concludes by drawing attention to the period in which Brillat-Savarin was writing, which was at the beginning of a 'double postulation of History, or … Ideology'. By this he means that there was an opposition between industrial developments and their considered improvements, and an idealised 'symbolic adventure' of aesthetics, which he still found at play when he was writing in 1975. This pre-empts the writing of present day food historians, such as Rachel Laudan, who argue that 'Culinary Luddism' by those who scorn industrialized food, is not just about taste but about the privilege of being able to afford a moral and political standpoint. Natural or pre-industrial food she says, was not better, but was often rank, tough, sour or bitter, and was the cause of an unequal division between the rich and the poor (n/p).

The ferment of gossip or revolution that accompanied coffee or tea drinking in the coffee houses of Europe was not replicated in the cabman's shelter or the 'Coffee Palace' where Molly sometimes sang, but is an antithesis to the Paris from which Stephen has recently returned. Again, Joyce is drawing on Brillat-Savarin's text to make an underlying comparison between European and Dublin society. The Dublin establishments are not sophisticated, they are as 'antediluvian' as the stale buns provided for customers (578).

Brillat-Savarin next turns his attention to truffles, or 'the diamond of the kitchen'. He writes, 'whosoever pronounces the word *truffle* gives voice to one which awakens erotic and gastronomical dreams equally in the sex that wears skirts and the one that sprouts a beard' (102). In his meditation on 'The Erotic properties of Truffles', Brillat-Savarin describes a truffle as being a tuber that is not only delicious to the taste

but is accompanied by giving the deepest pleasure. He comments on how truffles were so expensive in his day that they were only seen on the tables of the 'highest nobility or the best-paid whores', but that now, thanks to 'merchants of fine edibles' they became more readily available (103). In *Ulysses*, Bloom says that he will have to try buying truffles in Andrew's, if he is to get them anywhere at all (494). Andrews was a high-end Dublin food store in Dame Street that catered to the gentry living in the suburbs (Farmar 87). The olives on Bloom's dresser (in 'Ithaca') also come from Andrew's, indicating that they were indeed 'merchants of fine edibles'.

Brillat-Savarin explains how he believes that the appeal of the truffle is related to its 'contribution to sexual pleasures' (104). After a little experiment, he concludes that '[t]he truffle is not a positive aphrodisiac; but it can, in certain situations, make 'women tenderer and men more agreeable' (106). The French Perigord Truffle is the fruiting body of the fungus tuber melanosporum that forms a symbiotic relationship with the roots of oak trees. The edible portion, the black truffle, is rooted for by pigs and harvested in the winter. These black truffles are highly prized and sought after by chefs and food lovers all over the world.

In *Ulysses* the truffles are also identified as coming from Perigord (485). In the 'Circe' episode, the ghost of Virag, Bloom's father, declares, '[t]hose succulent bivalves [oysters] may help us and the truffles of Perigord, tubers dislodged through mister omnivorous porker, were unsurpassed in cases of nervous debility or viragitis' (485)[46]. In one short pronouncement he draws attention to the link between oysters and truffles as aphrodisiacs, the Circean link with pigs, and the ambiguous gender roles of Bella Cohen and Bloom. When Bella commands Bloom, who has changed sex, to tie

[46] Viragitis is defined by Krafft-Ebing as being a condition where a woman behaves like a man (Parkes 97). It is also a play on Virag's name.

up her shoe laces, Bloom shouts 'Truffles!' and '[w]ith a piercing epileptic cry [she] sinks on all fours, grunting, snuffling, rooting at [his] feet …', like a pig after truffles (498).

Whilst ascertaining that the best truffles come from Périgord, Brillat-Savarin mentions that the truffles found in Piedmont taste of garlic. Bloom, leaving The Burton Hotel in disgust, thinks, not for the first time in the day, about the killing of animals for food. 'After all' he says, 'there's a lot in that vegetarian fine flavour or things from the earth garlic, of course, it stinks Italian organ grinders crisp of onions, mushrooms truffles' (163).

Brillat-Savarin concludes that one of the reasons that the truffle is easy to digest is because it is easy to chew. Joyce's recurring use of the word chew and the (in)digestible motif of his text are aspects of this tuber that would have appealed to him. In this meditation (or chewing over) of truffles I find direct links, in both Brillat-Savarin and Joyce, between tubers, potatoes, brothels, and aphrodisiacs. Digestion is also a unifying feature. To emphasise the ease of digesting truffles, Brillat-Savarin tells an anecdote of a man who did not chew a truffle properly. When it was almost whole it was 'precipitated into the chasm of his throat; digestive action carried it as far as the pyloris, where it stuck', and the unpleasantness was only remedied by expulsion of the morsel (108). Indigestion, says Brillat-Savarin, comes to those who stuff themselves with food, as if they are ramming heavy artillery. Constables and their truncheons are not quite as forceful an image as ramming heavy artillery, but Joyce uses this military vocabulary in the following passage from 'Lestrygonians': '[a] squad of constables debouched from College street, marching in Indian file. Goosestep. Foodheated faces, sweating helmets patting their truncheons' (154). Adding, that the 'best moment to attack one is pudding time. A punch in his dinner'. When the constables make their way

to the barracks they are 'bound for their troughs. Prepare to receive cavalry. Prepare to receive soup' (154).

In 'Circe' Zoe feels in Bloom's back pocket and extracts 'a black shrivelled potato' (450). Stuart Gilbert says this is a literal recall of the black root of moly (283). In *The Odyssey* moly is the charmed plant that Hermes gave to Odysseus as a talisman against Circe's wiles. It is described as black rooted, white flowered and hard for mortal man to dig. Gilbert thinks it could be opium, most readers think it is a potato, perhaps it is a truffle. The potato talisman – can't leave home without it – appearing as it does again in 'Circe', is conflated or linked to the aphrodisiac truffle and the Homeric moly, binary facets of the episode in Bella Cohen's bordello, in which Bloom's mission is to save Stephen from the prostitutes' wiles, and the prostitutes' task is to seduce their clientele. The German word 'Kartoffel' for potato is derived from the Italian 'Tartufo' meaning truffle. Is the potato talisman in *Ulysses* really a truffle? The two are linked in many passages.[47]

Any banquet of importance begins with oysters, according to Brillat-Savarin (98), although, he says, oysters have very little nourishment and he does not associate them with being an aphrodisiac. However, both Bloom and Molly attribute sexual prowess to the 'unsightly' molluscs. In 'Lestrygonians' Bloom calls them filthy shells that feed on sewage, whilst recalling that they do have an 'effect on the sexual' (166). Molly says that Boylan 'must have eaten [a few dozen] oysters' when she recalls that he had a great singing voice and [his manhood] a great size, as thick as a crowbar, when he was in her boudoir that afternoon (694).

[47] Arthur Power reports that Joyce told him he had once met Proust at a literary dinner. 'When we were introduced all he said to me was: "Do you like truffles?" "Yes" I replied, "I am very fond of truffles"' (91).

M.F.K. Fisher concurs that the oyster has a reputation for being 'one of the best' aphrodisiacs (175). In 1941 she wrote a gastronomical work called *Consider the Oyster*. In it she says that the oyster leads a dreadful but exciting life. 'Almost any normal oyster never knows from one year to the next whether he is a he or a she and may start at any moment, after the first year, to lay eggs where before he spends his sexual energies in being exceptionally masculine' (125). She also says that one-day maternal longings will surge between his two valves – and he will become a she (127). The oyster is therefore an appropriate analogy for Bloom who, in 'Circe', has gender conflicts and feels the desire to give birth. Roland Barthes' analysis of the text can also be compared to an oyster which is a 'filter feeder', meaning that water taken in through the gills is strained, so that 'diatoms and peridia' (algae and fungi) become their food. Barthes often uses the metaphor of 'filtering' words to catch the sediment of their meaning (*Semiotic* 7).

Brillat-Savarin also writes about dreams, and the relationship between dreams and food. Whilst recognising that 'dreams are unilateral impressions which come to the mind without the aid of exterior objects' (223), he is critical of scientists who have not yet carried out a deep analysis into the meaning of dreams. He makes several unsubstantiated and unscientific assumptions about fluid being transmitted to the brain, suggesting that due to digestion and assimilation of food continuing during sleep, this fluid is topped up and produces less intense daytime images. Predating Freud and his work on dreams, he says he knows of 'no psychologist who has bothered with this' (224). 'No matter how fantastic may seem the ideas which come to us in dreams, we must nevertheless admit if we look closely at them that they are nothing but recollections or combinations of them', he says, and continues, 'I am tempted to say that dreams are no more than the memory of the senses. Their strangeness consists solely in the fact that the association of these ideas is an unusual one, since it is beyond

the laws of chronology, of social usages, and of time the net result in the last analysis is that no man has ever dreamed of what was totally unknown to him' (225). This chapter of Brillat-Savarin's would have been useful to Joyce with its naïve explanation of dreams which complimented the imagery that he required for 'Circe', where everything that happens to Bloom is based on the 'facts' of his life. Brillat-Savarin's assertion that '[t]he most sensual ideas are nothing compared with the anguish we may experience if we dream of losing a beloved child…' (224), may be responsible for the appearance in 'Circe' of Bloom's son Rudy, who died in childhood. Bloom, who has spent much of the day thinking about this lost child is rewarded with a fleeting vision of him in the strange dream-like world of 'Circe' (565).

Brillat-Savarin's contemplation of dreams inevitably leads to his meditation on the influence of the diet on rest, sleep and dreams. 'Whether sleeping or dreaming, man is still under the laws of nutrition that cannot escape the empire of gastronomy' (235) he says, although he believes that some foods lead to sleep and others to dream. Foods that lead to sleep, according to Brillat-Savarin, are milky puddings, lettuce, poultry, purslane, orange flower water and dessert apples. Foods that make us dream are red meat, pigeons, duck, venison, hare, asparagus, celery, truffles and highly flavoured candies and vanilla. This conjecture by Brillat-Savarin that certain foods lead to dreaming may have prompted Joyce to establish coded messages within food. It is interesting to note that the most numerous mentions of these dreaming foods are in 'Nausicaa', and therefore associated with Gerty MacDowell. Indeed, Joyce told Budgen that 'Nausicaa' was written in a 'namby pamby jammy marmalady drawersy style' (*Letters 1* 135)

Brillat-Savarin talks about the flourishing art of cookery during Louis XV's reign. Queen Anne was a great lover of the pleasures of the table, and English recipe

books that contained instructions on how to conform to the 'Queen's method' were popular (302). In *Ulysses* Gerty McDowell makes a Queen Anne's pudding (337). Gerty is as neat and proud of her baking skills as the women Brillat-Savarin has noticed busying themselves in their homes, where part of the duties of hospitality is in the kitchen. Under their 'pretty fingers', he says, 'dishes suffered amazing changes' (298), which Fisher says in her notes are a 'culinary atrocity' suggested by 'women's magazines' (310). Brillat-Savarin was alluding to the ornamentation that was becoming popular for edible centrepieces for the dining table, and not unlike the views that Barthes held in his 1975 essay on 'Ornamental Cookery' in *Mythologies* (78). Barthes drew attention to the way in which food illustrated in magazines created a 'fairyland reality' that precluded the real problem of how to pay for it. Joyce is surely making this inference too as Gerty is only learning these baking skills in order to catch a husband who will provide the means for a perceived genteel lifestyle.

Two pamphlets written by Freud can be found in Joyce's Trieste library. Joyce was more *au fait* with Freud's psychoanalytic interpretation of dreams than he admitted, adding that his reading of Vico had shown him that Freud's ideas had actually been anticipated much earlier (Ellmann 340). But Joyce was certainly interested in dreams and on occasion would get Nora to write hers down. 'All the sins of Bloom's past rise to complete his degradation' says Budgen, of the dream-like 'Circe' (248). Elizabeth Fritz in her Freudian interpretation of 'Circe' suggests that there are two choices, either to regard the fantasies as dreams and explain them as a manifestation of the dreamer's preoccupation, or see the whole chapter as the author's dream. Vladimir Nabokov dismisses the Freudian interpretation of dreams and sees 'Circe' as the author's hallucination (350). Whereas Brillat-Savarin maintained that for some people sleep is 'an existence apart, more like a prolonged novel' (237).

The 'Lestrygonians' episode, the one most overtly shaped by Brillat-Savarin's work, appropriately ends with Bloom's visit to the library, his mission to see if the statues of Greek goddesses have anal orifices. As Brillat-Savarin comes close to the end of his book, he discusses the introduction of restaurants,[48] their advantages, and the necessity of having toilets or 'inconveniences' within them.[49] Greedy stomachs and poor digestion make it necessary to 'sacrifice[s] … to the least worthy of the Venuses' he says (317). *Vénus infîme* is the word used in the original French text, but as the translator points out, the more classical term would be 'Venus Cloaca.'[50] Brillat-Savarin wrote, 'I believe that men of letters more often than not owe the style in which they have chosen to write to the state of their bowels' (175). Not only did Joyce write 'Lestrygonians' in a peristaltic style, but he also had an overriding interest in bowel movements. H. G. Wells accused Joyce of having a 'cloacal obsession' (Budgen 108). 'We could classify novels according to the frankness of their alimentary allusions' writes Barthes, because 'the alimentary detail goes beyond signification, it is the enigmatic supplement of meaning' (*Sade* 124). If it is true, as mentioned earlier, that mythological women do not eat but only serve food, then they would be pure of any digestive activity and have no need to defecate. This idea is related to Bloom's intention to visit the museum to investigate whether goddesses have anal orifices (168 and 174). The shapely curve of the bar in Davy Byrne's gives rise to Bloom's contemplation of the mechanics of digestion and reminds him of his mission.

[48] Brillat-Savarin was the first to point out what made a restaurant: the supply of business at a moment's notice, a fixed price to suit the customer, a menu and a bill.
[49] Arthur Power reports that Joyce was 'fanatical' about the relative merits of restaurants and that a bad meal could sour his temper (125).
[50] Fisher argues that Brillat-Savarin is making a connection between 'excretory purposes' and forms of love (*Physiology* 322).

In 1904 Bloom thinks that there 'ought to be places for women' to go [to the toilet], so that they did not have to be 'running into cakeshops' (155). Finn's Hotel, where Nora was working when Joyce first met her, advertised that they offered 'hot and cold luncheons, ladies tearooms and a private sitting room' ('Ghost Signs', *Irish Times,* November 15th 2014); and department stores, like Clery's, as they became more popular, also provided facilities for women.

Joyce was like a magpie; he was confident that what he needed for his book would somehow materialize and come from all quarters (Budgen 247). Michael Groden suggests that Joyce was as much influenced by what happened to him in Trieste and Zurich as what he had left behind in Ireland, and Ellmann draws attention to how much of the material found in the books in the Trieste library feeds directly into the text of *Ulysses*. Scholars and students are able to look at the many manuscripts that are now available to see how Joyce operated, and it is possible to date his additions and changes. Michael Groden has written at length on how Joyce's ideas changed from the real to the symbolic as his writing of *Ulysses* progressed and how he updated *Ulysses* to conform to the Homeric schema (183). In Chapter Four I examine in more closely some of the eighty alimentary allusions that Groden identifies were added to 'Lestrygonians' (197). That Joyce used Brillat-Savarin's *Physiology of Taste* is therefore a distinct possibility, not only because of the importance of food, but because of the close attention to the function of digestion and the way in which Brillat-Savarin looked at the human body as a well-oiled machine.

Roland Barthes's work as a semiotician, and his Introduction to *The Physiology of Taste,* are useful means through which to appreciate the underlying function of food in *Ulysses*. Barthes and Brillat-Savarin exhibit a similar love of language and taking pleasure from a text. When Barthes references Brillat-Savarin's meticulous use of

language and how his words stimulate the desires of taste and appetite, he comments on how he would begin to feel hungry anytime he was reading Brillat-Savarin's book, attesting to the power of the words. What is the intention of food writing he asks? Can one experience desire and write about it at the same time? Barthes was a food writer himself; his books about travelling in China and Japan are replete with food details, and the significance of cultural and social manners and rituals. 'The game of food is explicit with signs and functions, [it is] a highly coded method of communication' he observes. He compares Brillat-Savarin's very practical approach to food with the work of a writer such as de Sade whose use of food is more symbolic (*Sade* 124). This is not to diminish Brillat-Savarin who uses 'one of the most important formal categories of modernity, that of the sequence of phenomena' (250). Brillat-Savarin uses this sequential method when describing the taste of champagne or the stages of digestion, in a similar way that a language or narrative might develop a meaning that progresses from its initial intention. Joyce uses this same sequential method when he describes Bloom tasting a glass of Burgundy or Molly chewing seed cake.

When Barthes draws attention to Brillat-Savarin's use of the mythological figure Cadmus, cook to the King of Sidon, he is recognising the gastronomical link between writing and cooking, and how the tongue is used for both taste and speech (257). Gustatory nostalgia based on a food memory develops a meaning that intervenes with the present. Barthes, noting that Brillat-Savarin has the 'luxury' of being able to eat for pleasure, and not out of nutritional necessity, regards this privilege as a type of 'perversion'. Brillat-Savarin's premise that if a good meal does not arouse sexual desire it is as reprehensible as having sex without procreating, is in direct conflict with Bloom who after masturbating is only left with the smell of celery sauce on his fingers (358),

an activity that Barthes calls 'the exercise of desire which serves no purpose' (*Rustle* 251).[51]

Brillat-Savarin's attention to language is not only that of a cook but of the linguistically curious, says Barthes. Brillat-Savarin enjoys using local idioms in the same way that Joyce does, and if they concern food so much the better. But it is Brillat-Savarin's classification of the tongue's movements as it participates in chewing that impresses Barthes. As a structuralist he recognises that Brillat-Savarin deals with food in the same way that a phonetician deals with vocality. He believes that Brillat-Savarin's desire for words is as strong as his desire for a truffle, or a tuna omelette, and that his greed for new words is a strong as his greed as a *gourmand*.

Barthes concludes that Brillat-Savarin's almost 'modern synthesis of dietetics and gastronomy' has the spurious advantage that 'at least a literature has been founded', meaning, that books are at least being written even if they combine the art of food with recipes for cooking (*Rustle* 261).

A close reading of these two texts by Joyce and Brillat-Savarin clearly show parallels between them. In *Ulysses,* the majority of the similarities occur in 'Lestrygonians', leading one to conjecture that Joyce cannibalized Brillat-Savarin's work for this chapter pertaining to the modern day 'cannibals' of life. In this chapter I have shown where wholesale phrases have been borrowed, ideas built upon, and comparable alimentary thoughts recycled, from Brillat-Savarin's work into Joyce's text. Barthes's reading of Brillat-Savarin's text, often in the vein of his *Mythologies*, facilitates the semiotic and symbolic interpretations applied to the correspondences I make between Joyce's *Ulysses* and Brillat-Savarin's *Physiology,* and the way in which

[51] In his library Joyce had a book by Augustin Galopin called *Le Parfum de la femme* in which the smell of the onanist is described as being like rancid butter (Brown 53).

Bloom is overlaid by characteristics from Brillat-Savarin. Brillat-Savarin's pleasure in all things gastronomical is interrogated at every level. The many aphorisms, meditations and well thought out but unscientific hypotheses, are appealing characteristics for Bloom, Joyce's urban adventurer, who has an enquiring mind about the world around him, whilst living in it as humanely as possible.

The encyclopaedic nature of Brillat-Savarin's book, says Barthes, means that he can successfully introduce all the social and human sciences through a discourse of food. Joyce's *Ulysses*, especially 'Ithaca', is also encyclopaedic and serves the same purpose, bringing together meta-languages of physiology, chemistry, geography, history, economics, sociology and politics (269). 'Gastronomy is the knowledge of all that relates to man, insofar as he subsists on food' says Brillat-Savarin in his opening chapter.

Finally, Brillat-Savarin discusses death: not usually the material of a *bon vivant* says Barthes, who views Brillat-Savarin's discourse on death as bordering on the trivial. But Joyce manages to capture this frivolous tone in Bloom's observations at the cemetery on such subjects as installing telephones in coffins, corpses as meals for rats, and his amusement at the advertisement for *Plumtree's Potted Meat* being mistakenly listed under the *Obituaries*. These are in keeping with Brillat-Savarin's suggestion that sugar, should be used for embalming in the same way as it is used for preserving, candying and bottling (112). While Bloom is contemplating how all the corpses in Glasnevin would make good compost, his eyes fall upon the caretaker's prosperous bulk and he thinks how he, the caretaker, would make a 'well preserved fat corpse, gentleman, epicure, invaluable for fruit garden' (104). The words 'preserved corpse' linked to the words 'gentleman' and 'epicure' seem to make a direct relationship with Brillat-Savarin and his persona. Joyce is known to have acknowledged (or rewarded)

help that he received in composition by giving the donor some small mention in his texts, and here Joyce appears to be crediting the man who gave him so much food-for-thought in his meditations on gastronomy. The image of Brillat-Savarin tending his graveyard-garden is embalmed forever in the pages of *Ulysses*.

CHAPTER THREE

What Food says about Leopold Bloom

'Know me come eat with me' – Leopold Bloom

In *Ulysses*, breakfasts bookend Bloom's waking and his falling asleep; his day is mapped out by meals and food. Food defines Bloom: his humanity and compassion; his doubts and insecurities; his aspirations and his fantasies; but above all his principles and political beliefs. Before moving on to a more in-depth culinary-based analysis, I will give a brief chronological summary of Bloom's movements (and thoughts) drawing attention to his relationship with food, on June 16th 1904.

'Know me come eat with me' (167) Bloom beckons, and we do. From burnt kidneys in 'Calypso' to cannibalism in 'Lotus-Eaters', corpses and cheese in 'Hades' are followed by the food-bloated chapter of 'Lestrygonians'. The corporality of the clergy, Bloom's aversion to men and meat, his recourse to a cheese sandwich, and his erotic memories of shared seed-cake spittle on Howth Hill, are all in this episode. The interlude of 'Wandering Rocks' draws together some extra-circumstantial events that are necessary to appreciate preceding and proceeding events, such as Boylan's seduction food-hamper, and thus to 'Sirens'. Here, at last, in the Ormond Hotel, Bloom has a good square meal in the loneliness of company, subsiding into melancholia at the thought of his lost infant son, his father taken by suicide, his faltering marriage and an unconsummated love-affair, all represented and embodied in the last sardine, left languishing under the sandwich dome. Although 'Cyclops' begins with a description of the recently built Corporation vegetable market, this episode is very much about orality and the barflies in Barney Kiernan's public house, the main consumption being words and bile, bringing Bloom into conflict with the Citizen. The latter prompts Bloom to espouse his Jewishness, and cultural identification with Christ, Mendelssohn and

Marx, leading to his eventual evacuation from the pub by an assault with a vacuous biscuit tin. In 'Nausicaa' he must recover and regain some semblance of self-respect only to be excited by a titillating glimpse of knickers. He masturbates into a handkerchief accompanied by the noise of shrieking fireworks (celebrating patriarchal colonialism) whilst Gerty, the subject of his arousal, is fantasising about the domestic comforts she would provide for Bloom if he was her husband. The home Bloom would like, his home of 'ultimate ambition', is an eponymously named Cottage, at Saint Leopold's, Flowerville, which has parallels with Gerty's vision of 'hominess' (337).[52] In 'Circe', all the foods of the day come back to haunt and assault him, beginning with a barrage of cabbage stalks (545). He arrives at the brothel breathless, with a stitch in his side, his pockets crammed with the edible hands and feet of animals, and a bar of chocolate. Exhausted and spent, he rescues Stephen and they repair to a temperance coffee hut provided for the sustenance of late-night cabmen, where they buy stale buns and drink inedible coffee, later rescinded by cocoa and a secular communion of minds in Bloom's actual home in Eccles Street. Alongside the remains of the lovers' feast, the pantry items on the dresser are itemised by Bloom, testifying to a distillation of his material life (and past) amongst the dishes of sour milk and fresh steak. As Bloom climbs into bed he compares Molly's buttocks to melons, and her breasts to pears. Molly, teetering on the edge of sleep from post-coital drowsiness is reminded of past events in her life that link sex to food, and food to Bloom. She reimagines many of her

[52] Jeri Johnson argues that Gerty is in fact the object of this narrative, not its subject. If her thoughts are indeed Bloom's fantasy, then this extends to what Bloom would like her to cook, for she prides herself on her goldenbrown griddlecakes and queen Ann's pudding of delightful creaminess (337). Bloom may well fantasise about 'that feeling of hominess' that Gerty could provide, for we discover later that Molly thinks shop-bought cakes are the height of sophistication, especially if they are artificially coloured and sweetened (731). Bloom has apparently tried to encourage Molly's domesticity by buying her an apron, but she has, by her own admission, only worn it twice (730). In 'Circe' Bloom, playing the role of indulgent father, brings cakes in his pocket and pokes Baby Boardman gently in the stomach (459), the nick-name Poldy linking him to the incident where husband and wife laugh together over tea with bread and butter in the DBC (696).

sexual encounters through the language of food, and circuitously returns to Bloom, with her reminiscence of the shared seed-cake, and her present feigned outrage at Bloom's request for breakfast in bed on the morrow.

Now I will examine in more detail what food says about Leopold Bloom, and this will inevitably lead to an investigation of the commodity culture of the time. How the food is produced and consumed and by whom, is a code for a larger mapping of the city and how it works as 'an epic of the body', in the way Joyce intended (Budgen 21). Bloom, in selling advertising space for the *Freeman's Journal*, is particularly well placed to give a commentary on some of the more contemporary products of the day, such as Epp's Cocoa, Plumtree's Potted Meat, East India Tea and Neave's baby food.[53] Processed and mass-produced foods such as these are a sign of the development and progress of Irish consumerism. But as Barthes would suggest in his *Mythologies*, and we examined in previous chapters, he engages very specifically with mass culture, advertising and consumption, and suggests that a certain cynicism should accompany our understanding of the way in which these products are presented, and we should be aware of the signs that are encoded within them. Unfortunately we have no direct analysis of Joyce by Barthes, which makes the Brillat-Savarin 'bridge' in the previous chapter such an important tool. Barthes' methodology is a way in which to extract all possible meaning by using a culinary analysis of *Ulysses*. This chapter on Bloom and what food says about him, pays homage to the mediation that Barthes offers, through his 'Psychology of Food Consumption' and other writings, discussed in Chapter One.

If we are indeed what we eat, as Brillat-Savarin proposes, we should take stock of Bloom's physical appearance before examining the semiotics of the food he eats.

[53] Prices of these items can be found in *Findlater's* 1904 price list (Findlater 541).

How does Bloom see himself, and the effect that food is having on him? At various times he pinches his flesh, he looks at his naked torso in the bath, he owns a Sandow exercise machine specifically designed for commercial men engaged in sedentary occupation, he orders a colonical device for flatulence, he flirts with vegetarianism and he has heard about a popular method of chewing introduced by American Horace Fletcher, the 'great masticator' (Maud Ellmann 8). He wholly embraces a fascination with the body, a popular European fashion at the time.[54]

What Bloom has to say about his own physical appearance is not always in keeping with how others see him or even what the scales reflect (621 and 679). He is 38 years old, 5' 9½" (176.5 cm) tall, and 11 stone 4 1bs (71.8 kg) in weight. In 1904 the life expectancy for a lower middle class Irish man was 48,[55] which may explain some of Bloom's apprehension of his waning years in which to become a father again. Yet he is taller and less heavy than his average compatriots. In the 'Wanted' poster he describes himself as being a 'gent about 40' of 'full build' and 'olive complexion' (679). In 'Cyclops' he is described as 'lardy' and in 'Circe' 'revealing obesity'. He believes that lack of exercising affects his mood since he has lapsed from carrying out his Sandow exercises (59). His thigh measurements are 'comically disproportioned' in size to the rest of his body, which is probably what causes the newspaper boys to laugh behind his back at the way he walks,[56] and the driver of the sandstrewer to yell at Bloom, 'Hey, shitbreeches, are you doing the hat trick?' (414). [57] The distance he

[54] The desirability of physical fitness spawned health movements in Germany, Sweden, France, Scotland, England, Czechoslovakia and Poland from 1810 to 1867: 'everywhere in Europe people seemed to develop a fitness culture rooted in their ethnic or national identity' (Erwan le Corre, 'History of Physical Fitness' *www.artofmanliness.com*). Many of these regimes evolved from Valente calls a 'fin de siècle military-imperialistic ideal of manliness' (5).
[55] Kevin G Kinsella, 'Changes in Life Expectancy 1900 -1990' in McClung.
[56] The boys are 'taking off his flat spaugs and the walk. Small nines' (125). Spaug is a pejorative term applied to humans to mean paw or limb of an animal, possibly like a 'club-foot'.
[57] Stuart Gilbert points out that this would have given him a physical resemblance to Homer's Odysseus who was short and sturdy with thick thighs.

walks on June 16th is nearly nine miles, and the small amount of calories he imbibes (1200 kcals) would not have sustained him for long, but proves that he had stamina if not aerobic fitness.[58] He gets a stitch in his side running to Cormack's Corner and Talbot Street, 'flushed, panting, cramming bread and chocolate into a side pocket' (412); Bloom gasps, heaving for breath, 'Stitch in my side. Why did I run?' (413). Bloom struggles to maintain an image of youthfulness and stamina, an indication of manliness represented, says Joseph Valente (123) by a robust 'animal spirit' or *thumos*.

To begin again, at 8 o'clock on this Thursday morning in June, Bloom is preparing breakfast (53). The fastidious preparation of the tray, or the 'righting' of it, suggests that Bloom has a psychic balance, an equilibrium and a stability that shows itself when it comes to seeing both sides of an issue (Osteen 72). We will see that this is indeed the case when Bloom responds to human altercation by counterbalancing his food choices, raw/cooked, meat/non-meat etc. Bloom's careful preparations extend to his respect for food; he eats carefully, avoids waste, and never eats too fast or unthinkingly. The 'humpy' tray is arranged with precision and in his attention to detail he yields to Molly's requirements. What she wants and the way in which he provides it indicates a symbiosis between them that sometimes Bloom forgets. Is Bloom uxorious or does he suffer from what Declan Kiberd calls a 'silent marriage'?[59] Molly has memories of laughing with Poldy over tea with bread and butter in the DBC [60] (696), and despite her admonishments of 'scald the teapot' and 'something's burning', this is

[58] See Jeff McClung, 'The Physical fitness of Leopold Bloom' in *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science,* vol. 2, no. 2, 2012.
[59] Kiberd discusses this concept in *Ulysses and Us* (83) and in his 'Introduction' to *Ulysses* (lii). See also Peter Kuch in *Irish Divorce/Joyce's Ulysses* where he claims that Bloom's motive for giving Molly breakfast in bed is manipulative and amassing evidence for divorce purposes (209).
[60] Dublin Bakery Company. In 'Wandering Rocks' Mulligan tell Haines they call it the DBC 'because they have damn bad cakes' (238). The DBC was a popular haunt for young nationalists and was later bombed in the 1916 rising (Foster 64).

a scene of domestic understanding, where Bloom is happy to be near her bed-warmed flesh, ostensibly to pick up her discarded undergarments, but in reality to try and see the letter she has from Boylan, and to answer her questions on metempsychosis. Only when she smells burning does he scuttle back to the kitchen (60).[61]

Bloom talks to his cat as he lays up the tray for Molly's breakfast in bed. The cat is his audience and he tries to see himself through the cat's eyes. 'Wonder what I look like to her' he thinks, as she looks at *him* (53). How others see him will come to concern him throughout the day. This cat is the first of many mirrors in which he seeks to see himself reflected. His empathy differentiates him from others, but it is also the way in which people react to him that makes him feel an outsider. When Bloom watches other people eating he judges them, for instance his disgust is provoked by the 'gobby' men in the Burton who eat like animals (161); or when he sees George Russell (AE) coming out of the Vegetarian Restaurant on College Green, and he wonders if 'that kind of food produces poetical waves of the brain' (158); or he assumes that one 'couldn't squeeze a line of poetry' out of one of those Irish-stew eating constables (158). Having made these assumptions, he knows that others will make their assessment of him too, some of them based on the food he chooses to eat. Retreating from the Burton, Bloom asks, 'Am I like that? See ourselves as others see us' (161 and repeated on 358). Because Bloom uses food as a signifier about other people it is appropriate that we should do the same thing about him. He eats the inner organs of beasts and fowls with relish (53), he feels remorse for disrespecting Jewish dietary rules (676), although in point of fact he never set out to buy a pork-kidney; it was only happenstance that the weather and the day of the week impacted on his choice. Mutton kidneys are

[61] Later, Bloom thinks to himself 'Smell of burn' (258), when he is listening to Simon Dedalus and others discussing Molly, and he himself is being served with liver and bacon.

what he likes best, with their 'fine tang of faintly scented urine' (53). This may be indicative that he has unusual tastes, but it was more common than cheese eating amongst working-class Dubliners at that time; indeed 'the odour of offal hangs around my stories' as Joyce wrote to Grant Richards (*Letters I*, 64).[62]

Bloom's craving for home-cooked fare, sometimes twice in the same day, appears to give him a sense of security. When he is home alone he can satisfy his desire for 'home rule' in his own house,[63] or at least some form of passive assertiveness. Bloom is happy when he is at home, and paradoxically its insularity proves to be where he is most sociable. The kitchen is his domain and far from emasculating him it is where he is able to exercise authority. Having the kitchen to himself is also a convenient way to have private time, to consider the day ahead, or before going to bed to reflect on the past.

When Bloom sees milk and bread being delivered by horse-drawn delivery vehicles, he likes to think up practical (rather than scientific) innovations, and one of these is a scheme for using dog-vans and goat-vans for the delivery of early morning milk (671), which would be environmentally friendly, and the manure could be used for fertilising the garden. He very often has these thoughts when he is 'reclining in a state of supine repletion to aid digestion' (635). His appetite for eating is not only nutritive, since food-related matters always seem to tweak his curiosity and make him wonder about, for instance, the taste of exotic fruits and where they come from, or how they are grown and transported. Bloom is aware of the economic ramifications of imperialism regarding the commodity culture of his time and although he knows that

[62] See also references to, 'Bucket of offal' (68); 'Imagine trying to eat tripe and cowheel' (69); and 'Butcher's buckets of wobbly lights, cauls, mouldy tripes, windpipes faked and minced up' (163).
[63] 'The home without potted meat is incomplete' says Bloom in 'Circe' (424), and Bella Cohen reiterates this when she says, 'Where's your curly teapot gone…. can you do a man's job?' and later, 'there's a man of brawn in possession there [Eccles Street]' (506).

the ‘best beef’ is being shipped to Britain he is also eager to experience new foods and to smell, touch and taste them all.

At the very outset, the city is an integral part of *Ulysses*, as it is navigated by Bloom. Joyce’s art in ‘Lestrygonians’, according to his Schema, is architecture, but it is what is housed within these buildings that matter to Bloom: the city needs consumers, consumers need to eat, and eating establishments carry on businesses in buildings designed by architects. Bloom describes Dublin as a ‘Cityful passing away, other cityful coming, passing away too. Other coming on, passing on. Houses, lines of houses, streets, miles of pavements, piled up bricks, stones. Changing hands. This owner, that. Landlord never dies they say … Built on bread and onions. …Kerwin’s mushroom houses built of breeze’ (157). Using food-related metaphors, Bloom reflects that time eats history, discarding the old, which spawns the new, and yet the ghost of the old buildings is within the modern city, symbolising the Victorian patriarchy that will linger on in the lives of the inhabitants.[64] Similarly, Bloom, as he walks the streets, is the extant link between his own father and son, their memories and their filial duties intertwined. It is Bloom’s dream of the greater utopian city of ‘Bloomusalem’ (‘built in the shape of a huge pork kidney’ 458), and the appearance of his son Rudy, that occur almost simultaneously, that point towards the birth of a new city that is yet to come. The new city, is the progeny of the old city; a place driven by a new workforce that is involved both in the production of food, as well as eating it. Processed and packaged foods will be one outcome of this societal development.

As Bloom traverses the city, the smells that assail him as he passes the shops on the street are of food: ‘ginger, tea dust, biscuit mush’ alongside the ‘flabby gush of porter’ (56). He would also be able to smell hops and barley from the Guinness

[64] The rubble of these buildings is analogous with defecation, says Burgess (123).

factory at St. James's Gate, and rich baking from Jacob's biscuit factory in Bishop Street, mingling with the smell of manure from the horse-drawn delivery vans (Farmar 87). Later, when Bloom is thinking what it must be like to be blind, he wonders if each street has a different smell.[65]

Bloom often associates edible meat, or animal parts, with people, especially in a sexual context. Dlugacz the Polish butcher has 'sausage pink fingers' (57) and his description of the shop window emphasises the significance of window displays which were becoming increasingly important as a way to display and sell wares. In the window hang 'hanks of sausages, polones, black and white' and 'a kidney oozed bloodgouts on the willow patterned dish' (57). The food on display foregrounds the commodification that includes young women, such as the barmaids in 'Sirens', who are on display behind the counter of the Ormond Hotel (McCracken 54).

Bloom admires the buxom proportions of the 'next door girl', who is in the queue ahead of him at the butcher's shop, and fantasises about her being a dominatrix, because he has been watching her beating the carpet hanging on the clothesline, her skirt swinging with each whack. He waits to follow her home so he can watch her moving thighs which he describes as 'hams', and his erotic thoughts wander from the moist tender gland (the kidney), to the girl's courtship with a constable who has a 'prime sausage' (57). 'They like them sizeable' he thinks, as he now imagines a scene where the same girl coyly moans, 'oh please Mr Policeman I'm lost in the wood.' This physicality and dramatic imagining will be fully realised during his dream or hallucination-like experiences that take place in 'Circe', the brothel episode that occurs later in the evening.

[65] The words 'each street different smell' is omitted from the Oxford version of *Ulysses* (note 825).

The meat is wrapped in cut newspaper sheets, one of which has an advertisement to invest in a communal farm venture in Kennereth in Palestine. Bloom reads it and imagines a place in the East, growing and exporting exotic citrus fruits such as oranges and lemons as well as melons, almonds and olives, suggesting to him what it must have been like in Szombathely, in the Hungarian Empire, where his father was born (58). 'Orientalism' was popular in literature at this time,[66] and Bloom has a genuine desire to know what these foreign lands are like. Would the people look different? he asks himself, and he imagines turbaned faces and carpet shops, mosques and awned streets, a violet night sky, inevitably the colour of Molly's garters. Later this Oriental imagery is remembered in a dream that he recounts of Molly wearing slippers, but something in it puzzles him, and he confuses pyjamas with loose Turkish trousers, thinking that she is wearing breeches, and exudes a disturbingly erotic masculinity (363). Resisting the temptation to over-romanticise (the Orient), he dismisses it as the 'kind of stuff you read'.[67] However, Suzanne Henke points out that while veils, turbans and yashmaks still existed in Eastern society as a protocol to hide behind, the West had turned to religious taboo (what to eat) and societal disapproval (how to eat) as an equivalent form of camouflage (107).

Through food we rapidly become acquainted with Bloom's intimate personal habits and his bodily functions. The precision and practical nature of his breakfast preparations are reflected in the pragmatic execution of his defecating. We witness what Barthes would describe as the sequentiality of the digestive process, as we start to recognise the layering of the written word, both in its importance in Bloom's life and as a meta-text that relates to the fashioning of words and the distillation of their meaning

[66] Joyce's library included books by Burton, Nerval and Chateaubriand who all wrote about exploration and imperialism. He also read *Vanity Fair,* with its discourse on India and eating curry.
[67] Edward Said: The Orient as a representation of Europe is 'deformed' out of a geographical region called 'The East' (*Orientalism* 273).

in Joyce's text. This sequential movement can be applied to the peristaltic push and pull, or the wave-like tightening and relaxing of the intestine, which is the 'technic' of 'Lestrygonians'. We discover that Bloom likes to read 'at stool', so that his bowels can ease themselves slowly.[68] Simultaneously reading and allowing his bowels to move, the faeces are deposited, one column at a time, during the digesting of words that become his own 'titbit'.[69] Cascara Sagrada, the herbal remedy he has been taking as a laxative, brings on such an improvement that he wishes all life's problems could be so easily cured. Faecal matter comes to the fore again in 'Circe' when the chorus mocks Bloom that 'by word and deed he encouraged a nocturnal strumpet to deposit faecal and other matter in an unsanitary outhouse attached to empty premises' (503); and that at night he gloated over fragments of well-used toilet paper presented to him by a 'nasty harlot' (504). However, in his waking life, his practicality combined with his interest in excreta leads him to think rather about the properties inherent in manure from different species of animal and how it could be used in his garden to benefit the growing of peas or lettuce, and thus providing fresh greens to eat each day. Bloom has given some thought to the 'scabby' soil in his garden and how it would benefit from a 'good mulch of dung', maybe from hen's droppings, or household slops, but the very best would be from cows that had been fed on oilcakes (65-66).[70] Zizek argues that defecation is the enactment of externalization (5) and we can interpret this in Bloom's reflection on his wish to write better, and that excreta or food waste is a symbol of deterioration and chaos. What is filtered from the body and used for manuring crops, is like the 'sediment' from which

[68] Freud makes a connection between bowel habits and financial habits. However Bloom is not anally retentive, because he does not hoard (Osteen 85).
[69] Like the words of *Don Giovanni* which he remembers later, he yields and resists, delaying gratification (Kiberd, *Ulysses and Us* 87).
[70] Joyce owned a small book called *The Chemistry of the Garden* by Herbert Cousins. There is a copy of this book in UCC Special Collections and I have identified that the vocabulary Joyce uses to describe the state of the soil in Bloom's garden, and how to manure it, is a direct recycling of the language in Cousins' gardening manual.

Barthes weaves the substance of his semiological musings. As the day's events progress, manure and excrement also become associated with Boylan. The famous Red Bank Dublin oysters feed on sewage, but they are also believed to be an aphrodisiac, so when Bloom sees Boylan coming out of the *Red Bank Restaurant*, he inevitably wonders about Boylan's sexual prowess and whether he has much physical stamina. But, as Bloom notes, oysters will be not be available, because 'June has no ar [therefore] no oysters' (166). This adage came about because the summer months (with no R in them) being warmer, the weather promotes the multiplication of bacteria in the water that molluscs grow in. He remembers the case of Mrs O'Connor and five of her children who were poisoned from eating mussels (363). As always, the fulcrum of Bloom's fears is balanced with his common sense: manure as a fertilizer, is the end-product of defecation, and although an instrument of filth and disgust, fertility depends upon it. These links between oysters and Boylan, and oysters and sewage inevitably give rise to implications that reflect on Bloom's own fertility.

When Bloom leaves home for a second time during this June morning, and walks along the street, he sees a Christian Brother buying sweets. At the same time he notices Dilly Dedalus (Stephen's sister), who is obviously underfed and probably suffering from malnutrition. At this time in Irish history it was not unusual to see children 'crawling in rags along the pavement – whimpering with cold and hunger' (Somerville-Large, 264).[71] Bloom reflects on the teaching of the church, which, by condemning contraception, promoted large families that were difficult to feed and support. He compares this to the clergy who live alone and are able to live off the 'fat of the land', while poorer people have to live on not much more than 'potatoes and

[71] In 1870 a vendor on South Georges Street was fined for adding mineral poisons to his confectionary and selling sweets as luxury items to impoverished children. He was also found guilty of adding vermillion and mercury to lozenges and sugar sticks (Miller 116).

margarine' (145). At the time of *Ulysses* the Great Irish famine was still in living memory and Bloom is cognisant of the personal and long-term effects of hunger in contemporary society. For Bloom, tastes and smells trigger the appetite, and emphasise a hunger that may or may not be satisfied. The smell of new-baked jam-puffs makes him think of the ingredients for good pastry, flakes of which are on Josie Powell's dress when he meets her (151). He sees a 'bare-foot Arab' standing over a grating breathing in the fumes of baking to deaden the gnaw of hunger (150). Bloom himself feels hungry at this juncture, but his hunger is linked to his memories, and a whimsical hunger for a time when he and Josie were younger. He laments that the blossom of her youth has been replaced by a shabby gentility, for she used to be a 'tasty' dresser, and now wears an old dress and a dowdy little hat that is decorated with 'three old grapes' (151). As he becomes hungrier, the sun slips behind a cloud, sapping his energy and making him feel abject, as if he has been 'eaten and spewed' (157). His consolation is to recall his fondness for eating the inner organs of animals, and he looks forward to vanquishing his despondency by eating them again at his next meal. His feelings of melancholia are very often counteracted with the need to eat familiar foods which give him solace, for Bloom recognises that hunger can give rise to many emotions: 'A hungry man is an angry man,' he says, and draws the alarming conclusion that 'peace and war depend on some fellow's digestion' (161). Adams argues that meat eating and war were typically viewed as male dominating binary characteristics (177).

Bloom is definitely more interested in the value and price of food than he is in drinking. His accounts at the end of the day list the smallest items of food (664), and yet his day's expenditure outflanks the weekly wages of, for instance, a cart driver or a tailor (O'Brien 165). The proprietor of Davy Byrne's comments that he has never seen Bloom with too much drink on him, and indeed the customers in Barney Kiernan's

complain that he never buys a round, and when he turns down a drink in favour of a cigar it meets with derisive disapproval (291). How could he afford to buy cream for Molly's tea unless he was a freemason? asks Nosey Flynn, further drawing attention to Bloom's abstemiousness and the careful allocation of his income (169).

Situated in time between Bloom turning his back on the swill-eating patrons of the Burton, and the encounter with the vicious Citizen in Kiernan's, Davy Byrne's bar is a place of relative peace, where Bloom can salvage his equanimity and take refuge in a non-meat snack. Although the other drinkers talk about him behind his back when he goes to the toilet, this is a place where he is ostensibly alone and finds some opportunity of reverie: he espies two flies mating on the window pane and thinks of Molly and himself coupling on Howth Hill on their first date. He leaves, nonchalantly whistling a few bars of *Don Giovanni*, 'thou hast me invited me to come to supper tonight': an opera in which food is used to lure the seducer to repent for his adulterous ways, by a statue that has come to life. Lacan draws attention to the paradox of life-like statues, where dead subjects appear to come alive, or come out of their paralysis, and create a space between life and death. Appropriately, Bloom makes his way to the museum to follow-up his investigation into whether statues are life-like enough to defecate and have anal orifices.

When Bloom enters the open back door of All Hallow's church and sees the priest distributing communion wafers to the congregation, he watches keenly as the priest bends down to put the wafer in each communicant's mouth. He observes how they shut their eyes and open their mouths, they do not chew but just swallow it down (77). Translating the word 'corpus' from the Latin he is shocked to realise that '*Corpus*, body, corpse… [like] eating bits of corpse why the cannibals cotton to it', and he is intrigued (77). His cultural upbringing, his father a Hungarian Jew and an Irish mother

of indeterminate Christian religion, has not prepared him to understand about transubstantiation. However, Gothic and Vampire literature, popular in the late-nineteenth century, would mean that Bloom recognised the properties of blood, whether between communicants or vampires, as transformative and restoring. Bloom's solution to feeling less alienated, is to feed others, and he recognises the benefits that the sharing of holy bread can generate; the bread, as it melts in the stomach, makes you feel a 'kind of Kingdom of God is within you [feel]' he says (78).

This trajectory of Bloom's thought, linking religion with cannibalism, leads him to think about missionaries who allegedly encountered cannibals on their proselytizing travels. A limerick about such a missionary, Mr MacTrigger, comes to his mind, in which the cannibal eats the missionary's genitals in order to absorb his sexual prowess, and his wives benefit, yet again developing the concept of 'you are what you eat'. [72]

There was a right royal old nigger

Who ate the balls of Mr. MacTrigger

His five hundred wives

Had the time of their lives

It grew bigger and bigger and bigger [73]

There is a primal fear at the very heart of Bloom's exclamation as he leaves the Burton, 'Eat or be eaten. Kill! Kill!' (162); it is as much his response to the unsettling morbidity of the 'dirty eaters', as to being threatened by the predator Boylan who is hunting his wife. If Bloom is to be usurped in his own home it is akin to Boylan going in for the kill. Life is precarious and Bloom is reminded of the aphorism used during

[72] Bloom's many confluences of food and body-parts, such as Molly's buttocks described as melons, hark back to cannibalism. Eating a loved one is an ultimate act of possession says Sarah Sceats (126).
[73] This limerick has been reconstructed from Bloom's fragmentary recollection with thanks to Suzette Henke (*Joyce's Moraculous Sindbook* 126).

the funeral service, 'in the midst of death we are in life' (104), when he travels to Glasnevin Cemetery and his conveyance passes live cattle being driven in the opposite direction, to be slaughtered. The clatter of hooves permeate Bloom's thoughts, just as the 'flop and fall of dung' fills his consciousness (Somerville-Large 260). The supply of meat in Dublin at this time was not very hygienic; much of it being slaughtered in backyard abattoirs. Dilapidated sheds were stained with offal, blood and guts were evidence of the bloody business of killing, and amongst the smells that came from the small huxter shops were unpleasant ones of tripe, crubeens and black pudding being prepared for eating (Farmar 86-87). Bloom, having once worked in the cattle market, empathises with the cattle and their inhumane killing: 'Wretched brutes there at the cattlemarket waiting for the polaxe to split their skulls open…Pulp, Rawhead and bloody bones. Flayed glasseyed sheep hung from their haunches' (163).

In Bloom's mind, food is linked to death through the agency of both smell and taste. At the funeral of his friend Paddy Dignum, he tries to imagine what a corpse would taste like, at least to a rat, and likens the smell of 'saltwhite crumbling mush of corpse' to the smell of raw white turnips (110). He remembers he saw an advertisement in the *Freeman's Journal* for Plumtree's Potted Meat under the obituaries, when it should have been in the 'cold meat department' (147). For Bloom, smell triggers memory and memory is a form of resurrection (see 'Oxen of the Sun' 104, 105). However, he considers how the decomposing bodies, for all the 'black treacle oozing out of them', make good corpse manure, green and pink, for regenerating the land. A corpse might be meat gone bad (and cheese is corpse of milk) but, Bloom thinks, it probably smells as appetising as a grilled beefsteak to someone who is starving (104).

But if a corpse is just 'meat gone bad' (104), do we need to believe in a soul to differentiate us from non-human animals? Disgust is a defence mechanism against

thinking too deeply about death, says Rozin (68). This belief, that we are different, is also associated with speech, and eating food which has been cooked, in its turn linked to the discovery of fire and cooking, discussed in earlier chapters. When Bloom pushes open the door of the Burton, the stink that assails him is of 'pungent meat juice and slop of green'; the 'men, men, men, [are] perched on high stools … hats shoved back, swilling, wolfing gobfuls of sloppy food' (161), and he is reminded of animals at feeding time. 'Am I like that?' he muses. The feelings of disgust that rise in his gorge cause him to leave in haste, into the street and into rejecting meat. He enters nearby Davy Byrne's 'moral' pub and orders a Gorgonzola cheese sandwich, with some olives on the side. Cutting the sandwich with precision into thin strips before eating it, and holding the wine on his tongue to savour the taste before he swallows, is in significant contrast to the bolted, half masticated, food chewing he has just witnessed.

Bloom's ruminations on the killing of cattle, the diet of cannibals, and his disgust at the men in the Burton, culminate when he sees AE (George Russell) coming out of a The Vegetarian restaurant on College Green.[74] Russell was the editor of *The Irish Homestead*, and a poet, but he was also an activist in rural matters. In keeping with his politics of self-sufficiency he wore homespun clothes and would bicycle miles into the environs to address country people on agricultural and co-operative ideas (Colum 170). When he sees AE with a companion who he supposes to be Lizzie Twig, he is piqued both by their physical appearance and overhearing their intellectual conversation. Once again, connecting what we eat to who we are, Bloom wonders whether a vegetarian's brain patterns are different to a meat eater's. Conversely, he cannot imagine that the sweating constables he saw earlier, who eat Irish stew, can write any poetry at all. When Bloom chooses to eat a cheese sandwich, he is, if only

[74] See advertisement for The College Cafe, *Irish Times,* March 25, 1904.

temporarily, endorsing a social group that thinks it is superior because they do not kill flesh. Unless you eat 'weggiebobbles and fruit', says Bloom, 'the eyes of the cow [will pursue] you through all eternity' (158).

Towards the close of the nineteenth-century, adulteration of food was common and became entangled with debates on the Anglo-Irish economy (Miller 121).[75] For Bloom, no doubt, controversy over the adulteration of food reminded him of the possible sullying of his marital bed, but for AE it was a concern over the 'watering down' of Gaelic identity from eating and drinking popular foods imported from the British Empire and America.

Meanwhile, vegetarianism was becoming popular alongside an adherence to esoteric religions and physical exercise. It was believed that self-improvement of the intellect could be gained through control of the body. In recent scholarship, Adams points out that vegetarianism has been seen as a rejection of male control and violence (177). If there is a connection between masculinity and carnivorism, then 'equality' must put an end to women being transformed into objects of predatory consumption. The previously mentioned review of *The Crank* in the *Irish Times* in September 1904, demonstrates this overlap of feminism and vegetarianism when it refers to the contributors of the magazine as being mostly 'ladies or vegetarians' who are of the opinion 'that the world is out of joint and have enthusiastically undertaken the task of trying to set it right'.

Bloom's public dining experiences are reflected in the larger social, economic and political systems of his colleagues (Rich 88); yet eating in public does not offer him a promising solution to his own feelings of 'unhomeliness, deprivation or

[75] Ian Miller in *Reforming Food in Post-Famine Ireland: Medicine, Science and Improvement* (116-121). The Adulteration of Food and Drinks Act was passed in 1860.

alienation' (Rich 91). Out of the home and the safe refuge of his kitchen, Bloom appears to be at the mercy of those eating around him, and eating with others seems to pierce his vulnerability, as if the world is entering through his mouth. His reaction to public eating is not merely one of disgust, the sight of the men in the Burton chewing and chomping genuinely terrifies him. The public space, and the 'smell of men', has ejected him from his safe environment.

Bloom and Molly have not had conjugal relations since their son Rudy died in infancy nearly eleven years before the setting of *Ulysses*. Bloom is now afraid of creating another life that might not survive, but previously, when his desire was 'acceptable', Bloom's memories of a more intimate time with Molly are often related to food, and many of the happiest ones are of the two of them eating together. He thinks fondly of the day of the Choir picnic at the Sugarloaf, when they were eating rabbit pie and Molly was the object of admiration. '[I felt] happier then' (148), he reflects. Another time, after one of Professor Goodwin's farewell concerts, Bloom remembers frying lap of mutton for Molly's supper with the chutney sauce that she liked (149). He was standing at the hearth where he was able to watch her undressing in the bedroom, and he felt 'Happy. Happy' (149). His food memories have already linked him romantically to Josie Powell and her well filled rhubarb-tarts; and paternally to his daughter Milly, who on one occasion cooked him a cutlet which she decorated with a piece of parsley (164). However, his most significant memory, and the one that reinforces his love for Molly, is of their love-making on Howth Hill, when she kissed him, putting warm and chewed seedcake into his mouth. 'I ate it,' he says, and it was 'Joy' (167). Meals with Molly are coupled with an appreciation of how attractive she is to other men. Molly recollects that she was 'in the DBC with Poldy laughing and trying to listen, we both ordered two teas and plain white bread and butter…' when she

first attracted the notice of Boylan (696). When Bloom thinks of Molly, and her lovers, he remembers happier times such as the grand banquet they ate at the 'Glencree Dinner', ten years earlier. There, other men, such as the Lord Mayor Val Dillon, admired Molly, and Bloom basks in the reflected admiration of how other men see not him, but his wife (354).

Bloom is acutely aware that as the (bilious) clock hands turn, the hour of Molly's and Boylan's rendezvous approaches; 'Eat first. I want. Not yet. At four she said' (250). As the time comes, Bloom's desire to eat becomes stronger, first the cheese sandwich in Davy Byrne's, and now his appetite for inner organs returns. Eating is Bloom's defence and he hides behind it by ordering foods that he is familiar with. In the Ormond Hotel Bloom is invited to join professionals who are engaged in the bureaucracy of the country and the petites-bourgeois dealings of administration. Bloom's self-interest is manifest in his introspection, but although lonely and displaced, there is an overall atmosphere of national camaraderie at the bar. Thinking to himself, 'Sit tight there. See, not to be seen' (254), he can overhear the conversations of other people around him, but the words do not distract him from the thoughts that are inside his own head. Yet again he is within the group but outside it too. He sees Boylan drinking a glass of sloe-gin at the far end of the bar and realises that the subject of his contemplation is here also, conversing with the clientele. 'Has he forgotten? Is it a trick?' he asks himself (255). A rising sense of melancholia overtakes Bloom that stems from the loss of his father, the loss of his son, and now his wife, and is symbolised by the lone sardine on a 'bier' of bread, beneath the sandwich cover. 'I feel so lonely', he

mourns inwardly, as Simon Dedalus, holding the attention of the people in the bar, sings 'The Last Rose of Summer' (277). [76]

From the Ormond, Bloom makes his way to Barney Kiernan's public house. Joseph Valente, in *The Myth of Manliness,* draws attention to how Bloom's perceived effeminacy is underscored in the 'Cyclops' episode. Debate arises amongst the drinkers about the days when Bloom worked in the cattle market and lived at the City Arms Hotel, alongside a widow called Mrs Riordan. He played Bizique (a card game) with her, which was considered to be a very feminine form of entertainment. The fact that he submitted to her 'female authority' by eating fish on Fridays also demeans him in their eyes (293).[77] Mrs Riordan, a widow who resided in the house of Stephen's parents from September 1888 to December 1891 (she also plays an important role at the Christmas dinner in *Portrait of the Artist)*, is linked to the triad of Molly, Bloom and Stephen, having all met at a party in Matt Dillon's house in 1888. It is while they were living in the City Arms, Molly later remembers, that Bloom last asked her to give him breakfast in bed (690). The clientele consider that Bloom was trying to get money out of Mrs Riordan by 'playing the mollycoddle' to her.[78] In the past Bloom's colleagues have deemed him to have a feminine side when he was seen buying Neave's baby food as much as six weeks before little Rudy was born (323). Valente suggests that this may be a reference to the 'mixed middling' Bloom who doesn't know yet if 'he's a father or

[76] 'The Last Rose of Summer' written by Thomas Moore in 1805, was included into the opera *Martha* in 1847. In this episode Bloom asks Pat the waiter to bring him paper to write a letter to Martha. When he previously opened Martha's letter to him, he was thinking of the bible story about Jesus eating in the home of Mary and Martha, which is a metaphor for a meditation on thought.

[77] See Kiberd on Jewishness and feminine attributes. Jewishness is not necessarily the central issue of the men's contempt in 'Cyclops', he says (*Inventing Ireland* 347).

[78] In 'Penelope' Molly also refers to Bloom trying to make himself interesting to that old 'faggot' Mrs Riordan. Both 'mollycoddle' and 'faggot' are pejorative terms for an effeminate or gay man. However, they are also foods that Bloom would particularly relish. Coddle is a traditional Dublin dish made of left overs, most often sausages, rashers and potatoes, and a faggot is made from cheap meat off-cuts and offal such as minced pork heart and liver. Bloom is also identified with a food in a deprecatory fashion when he is called a mackerel (in 'Lestrygonians'), which is an alternative word for a pimp.

a mother' or maybe 'half and half…A fellow that's neither fish nor flesh' (Valente 235. *Ulysses* 307).[79]

Twelve hours after his breakfast, Bloom is standing on the strand, tucking in his semen-moistened shirt, and his thoughts return to the men in The Burton, one of whom was 'eating off his cold plate' and 'spitting back gumchewed gristle' (354). These desolate images of rejection, and adulteration, cause Bloom's thoughts to follow a thread that leads from prostitutes, to other men's wives and so to Molly. Bloom has been unfaithful in his thoughts and actions and this is reflected in how he feels about other people's rejection and treachery. The smell of sex permeates his thoughts, his olfaction heightened by animalistic (or 'uncivilised') desire; sex leaves the smell of celery sauce on his fingers, and he recollects that menstruating women warn men off with their smell of 'potted herrings gone stale' (358). Emotionally overloaded he sinks into an abyss of self-pity asking himself why Boylan wins the plums when he is left with merely the plumstones (359).[80]

In 'Circe' all the dealings of the day, his fears and phobias, come back to haunt Bloom. If there is a repetition of themes throughout *Ulysses* then this episode is one massive eructation, challenging the public order in a carnivalesque profusion of bizarre performances. Initially Bloom takes food with him into the brothel: bread, chocolate, a lukewarm pig's crubeen and a cold sheep's trotter, but soon he discards the latter, giving most of it to a dog (412-413). Being a superstitious person he retains the shrivelled potato, which is a good luck talisman given to him by his Irish mother, to ward off pestilence and plague; ironically the potato being the very crop that failed and caused so much misery in the great famine which is still in living memory.

---

[79] Joyce may have deliberately confused the word Pishogue with *Pithogue* which the dictionary defines as 'an effeminate man, dandy, sissy, or homosexual'.

[80] However, this is contrary to Molly's idea about his manhood; Boylan might be upstanding as a 'crowbar' as a result of eating a few dozen oysters, but she thinks Poldy has more 'spunk' in him (694).

Foods that are aphrodisiacs also make a significant appearance in 'Circe', oysters, truffles and chocolate in particular. In the courtroom scene the maid who steals the oysters accuses Bloom of interfering with her. For all Bloom's anxiety of cuckoldry, in this scene he becomes a voyeur watching through the keyhole as Molly and Boylan have sex. The Madam of the house Bella/O Cohen changes sex and gender-roles and dominates Bloom, playing on his fears that are yet his desires. She rides him like a pig, as he grunts, snuffles and roots for truffles. Like the cannibals in 'Lestrygonians', she threatens to kill her victim and cook him and serve him with rice and lemon and currant sauce (499).[81] Everything that happens to Bloom in 'Circe' is an exaggeration of his latent desires and inhibitions; it is this chapter that comes nearest to a classic example of Freudian stereotypes (his deceased mother, father and child all make an appearance) and hence the dreamlike quality that is given to it.[82] Hunger is a disassociation from reality, which causes hallucinations and food fantasies, as it does in 'Circe'. This enables many things to be exposed and declared without being totally identifiable; it is in this episode (of chaos) that the novel truly transforms from realism to modernism and yet as the day winds down, particularly in 'Ithaca', the catechistic questions and enumerating of the contents of the kitchen can be seen as the reversal of chaos, bringing closure, as Bloom returns to claim his wife and 'home-rule'.

Having rescued Stephen from the drunkenness and harm encountered in the Monto brothel area, wending their way back from Nighttown, Bloom is concerned about Stephen's state of inebriation, and thinking that it will do Stephen good to get some food inside him, they stop at a cabman's shelter, under the Loopline bridge. He relaxes in Stephen's company and after a dismal cup of coffee and a stale bun they stroll

[81] Rice and lemon with pork is a traditional Greek dish.
[82] See previous chapter for foods that accentuate dreaming.

on to Eccles Street. The witching hour has passed, Boylan has come (literally) and gone, and Bloom can return in safety to his private territory. Bloom's sociability returns in his kitchen and he engages in his own ritual of 'communion' by making Epp's soluble cocoa, carefully following the instructions on the packet. He discusses with Stephen the possibilities of educating Molly, and of renting him the bedroom vacated by Milly. Bloom considers how appropriate it would be to exchange food and lodging for food for thought. Stephen, still drunk, dissents, especially when Bloom starts to discuss the importance of dietary and civic self-help.[83] Host and guest drink in silence, bringing together a communion Bloom has been seeking since he tried to grasp the meaning of the Eucharist in All Hallows church earlier in the day.

When Stephen leaves the house in Eccles Street, Bloom takes stock of the contents of his kitchen, including the foods on the shelves of the dresser. Itemizing and repeating, he is able to take control and ground himself once more in reality and safety; a reality that does not ignore the fact that Boylan has also made himself at 'home' in this house. An empty bottle of port, an empty jar of potted meat and some 'luscious' pears are signs of the invasion that has taken place.

At last the day is done and thinking over its events, and the lifetime of memories that he carries with him, Bloom feels complete. In bed, head to toe with Molly, like the pears in Boylan's fruit basket, he kisses 'the plump mellow yellow smellow melons of [Molly's] rump' (686). Unbeknown to him (or maybe in his dreams) Molly is also thinking of that day on Howth Hill, when she gave him the chewed seed cake in her mouth and said 'yes!' By keeping jealousy at bay, and staying away from his own home, Bloom has transcended any 'take-over' that Boylan might have tried to make. He has

[83] See AE's articles on the subject that he wrote for *The Freeman's Journal*.

also restored his patriarchal rule by ordering breakfast from Molly. However Molly merely thinks he must be ill because if he were in love he would be 'off his feed' (691).

In this chapter, we have accompanied Bloom on his journey around the city. We have learnt that it worries him how he appears to others and that he stands on the periphery of a society into which he was born and yet feels so different. What, where and why he eats is who he is. His quirks, his sadness, his relationships in his private life and his interaction with the wider world; his interest in the emerging sciences and the escalating commodity culture. When the symbols of social order are all around him, they too are aligned with food.[84] The constables force food into their gullets like ammunition, they march with 'goose' steps and they have a 'good load of fat soup under their belts', but Bloom retaliates by thinking that the best moment to attack is in 'pudding time' or to give one of them a 'punch in his dinner' (155).

Bloom invites us to follow him into the new 'Bloomusalem' of the 'Nova Hibernia of the future', built in the shape of a huge pork kidney (457). Thus, the half burnt kidney Bloom ate at breakfast-time has metamorphosised into his vision of a new order. His experience in the Burton has caused him to muse on life, love and adultery and finally to choose a cheese sandwich – his desire to eat animal-produce whilst not killing one, reflecting his own transformation during the day and the nuanced appreciation of his own personal predicament (Ellmann, *Liffey* 78).

This assessment of Bloom's day and his eating habits, not to mention his digestion and defecation, has given us much to chew over. Meanwhile, the author has been receiving a mixed reception for his serialized version of the text in the *Little Review*. Thanks to Sylvia Beach's generosity and patience, Joyce was able to respond and redraft multiple proofs, and as he did so the work became more suggestive and

[84] In Joyce's schema Constables are the symbol of the 'Lestrygonians' episode.

explicit about the body (*SE*, Hutton 244). I propose to analyse how this changing language, from the raw material to the final product, pertains to food in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

From Raw to Cooked: The Changing Language of Food

'Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested'– Francis Bacon.

Ulysses was originally published serially in the American avant-garde magazine *The Little Review,* from March 1918 to December 1920, until it ran foul of the censorship board with the episode now known as "Nausicaa". It was not until April 1921 that Sylvia Beach undertook to publish *Ulysses* herself, conceding to any stylistic instructions that Joyce may have wanted, thus allowing him to devote himself to making revisions and additions to the original manuscript. In the final published novel there are 25 uses of the words chew, chews, chewed and chewing; 28 if you count chechewchew [it], as well as the words corpsechewer, champing and munching. Joyce added many of these as he worked on his revisions to the later manuscript. As we discovered in Chapter Two, Brillat-Savarin associated chewing with the discovery of fire and cooking and hence self-improvement. In tracing these additions associated with chewing actions, it can be seen how Joyce lent further depth to character and situations by placing emphasis on the alimentary workings of food consumption.

To illuminate the very complex line of transmission, this chapter sets out to compare the final 1922 manuscript (1998 Oxford edition), with the original *Little Review* manuscript.[85] Most of these additions were made between 3rd and 27th August 1921, probably after his major eye attack on August 7th, which kept him confined to a

[85] *Ulysses*. ed Jerri Johnson. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998. *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition*. Hans Gabler. New Yoek: Garland, 1986. *The Little Review 'Ulysses'*. Ed. Mark Guipa, Sean Latham and Robert Scholes. Yale UP, 2015.'The Little Review'. *The Modernist Journals Project*. Brown University and University of Tulsa.

darkened room, taking repeated doses of cocaine to relieve the pain (Ellmann 517). At this time Joyce wrote to Harriet Shaw Weaver saying, 'I write and revise and correct with one or two eyes about twelve hours a day' (*Letters1 168*). As Hutton explains in her own analysis (*SE* 238), Gabler's immense undertaking in bringing together all the known manuscripts of *Ulysses* in his synoptic version, means that his rationale, sigla, and apparatus are never easy for readers to decode, and that is why I have concentrated my efforts on the changes between the serial text and the final published novel. In nearly all cases this is a fool-proof way of analysing the development of Joyce's reworking, except for the few occasions where Ezra Pound (who acted as the English Editor of the *Little Review*) changed Joyce's words. However, Pound soon gave this up as it became apparent to him that Joyce had a much wider objective than he had anticipated, and in any event, he no longer had editorial authority.

Michael Groden, in *Ulysses in Progress*, suggests that although the food additions are sometimes merely subject matter, they can also act as a metaphor relating to the body, at different times of the day (14). These continual revisions to the manuscript (as many as eighty related to eating in Lestrygonians alone), alter both Joyce's intention and technique, he argues, and give rise to the 'provocative dualisms' that permeate the book (17). Certainly the functional human actions in the book, such as eating and defecating, give way to meanings other than themselves, and none so apparent as the emphasis on chewing, as in the disgust and meditation on hygiene when Bloom in the Burton watches men 'wolfing gobfuls of sloppy food', and a man 'spitting back on his plate: halfmasticated gristle, no teeth to chewchewchew it' (161).

The heightened metaphorical value of the 'chew' vocabulary can be seen in two significant passages, the first from "Lestyrygonians" and the second from "Nausica".

The passages are taken from the 1922 edition, and the items in bold represent additions, along with some minor revisions, to the *Little Review* text:

> Perched on high stools by the bar, hats shoved back, at the tables calling for more bread no charge, swilling wolfing gobfuls of sloppy food, their eyes bulging, wiping wetted moustaches. **A pallid suetfaced young man polished his tumbler knife fork and spoon with his napkin. New set of microbes.** A man with an infant's **saucestained** napkin tucked round him [spooned] **shovelled** gurgling soup down his gullet. A man spitting back on his plate: **halfmasticated** gristle gums: no teeth to chew**chewchew** it. Chump chop [he has] **from the grill**. Bolting to get it over. Sad booser's eyes. **Bitten off more than he can chew. Am I like that? See ourselves as others see us. Hungry man is an angry man. Working tooth and jaw…**
>
> Smells of men. **His gorge rose.** Spaton sawdust, sweetish, warmish cigarette smoke, reek of plug, spilt beer, **men's beery piss,** the stale of ferment.
>
> His gorge rose.
>
> Couldn't eat a morsel here. **Fellow sharpening knife and fork to eat all before him, old chap picking his tootles. Slight spasm, full, chewing the cud. Before and after. Grace after meals. Look on this picture then on that. Scoffing up stewgravy with sopping sippets of bread. Lick it off the plate, man!** Get out of it.
>
> He gazed round the stooled and tabled eaters, tightening the wings of his nose.
>
> — Two stouts here.
>
> — One corned and cabbage.
>
> That fellow ramming a knifeful of cabbage down **as if his life depended on it. Good stroke**. Give me the fidgets to look. **Safer to eat from his three hands. Tear it limb from limb.** Second nature to him. Born with a silver knife in his mouth. That's witty, I think. Or no. Silver means born rich. Born with a knife. But then the allusion is lost.
>
> An illgirt server gathered sticky clattering plates. Rock, the bailiff, standing at the bar blew the foamy crown from his tankard. Well up: it splashed yellow near his boot. **A diner, knife and fork upright, elbows on table, ready for a second helping stared towards the foodlift across his stained square of newspaper. Other chap telling him something with his mouth full. Sympathetic listener. Table talk. I munched hum un thu Unchuster Bunk un Munchday. Ha? Did you faith?**
>
> Mr. Bloom raised two fingers doubtfully to his lips. His eyes said:
>
> — Not here. Don't see him.
>
> *Out*. **I hate dirty eaters.**

> He backed towards the door. Get **a light snack** in Davy Byrnes'. **Stopgap.** Keep me going. Had a good breakfast.
>
> — Roast and mashed here.
>
> — Pint of stout.
>
> Every fellow for his own, tooth and nail. Gulp. Grub. Gulp. **Gobstuff.**
>
> He came out into clearer air and turned back towards Grafton street. Eat or be eaten. **Kill! Kill!** (*Ulys* 161. *LR* 138)

We can see here that although Joyce calls attention to the 'smells of men', to the 'spaton sawdust, sweetish, warmish cigarette smoke, reek of plug, spilt beer' in the *Little Review* version, the addition of the words **'men's beery piss'** in the later edition, underscores why Bloom's **'gorge rose'**. Although Bloom is hungry, and a **'hungry man is an angry man'**, the 'man spitting back on his plate' in the *Little Review* has been joined by '**A pallid suetfaced young man polished his tumbler knife fork and spoon with his napkin. New set of microbes'.** '**Safer to eat from his three hands. Tear it limb from limb',** leading to Bloom's meditation on microbes and hygiene. He 'couldn't eat a morsel here', what with an 'old chap' 'picking his tootles', and others 'lick[ing] it off the plate', and he proclaims with feeling, **'I hate dirty eaters'.**

When Bloom observes 'fellow sharpening knife and fork to eat all before him' he presents the cutlery as industrialised or sharpened weapons. These destructive implements allow for a level of alienation and violence that disturbs Bloom. The diners eat out of necessity, but Bloom sees their need as a matter of life and death, reiterating as he 'came out into clearer air' that the atmosphere within the restaurant was so febrile that it was effectively a question of primitive survival. The *Little Review* injunction to 'Eat or be eaten' is supplemented by the later addition of the unambiguous military

command, **'Kill! Kill!'**, suggesting that Bloom is beginning to distance himself from being the hunted to become the hunter.

Bloom reimagines this scene in the Burton in 'Nausicaa', the 'cold plate' and the 'gumchewed gristle' have obviously become a reference to being cuckolded. Bloom the voyeur, who masturbated as he contemplated Gerty on the sea-shore, reflects on adultery. Knowing that his own wife is having a sexual liaison in their home, Bloom, a 'married man' is reduced to fantasising over a 'single girl' whilst avoiding the return to his marital home, where Boylan is taking his, the 'other chap's wife'. Metaphorically, Bloom will return to a meal that has already been eaten, a meal that has gone cold, and he can only get the leftovers:

> O, her mouth in the dark! And you a married man with a single girl. That's what they enjoy. Taking a man from another woman. **Or even hear of it. Different with me. Glad to get away from other chap's wife. Eating off his cold plate. Chap in the Burton spitting back gumchewed gristle.** French letter still in my pocketbook. But might happen sometime. I don't think. Come in. All is pre-pared. I dreamt. What? Worst is beginning. How they change the venue when it's not what they like. Ask you do you like mush-rooms because she once knew a gentleman who. **Or ask you what someone was going to say when he changed his mind and stopped.** Yet if I went the whole hog, say: I want to, something like that. Because I did. She too. Offend her. Then make it up. Pretend to want something awfully, then cry off for her sake. Flatters them. She must have been thinking of someone else all the time. What harm? Must since she came to the use of reason, he, he and he. (*Ulys* 354. *Syn* 796)[86]

These changes to 'Nausicaa' were made between 21st October and 23rd November 1921. Not only has the 'gumchewed gristle' been added but the whole paragraph now seems to highlight Bloom's own inadequacies and his knowledge that he has been cuckolded. He has 'bitten off more than he can chew' by trying to avoid the issue closest to his heart. As Joyce transformed Bloom's character into a participant

[86] I have had to use Gabler's *Synoptic* version of *Ulysses* here, as obviously this section of 'Nausicaa' did not make it into *The Little Review*.

observer, he added extra chewing-words. Hutton points out that from the 'snapshot of Joyce's evolving novel' in the *Little Review*, 'Bloom's consciousness is central to the process of revision' (*Development of 'Ulysses'* 110 and 124). These added food words, and their implied connotations, range from single words such as 'gums' or 'swallow' to short phrases such as 'countrybred chawbacon', and longer passages such as 'eating with a stop watch, thirtytwo chews to the minute'. Over six stages of revision Joyce increases the number of food passages, and in some instances 'overwhelmed' episodes with references to food (Groden 184). Joyce did not have his elaborate schema in mind in 1918 when he first wrote Lestrygonians (Gilbert 184), and consequently the *Little Review* 'Ulysses' is less rich in detail, while more realistic and symbolic details have been added to the 1922 version. We also see where real life details added to 'Lestrygonians' have been revitalised as symbols in 'Nausicaa'. Although significant phrases containing chewing-words, such as 'don't seem to chew it' ('Lotus Eaters') and 'in my mouth the seedcake warm and chewed' ('Lestrygonians') did appear in the original *Little Review* version, 'Lestrygonians' was eventually expanded by 28% (2758 words) and 'Nausicaa' by 18% (2552 words).[87] Michael Groden has calculated that Joyce added over eighty 'alimentary allusions' to 'Lestrygonians', relating to the oesophagus, hunger, food and teeth (197), all of which are subjects of intense interest to Brillat-Savarin, which we discussed in our reading of his *Physiology of Taste* in Chapter Two.

The previous chapters emphasise how food plays a major role in *Ulysses*. This chapter examines Joyce's deliberate inclusion of additional food references to his manuscript, in particular the chewing-words, and discusses how they can be seen as a commentary on nature and culture. After all, food is food, and as such is essential for

[87] Figures are from Clare Hutton in *Dublin James Joyce Journal*, Nos 6/7, 2013 – 2014. 109 – 131.

the continuity and survival of all animals, but the transformative role of cooking has placed it in the realm of humanity and put a value on it that is far beyond the nutritive. I argue here that by adding chewing-words to the cooked meals, Joyce ultimately challenges the established anthropological links between chewing and civilization, and in so doing raises questions regarding some of the underlying tenets of Irish Revivalism. To make this argument, I first explore the overarching ideology and assumptions of the culture that Joyce grew up in, and look at the influences of his early reading and the zeitgeist of his adult life, including anthropological awareness. Claude Lévi-Strauss's 'Culinary Triangle', described in Chapter 1, proposes that cooked food culturally transcends the raw food of nature. Building on this earlier section of the thesis, the chapter then compares Lévi-Strauss's revised and ambiguous notions regarding the values of boiled and roasted food, or rotten and fermented food, with Joyce's apparent contradictions regarding food choices. Finally, I suggest that by depicting an awareness of natural and home-grown foods within the milieu of AE and his cohorts, Joyce subverted the traditional anthropological association of cooked food with civilization. In so doing Joyce transcends the temporal and pastoral boundaries of the Irish Revival, producing a Modernist work of art that draws on more raw and earthy elements than was manifested in the work of leading Irish Revivalists. Garry Leonard suggests that Joyce's preference for commercial theatre and the music-hall gave him a more critical outlook on life (25).

Irish fiction had previously revealed an intimacy with folklore and anthropology, describing exotic lands that lay beyond the reach of most of its readers (Nolan, *Joyce 19C* 21). Now novelists were combining anthropology with adventure and exploration. Joyce owned books by writers such as Joseph Conrad, Rider Haggard, Robert Louis Stevenson, H. G. Wells and Rudyard Kipling; writers whose stories

embraced the dual topics of anthropology and imperialism.[88] For instance, Haggard's *She* employs a typical storyline that was 'preoccupied with stressing quintessential British qualities through the 'adventure' of empire, usually in contrast to foreign barbarism' (Howe 45). The explorer Sir Richard Burton, who moved to Trieste in 1872 (and died there in 1890), probably influenced Joyce with his *One thousand and One Nights* for some of Bloom's erotic fantasies, such as dreaming of Molly wearing exotic 'Oriental' clothing of slippers and trousers (Brown 28). T. S. Eliot also employed anthropological elements into *The Wasteland*, published the same year as *Ulysses* in 1922.[89] Carrie Rohman adds that Eliot frames sexualized anxieties about women, animality and Jewishness in *Sweeney Among the Nightingales*, published in 1919 (36).

A perusal of Joyce's personal library, and his reading, indicates that this was a zeitgeist with which he was familiar. He owned a copy of Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, which he stamped JJ on the inside cover. He also purchased Herbert Spencer's *The Study of Sociology* and W. E. H. Lecky's *History of European Morals*, while he was living in Trieste. He owned a copy of Thomas Huxley's *Twelve Lectures and Essays*.[90] Bronislaw Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* was published the same year as *Ulysses;* this was a study of the connection between human beings and food, analysing what could be understood about social life from the ceremonies or gatherings that involved eating. While Joyce was writing *Ulysses* his friend Frank Budgen responded to the episode in which Molly shares chewed seedcake with Bloom, by saying it reminded him of a book he had just read about a tribal orgy on a South Sea

[88] Richard Ellmann's *The Consciousness of Joyce* lists all, or nearly all the books that were in Joyce's library up until the time he left Trieste and moved to Paris in 1920. The stamp JJ was used by Joyce when he lived in Trieste 1905-1915 and Zurich 1915-1919.
[89] See 'Anthropological Hauntings in the *Waste Land'*, Sheela Banerjee, M/m 22:2, April 2015. In 1948 Eliot wrote in his *Notes toward the definition of Culture,* that anthropology was the study of 'gothic churches, the music of Elgar, and boiled cabbage cut up into four squares'.
[90] Spencer coined the phrase 'survival of the fittest' which Darwin later co-opted as his own (A. N. Wilson in *Darwin: Victorian Mythmaker*).

island where the women used fermented spittle as an aphrodisiac (Budgen 108). In light of this contemporaneous reading it does not seem fantastical that Joyce should be inspired by, and include, Greek myth, situations located around food and eating, anthropology, new-science and a fascination with distant lands into his novel.

And yet, representations of Victorian morality and the 19th century class system continued to be used as models of hierarchy in Modernist fiction.[91] As early as 1906 Joyce had written from Trieste to his brother Stanislaus asking him for novels by Kickham, Griffin, Carleton and Banim (Ellmann, *Letters II* 186). These represented 'key texts of the culture into which he had been born' (Nolan, *Nineteenth Century* 17). These books brought a kind of literary anthropology closer to home with *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* by Carleton, or escapades by Banim in which the 'Irish peasant' gives up 'habits of excess and primitive credulity' to acquire the 'virtues of cleanliness, providence and discipline' (Nolan 21). These national tales of the early 19th century aligned with the cultural typography of Irish Revival literature, presents a dichotomy between East and West that was to haunt Joyce (Kiberd 333). In Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*, Shem the Penman prefers a European 'hash of lentils' to Ireland's 'split little pea' (1.7 5/6). In Joyce's story 'The Dead', Molly Ivors, the voice of the politicized Irish Revival, admonishes Gabriel for being a West Briton and invites him on a summer cycling holiday in the Aran Islands, suggesting that it is his duty to keep in touch with his own language, rather than learning foreign ones. It is probable that Ms Ivors leaves before the meal, not only because she has a political meeting to go to, but because she is a vegetarian (in keeping with feminist ethos explored below). James H Murphy considers Joyce to be 'a sceptic concerning the Irish Revival' (129).

[91] For a view on how imperialism infiltrated literature and art in the late nineteenth-century see, 'Imperialism and Modernism in H. G Wells'. *Studies in the Novel*. 38, 1, Spring 2006.

However, the Irish Revival permeates Joyce's modernist writing as he draws on and satirises the Revival's affinity with the Irish peasant whilst never renouncing his own Irishness in favour of being a European. Emer Nolan agrees that Joyce's scorn for the Literary Revival was unmistakable but at the same time showed a curiosity and anticipation of certain aspects of a national renaissance. (*Non-Fiction* 123). Indeed in Joyce's early non-fiction writing, written before 1912, he displays a surprising empathy for nationalism in light of his later hostility.

After 1870 there was a sustained political campaign to equate imperialism with modern civilisation and a 'civilising mission' (Williams 156), and to demonise those outside this self-defined civilisation. An example of this is Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), an Oxford scholar, educator and headmaster of an elite private English school, he found the Irish to be 'barbarians' and 'a savage people'. He spoke of 'going over there and civilising them', or to 'put manners on them' (Valente 14). Thomas Arnold's son Matthew, whilst being more sympathetic to the Celtic fringe, ironically reproduced the worst excesses of the very prejudices he was trying to defuse (Carson 97). As such he makes a brief appearance in *Ulysses* (7), caricatured as a gardener pushing a lawn mower, impervious to his Oxford undergraduates (Deane 22). Stephen is caught in the midst of these ironies when the Celtic embodiment of the milk woman meets the Hellenistic Mulligan, observed by Haines, who like Arnold, feels that "history is to blame" (Deane 15). Arnold was primarily a poet and literary scholar, and instituted a chair of Celtic studies at Oxford on the verge of the Fenian Rebellion in 1860 (Kiberd 30). Although he promoted the argument that Irish people could no longer be seen as one 'undifferentiated and mobile mass', he characterized the race as essentially feminine in his *Study of Celtic Literature* (Lloyd 10). In 1869 Arnold published his influential *Culture and Anarchy* in which he argued that culture embodied 'the best

which has been thought and said', and provided life with 'sweetness and light'. Nash argues that although Arnoldian 'cultural liberalism' confused the affirmation of both state and culture (165), Joyce found the means to comprehend the living relation between anarchy and order by demonstrating that art could achieve what the state had failed to do (Deane 21). Two years after Arnold's publication, in the same year that Darwin published *The Descent of Man*, anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor published *Primitive Culture,* which he began with what he believed was the founding definition of culture: 'Culture, or Civilisation, ... is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Castle 290). So the terms culture and civilization became interchangeable, as a major topic in both literary scholarship and anthropological studies. However, Tylor's definition was crucial in influencing an acceptance of the anthropological view that the notion was representative of the whole social fabric rather than as solely the property of the privileged few (Manganaro 771). This was a period in which Western nations were making their final push to bring practically the whole pre-industrial, non-Western world under their political and economic control; anthropology was the child of Western imperialism (Gough 12).

In the opening chapter of *Ulysses* the Englishman Haines is a visitor to the Martello Tower, sharing breakfast with Buck Mulligan and Stephen. Haines is important to the text because his attitude of enquiry is influenced by his British and Oxford background, and because he is financially supported by a father who 'made his tin [money] selling jalap to the Zulus' (7). His interaction with the milk-woman, which appears in full in the original *Little Review* version,[92] expresses his desire to observe, as

[92] Apart from the later addition of a couple of idiomatic hyberno-phrases: 'Is there Gaelic on you?' and 'Wonderful entirely', both spoken by Mulligan (14).

well as to join in with, the Irish people. His anthropologist portrayal is very different to the way Bloom makes observations later in the novel. Although both are considered 'outsiders' (because of race), any other similarity between them is blown apart when we learn that Haines is not only a colonialist, but anti-Semitic, 'I don't want to see my country fall into the hands of the German jews' (21).

If both Arnold and Tylor 'fed' off Darwin, Darwinism was also responsible in some quarters for justifying the animalising of some marginal or racial groups. For others it brought about the 'dreaded comparison' that humans evolving from animals, must themselves be animals (Rohman 31). This in turn gives rise to the fear that we might become food, and eaters of each other, because despite having its own rules and etiquette, cannibalism is 'barbarous' and everything that civilization is not (Visser 13). Robert Brazeau suggests that Joyce uses the consumption of animal parts as a trope for the long and unsustainable economic exploitation of the Irish under British rule (30).

Civilisation, or 'syphilisation' as the Citizen tropes British Imperialism (311), was at the centre of these works by anthropologists and writers. Revivalist literature appropriated colonial and anthropological discourses (Castle 175). Synge used anthropological methods to probe into what he thought was a true Irish 'peasantry' and then used it as art. Yeats had to re-imagine this peasantry if he wanted his writings to transcend stereotypical reproductions of rural Ireland (O'Connell, *Improv* 195). But Joyce had the advantage of his own authentic experience. He had lived this reality and his precise portrayal of Dublin, her people and their habits, including their food-ways, was personal and accurate. Joyce's realism, envisaged in part by food and eating, transcended Revivalist texts and created the Modernist text that *Ulysses* became.

Helen O'Connell reiterates that it is indeed food that situates Joyce's writings between the 19th and 20th centuries, where the fragmentation of modernism (exemplified

by starvation and hunger) is a product of the lack of 'wholesomeness' within some Revivalist literature (*Nineteenth Century* 129). Not only does the milk woman not speak Irish, neither can she afford to eat the natural food that Mulligan, as a student doctor, endorses. With a touch of irony he comments, 'if we could only live on good food like that, we wouldn't have the country full of rotten teeth and rotten guts' (14).[93]

Norbert Elias in his book *The Civilising Process* published in 1939, wrote that manners had originally developed out of an increasing threshold of 'shame and repugnance', that it was a social process, and an 'ingredient' of civilisation, and this included rules about eating. Even today, says Margaret Visser in *The Rituals of Dinner,* manners are a social contract devised to counteract the natural aggressiveness of eating or to form a system of taboos against violence or misbehaving (21). Indeed, knowing how to behave is reassuring, particularly regarding food. Visser suggests that most occasions of eating take place when life becomes dramatic, whether at weddings, birthdays, funerals, leave taking or welcoming. Adding that even everyday family meals are ritualised and repeated, and other occasions of eating are a form of relaxation, or a break in the working day; or the opportunity to choose companions, renew relationships and maintain solidarity with a specific group (Visser 23). The repetition of meals, like rituals, are what Joyce would call the 'here-we-are-again gaieties' in *Finnegans Wake*. As Brillat-Savarin states, once fire was recognised, cooked meat tasted much better, took on more firmness and was chewed more easily (285).

Cooking food generally made it safer, and raw food had to be subjected to processes such as washing, slicing, mincing, or chopping. Cooking has been taken for

[93] This is ironic because there were plenty of bad food practices in and around Dublin, at this time, especially in the production of milk. Up to two hundred private 'dairies' proliferated in the city, housing as many as 6,000 cattle housed in lean-to sheds and yards, often along-side live pigs (Farmar 87).

granted since well before the time of Homer, and indeed people of antiquity considered that the cooking of food distinguished them from animals: they were the animals that cooked. Rachel Loudan tells us that cooking meant softer and more digestible food, resulting in humans no longer having to spend five hours a day chewing, and in turn more energy could be diverted to the brain (9), and the evolution of the human head (Mauritsen 29). This, of course, was the opportunity for food to be become more than merely nutritive, and allowed time for embracing more leisurely pursuits that might be deemed 'culture'.

However, the cooked food in the Burton is still tough after cooking. There is 'halfmasticated gristle', and some diners 'have no teeth to chewchewchew it' (161). The meat is tough because the best beef is going to Britain, 'they buy up all the juicy ones' (94), leaving the cheap cuts of meat, and the empire sucking up the energy of the people, that could be diverted to the brain. They *do* have to chew it, unlike the communion wafer, used in the transformaation of bread and wine into flesh and blood in the Eucharist. Bloom does neither – he relishes the inner organs of beasts and fowls, 'chewing with discernment the toothsome pliant meat' (63).

Bloom is conditioned by the prevailing male attitudes that still predominated in relation to culture and civilisation. A man was expected to be healthy in heart, mind and body. In 1822 William Kitchener, in *The Art of Invigorating and Prolonging Life*, prescribed 'masticating, dentricating, chumping, grinding and swallowing'. A few years later Horace Fletcher, known as the Great Masticator, developed a method of chewing food a hundred times a minute to prevent dyspepsia. Bloom would be familiar with this and comments on the fact that Mr Purefoy, whose wife has been in labour for three days, was 'eating with a stopwatch, thirtytwo chews to the minute,' (153).[94]

[94] Joyce added this to the manuscript in August 1921.

Meat eating was very much part of this Victorian 'manliness'. Nick Fiddes tells us that 'consuming the muscle flesh of other highly evolved animals is a potent statement of our supreme power' (Rohman 15). This alleged transcendence of culture over nature leads Derrida to explain that the head of a state could never be a vegetarian since 'the *chef* must be an eater of flesh' (ibid). A 1904 advertisement for dyspepsia tablets carried by the *Irish Times* on November 19th 1904 asks, 'Who are the Men who Rule the World?' The answer, 'the ruling nations of the world [who] are meat eaters.' Here a direct link between meat-eaters and world domination is assumed. It continues, 'Vegetarians may explain this in any way they choose, but the fact remains. The weaker races are the rice-eating Chinese, Hindoos, and Siamese, non-progressive, superstitious and inferior physically and mentally to the nations who dominate them.' This advertisement goes on to explain the dangers of indigestion caused, it suggests, by ignoring the fact that 'teeth plainly indicate that human life should subsist upon a variety of food, meat, fruit and cereals, and it is not hygienic to confine the diet to any one of these'. However, it is interesting to note that by 1910 the *Vegetarian Messenger* was reporting that the Dublin headquarters of the Irish Vegetarian Union was organising popular activities such as lectures and cookery classes and attaining athletic achievements (Regan 464-466).

In *Ulysses* Bloom spots the poet George Russell, known as AE, coming out of a vegetarian restaurant with the fictional Lizzie Twigg.[95] Mary Colum recounts in *Life and the Dream* how AE's soirees in Dublin were the best talks on art and literature that she had ever heard, but one might also hear talk about ways of marketing butter and eggs, because AE earned his living as an organiser for the Irish Agricultural

[95] Bloom notices that Lizzie Twigg's stockings are loose over her ankles, which he 'detests'. He links her tastelessness with her literariness. She is representative of the New Woman who espouses vegetarianism and suffrage. In 'Nausica', under the gaze of Bloom, Gerty thinks of herself as a 'womanly woman', not unfeminine like 'those cyclists showing off what they hadn't got' (342).

Organisation Society. 'He roamed Ireland on a bicycle and had given lectures on matters connected to farming' (170). AE was the editor of a farm paper called the *Irish Homestead* and it was in this publication that he was able to make known his views on nationalism and the advantages of home-produced foods, but he was also the first to publish a trio of Joyce's stories that would eventually appear in *Dubliners*, 'The Sisters', 'Evelyn', and 'After the Race'. AE had asked Joyce to write something 'simple and rural' which would not shock his readers (Ellmann, *James Joyce* 163).

> His eyes followed the high figure in homespun, beard and bicycle, a listening woman at his side. Coming from the vegetarian. Only weggebobbles and fruit. **Don't eat a beefsteak. If you do the eyes of the cow will pursue you through all eternity.** They say it is healthier. Wind and watery though. Tried it. **Keep you on the run all day. Bad as a bloater. Dreams all night.** Why do they call that thing they gave me nutsteak? **Nutarians. Fruitarians.** To give you the idea you are eating rumpsteak. Absurd. **Salty too. They cook it in soda. Keep you sitting by the tap all night.** (*Ulysses* 158)

Joyce made many additions to this passage, mostly in August and September 1921.

This is the establishment known as the 'Vegetarian' Restaurant on College Green, Dublin, which advertised to its customers that they would gain greatly in 'Health, Heat, Vigour, Comfort and Economy' if they ate here (*The Irish Times* March 25th 1904). Padraic Colum records that Joyce and himself ate at the Vegetarian as guests of the poet James Henry Cousins; they dined on mock turkey, gooseberry tart and coffee (Colum 42). In *We Two Together*, Margaret Cousins writes that eating at the Dublin Vegetarian appealed to her long before she became a vegetarian; 'we frequently joined these idealists for lunch, and later met a number of Hindu vegetarians who had come to Dublin on medical and legal studies' (89).[96] In the same book, James Cousins notes in 1901 that if his accountancy job had not been located 'round the corner from the campus of Trinity College and a newly opened vegetarian restaurant, certain formative

[96] Joyce lodged with the Cousins so he could use their piano, but left after complaining of stomach cramps from eating 'typhoid turnips' (Ellmann, *James Joyce* 162).

influences in my life and the lives of others might have had their development thwarted or twisted'(44). James says that the poet George Russell came to the Vegetarian because a 'fleshless diet was a condition of occult progress', and that he (AE) was 'always overflowing with ideas which he expounded across the narrow tables of the restaurant. The ends of his voluminous butterfly tie trailing into his plate of soup' (65).

Bloom conjectures that AE is talking about 'something occult' (158). In 'Aeolus' J J O'Molly asks Stephen '[w]hat do you think … of AE the mastermystic?' (135). Eastern mysticism and Theosophy was becoming a popular cult in Europe and America at the end of the 19th century (Ellmann, *Crit Writ* 93). Spiritualism, theosophy, the occult and atheism were now part of the general conversation, as was vegetarianism, although the chief medical officer at the time, Dr. Edward Mapother, denounced the latter as 'an outrage on common sense' (Farmar 18). This, and strong views on vivisection and inoculation influenced George Bernard Shaw's novel *The Doctor's Dilemma,* published in 1911.

Sometime around 1904 Joyce bought and read a number of books on these fashionable trends and sympathetically reviewed a small volume dealing with the Buddhist way of life called *The Soul of the People* by H Fielding-Hall. Joyce's contempt for the stupidity of violence found expression here. 'Our civilisation, bequeathed to us by fierce adventurers, eaters of meat and hunters, is so full of hurry and combat, so busy about many things which are perhaps of no importance, that it cannot but see something feeble in a civilisation which smiles as it refuses to make the battlefield the test of excellence' (Joyce S, *My Bros* 219).

Russell was a fervent adherent of Theosophy (parodied by Joyce in the 'Scylla & Charybdis' episode of *Ulysses*) as were many other members of the Irish Celtic Revival, including Yeats and the playwright Synge who, like literary anthropologists,

collected Irish folklore and language to weave into their fiction. The Abbey Theatre was the platform for their plays but 'the aspirational locus was the west of Ireland where the Irish peasant was imagined as the embodiment of a true authenticity' (Murphy 127). Although Joyce makes fun of AE in "Circe", 'I am the light of the Homestead. I am the dreamery creamery butter' (480), Russell was ardent about his campaign for home produced food and his belief that imported foods 'diluted' national identity.

On Jan 6th 1906 he wrote in *The Irish Homestead,*

In Praise of Milk:

> Here is our country with tuberculosis afflicting its inhabitants like a leprosy almost, a disease which is traceable to bad air and bad food, and for which the cure is good air, and good food which means milk and eggs, and our people sell all and buy inferior stuff like bacon from America, as unhealthy a food as one could well eat.

Here, like Dr Mulligan in 'Telemachus', he is genuinely concerned about the spread of tuberculosis and recognises that poor diet and over-crowded urban living are contributing causes. He advocates, fresh air and country food such as milk and eggs, much as Mulligan tells the milk woman, 'If only we could only live on good food like that', away from dust and dirt and cheap food, there would be fewer rotten teeth and guts (14).

AE's diatribe on nutrition, with its emphasis on naturalness and rurality, as well as his prohibition on meat, has a correspondence with the Revivalist focus on native literature and a disdain for foreign authors (O'Connell 139). Stephen's preference for Ibsen (in 'Eumaeus' for instance) was the literary equivalent of a taste for imported (and often colonial) foods. The cultural anthropologist Sidney Mintz provocatively connected Britain's (and thereby Dublin's) insatiable sweet tooth with slavery,

capitalism and imperialism (357-368). If tea was exotic and foreign, because it came from the East, adding sugar drew attention to its colonial aspect. Abstaining from sugar, and from tea, became a means of isolating oneself from colonial conditions, says Helen O'Connell (35). Tea drinking was seen as reckless and uncontrollable and pamphlets distributed at the time maintained that tea-drinking might cause 'addiction, illicit longing and revolutionary sympathies' (*Literature and History* 21.2; 2012). Maria Edgeworth, in *Castle Rackrent*, associates tea drinking with servants and poor women (57), whilst Mary Leadbetter, in *Cottage Dialogues,* advised that 'tea with bread and butter is not affordable; oatmeal and some cheap cut of meat made into broth' would be more beneficial. Women were targeted as being guilty of introducing tea drinking into the home and even contributing to the development of industrialisation, because displacement of the traditional home-grown and home-cooked diet threatened the social order (O'Connell 35 - 41).

AE's idealism is somewhat unrealistic, if not patronising; sugar was a cheap source of energy for poor families, and sweet tea often replaced a meal. There are many instances of tea drinking, especially of 'sweet tea' in *Ulysses,* and Bloom has 'choice tea', 'crystallised lump sugar' and 'soluble cocoa' on his kitchen shelves in Eccles Street (628). Think where your breakfast comes from, says Timothy Morton (272), referencing the global networks of trade and power. Claude Lévi-Strauss understood the connection between thinking and eating, saying food is good to eat but also good to think with, and Bloom does think when he comments on the colonial cattle-marketing and like Brillat-Savarin he connects the voracious appetite of cannibals with colonization (Morton 271).

Bloom is a good thinker and he recognises how people act differently in certain situations and realises, like the stories of myth, these are just variations on the theme of

belonging or learning to understanding the unfamiliar. Watching from the side-lines, Bloom is constantly drawing our attention to the act of chewing: in All Hallows church he watches the communicants who 'don't seem to chew it'; he sees the men in the Burton 'chewchewchew' it, and he himself feels as if he has been 'eaten and spewed'. Thus we can deduce that the narrative of *Ulysses* interacts with the three aspects of Lévi-Strauss's 'Culinary Triangle'. Raw food is discussed with reference to the 'poetical' and AE; the cooked and the chewed in the Burton restaurant with its 'stale [air] of ferment; and the fermented or rotten in Davy Byrne's where a gorgonzola sandwich is made of cheese which is 'corpse of milk'. Hence the poetic and the natural are interwoven. 'Cyclops' repeatedly moves between Celtic myth and Irish Nationalism in its consideration of 'syphilisation'. The narrator says that 'all those who are interested in the spread of human culture among the lower animals', should listen to the dog Garryowen reciting poetry, which has been achieved by 'years of kindness and a carefully thoughtout dietary system' (298). However, this talking dog is reciting the 'ranns of ancient Celtic bards', according to an unnamed phonetic expert. This may be an aspersion on Revivalism but at the same time T S Eliot was also writing about the poet, commenting that he was 'more primitive, as well as more civilized than his contemporaries' (*Egoist*): and as already mentioned in Chapter One, Joyce was an adherent of Vico who specified that 'primitive' men were *not* childishly ignorant and barbaric but instinctively and characteristically 'poetic' in their response to the world (Hawkes 12).

Bloom, thinking of the raw and natural food, the 'weggebobbles and fruit' (158), that are served in the Vegetarian, styled it as food of aesthetes. Bloom then goes on to consider the impact of a vegetarian diet, suggesting that it promotes the poetical waves of the brain (158). In contrast, Bloom's reflection on the meat eaters is scathing:

'You couldn't squeeze a line of poetry' out of one of those constables[97] sweating Irish stew into their shirts (154). Molly would appear to concur when she says that her 'ignoramus' lover Boylan 'has no manners, nor no refinement …. [he]doesn't know poetry from a cabbage' (726). The conclusion would appear to be that poetry is more sophisticated than the meat-eaters. Gerty MacDowell, in the 'Nausicaa' episode, dwells on the fact that she may be able to cook griddle cakes and Queen Anne's pudding, but she wishes that she could eat 'something poetical like violets or roses' (337).

However, as we have seen in Chapter One, the principles of the 'Culinary Triangle', it is cooked meat that transcends the raw and therefore is considered to be more civilised, doing away with the need for so much chewing. As said before, the consequence of this is that food shifts from being merely a nutritional necessity to something that can be used in formal situations and ceremonies, transmitting a symbolic 'message' to both observers and participants. Cooking was a turning *away* from nature', says Michael Pollan, 'it wasn't just about the meal but the occasion also became important'. Cooking transformed us, not just to be more sociable and civil, but to expand our cognitive capacity at the expense of our digestive capacity' (7).

So if cooking humanised us and made us more civilised, this concept is turned on its head in *Ulysses*. The foods Joyce serves up to us seem to be challenging the notion that cooked food is a symbol of culture. AE's advocacy of natural foods is the very antithesis of Lévi-Strauss's definition of culture; the 'eminent' poet eats the least cultured food. The cooked food, a symbol of being more civilised, is eaten by those that cannot recognise poetry, who have no manners, and are 'dirty eaters' (162).

I digress here to mention another 'natural food' and the lack of food that is essential when contemplating the complicated relationship between food and empire in

[97] The constables represent the implementation of civilizing 'the wild Irish'.

Irish fiction (Cusack and Goss 80). Bloom, dining in the Ormond Hotel, feels as if he is being watched by 'green starving faces eating dock leaves' (270); this is a reference to corpses that were found during the famine, 'partly green from eating docks and nettles'(Roos 40), a vegetarian diet that was not by design and certainly not belonging to a civilised world. However, our national definition of 'cooked' is shifting as we learn the value of raw ingredients over processed food; for instance dandelion greens are now prized for the very qualities that once disqualified them from the category of food (Davis).

Chewing in *Ulysses* is inexorably linked to the teeth since the digestion of food requires mastication. Before cooking was discovered, our ancestors would have had 'a big gut and big strong jaws and teeth' says Michael Pollan (*Cooked* 57). 'Teeth' and 'Cannibals' are conjoined in a Homeric correspondence signified by Joyce for the food-laden 'Lestrygonians' chapter of *Ulysses*.[98] Without teeth, both eating and talking would be nigh impossible, therefore oral hygiene is necessary to keep teeth intact and enaable chewing which leads to improved memory and reduces the risk of dementia (Mauritson 308). [99]

In the Burton, the reek of men and the 'chewchewchewing' disgust Bloom, but in All Hallows church he is more concerned that the communicants 'don't seem to chew it: only swallow it down' as he watches the priest administer the 'host'. 'Rum idea: eating bits of a corpse. **Why the cannibals cotton to it'** (77). This reference to not

[98] The marauding cannibals in Homer's *Odyssey*, says Stuart Gilbert, are described as a 'hedge of teeth' or a 'palisade of hungry sentinels' (185-186).

[99] On February 20th 1907 Joyce sent a postcard to his brother Stanislaus, 'My mouth is full of decayed teeth and my soul of decayed ambitions' (Ellmann, *Letters* II 216). Unhealthy teeth and decay was common in Ireland until relatively recently. Like Joyce, his brother Stanislaus associated the state of his teeth with his state of affairs. In his *Dublin Diary* he wrote, 'I loathe everything . . . This house seems to me rotten, useless and decaying like the hollow tooth I have my tongue in' (92). In 'Proteus' Stephen muses '[m]y teeth are very bad. Why I wonder?' as he strolls along the beach, contemplating spending what little money he has on going to a dentist (50).

chewing seems to anticipate the 'seed cake warm and chewed' exchanged between Molly and Bloom (167), which is the consummation of their love. When Molly pushes the 'mawkish pulp' from her 'gumjelly lips' into Bloom's mouth (167), like the Eucharistic wafer, both are a form of 'communion'. Joyce was fully aware of this implication as illustrated when he once asked his brother Stanislaus, '[d]on't you think there is a certain resemblance between the mystery of the Mass and what I am trying to do? I mean I am trying…to give people some kind of intellectual pleasure or spiritual enjoyment by converting the bread of everyday life into something that has a permanent artistic life of its own… for their mental, moral, and spiritual uplift' (Joyce S, *Brothers Keeper* 103). It could be argued that Transubstantiation is a rather glorified rendering of the hypothesis of the raw/natural being transformed into the cooked/spiritual in the 'Culinary Triangle'.

Joyce's addition of 'why the cannibals cotton to it', marks the first mention of cannibals in *Ulysses*. In the *Little Review* the cannibals are not mentioned until Bloom is about to order a cheese sandwich in Davy Byrne's pub in the 'Lestrygonians' episode. Bloom is 'champing' on this sandwich when he wonders how people learnt which foods were good-to-eat. Which berries were poisonous or why try eating oysters that looked like a clots of phlegm (166). It must be instinct he decides, and disgust. Disgust is the reaction that makes us put ourselves at a distance from nature and is a crucial component of the civilising process (Pollan 365). And yet Bloom eats the 'feety' smelling cheese and 'pungent mustard' in the moral pub, with a 'relish of disgust' (165). 'There's a lot in that vegetarian' he thinks, and a 'fine flavour of things from the earth' (163).

The cheese sandwich, like Bloom himself who always tries to see both sides, is a choice that is 'half and half' (307) or a 'mixed middling' (323), neither animal free

nor totally raw, for both cheese and bread have been processed from raw ingredients and the '[c]heese digests all but itself' (165). This is because rennet, from a cow's stomach, is used in cheese making, and resembles the first stage of digestion. Why does he choose Gorgonzola, an Italian cheese from Piedmont? Perhaps because he was concerned about the microbes and bacteria in the Burton, he now sub-consciously chooses a cheese that tastes salty, with a 'bite' that comes from the blue-green veining caused by selected moulds, yeasts and bacteria coming together to form a microbial community on the rind of the cheese. The ensuing bacterium is closely related to the bacteria that is present on our skin and produces foot and body odour, hence the 'feety savour of green cheese' (165).[100] Because the moulds have been manipulated rather than evolving spontaneously the cheese is not rotten but edible and is an example of where the 'Culinary Triangle' becomes more complicated and the rotten can be seen as processing raw food by natural means, such as in fermentation.

The 'stale [smell] of ferment' (161) that drives Bloom out of the Burton lingers, as he surveys the shelves of tinned foods in Davy Byrne's pub, and his thoughts turn to cannibals and the limerick about Mr MacTrigger (164). Recalling the limerick, he thinks how '[t]he parts of honour. Ought to be tough from exercise' (163) and therefore necessitate more chewing. Bloom, eating alone and concerned about his wife's infidelity, thinks about cannibals. Lévi-Strauss recalls a Mandan myth, where 'in order to escape from the cannibalistic jaguar or from his equally voracious wife the human hero must eat in silence' (*Manners* 323). This is interesting because in *Ulysses on the Liffey,* Richard Ellmann calls Boylan a 'cannibalizer of woman's flesh' (74), and indeed Molly comments on Boylan having a 'splendid set of teeth' which made her feel hungry

[100] Gorgonzola would have been available in Dublin and is advertised in Findlaters' 1904 Grocery List, which was issued with their in-house magazine *The Lady of the House* (548).

to look at them (698), and leave bite marks on her breasts (705). In a chapter called 'A Dish of Tripe Mandan style' (*Manners* 305), which compares Mandan myths and manners to those in the western world, Lévi-Strauss explains that the human hero has to mediate between nature and culture, and it is tempting to see Boylan as the jaguar, Molly as the voracious wife, and Bloom the human-hero who eats in silence several times during the day, bringing together Barthes' comments on carnivorous aggression with Lévi-Strauss's interpretations of myth. However, Lévi-Strauss confuses the issue by continuing that sometimes the human-hero can represent culture and the cannibalistic nature, whilst at others he eats food raw and the jaguar is the sole possessor of the cooking fire. Certainly, in *Ulysses* we see Bloom's transformation from the hunted (he is constantly avoiding Boylan) to the hunter, when he declares, '[e]at or be eaten. Kill! Kill!' (162), and thereby asserting his identity as a predator (Yared 473).[101]

This chapter has concentrated on chewing. Chewing makes food more digestible, and we chew something over when we are trying to digest it. I called this chapter the Changing Language of Food primarily because Joyce changed the text over the course of several years, but with these additions he also changed the meaning of the text. Many of the changes related to alimentary material. Using a genetic or textual approach I have analysed sections that concentrated on chewing to try and find what was happening to Joyce at the time – he had eye infections and mouth ulcers - but also how his food-language changed into signs and metaphors. Bloom feels he has been chewed and spat out – he is gristle on the side of the plate. Using the anthropological 'Culinary Triangle' as a representation of the transformation from the raw to the cooked, and nature to culture, I have been able to trace the changing nature of food where the raw or original text has become a more nuanced or fully cooked version. 20th

[101] Joyce had originally intended to call Bloom Mr Hunter (Ellmann 230).

century literature changed its framework from being realist to a more sophisticated style, but *Ulysses* is a modernist work that draws on raw and earthy elements. Joyce's realism is a bridge between the revivalist text he didn't want to write and the modernist text of *Ulysses*. A shift from romanticism about the west of Ireland to the unfamiliar countries of Europe, in food as well as literature, upset the social order. The Revivalists had taken untamed nature, and turned it into culture, and Joyce recognised the irony in this. They felt equally threatened by foreign food and foreign literature; both diluted national identity. Claude Lévi-Strauss's transformation of nature into culture has been challenged by Joyce's writing. Rhetorically, meat was manly – the food of leaders, and cannibals ate their rivals to absorb their qualities; poetry was for aesthetes; wild food was only for the starving. But Joyce upsets the established anthropological links that profess a natural and raw diet is commensurate with an unsophisticated or 'primitive' mind-set and lifestyle. And now our own culinary language is changing. Raw is the new cooked – it is a sophisticated and more cultured food. Food has changed and not only reflects, but suits the changing time we live in. Bloom saw the fads, the diet and exercise regimes, and the tenets of the great masticator, just like the literature of today will reflect eating disorders, fast food, and veganism.

CONCLUSION

Bill Burford says in his introduction to M. F. K. Fisher's translation of Brillat-Savarin's *Physiology of Taste,* that food is more than itself, it is touched by memory, weather, dirt, hunger, chemistry and the universe. So it is, that this thesis reveals, through occasions of food, that *Ulysses* is not a complicated novel – especially if one begins with the 'Calypso' episode – and what a tremendous influence the meditations of the great Gastronome had on Joyce's creation of alimentary matters throughout his novel. Every page is bursting with food and it is not hard to bring to mind the locations of the meals eaten or the gelid light of the domestic kitchen, or looking down into the industrial kitchens of the Master of the Rolls. We encounter the flustered Bloom pouring mayonnaise over his plums or lovingly cooking mutton-lap over the fire for Molly. The characters come to life, like Pat the deaf waiter who waits, and the Misses Douce and Kennedy who have skin tanned like toast, and we can inhale the smells of offal and ash pits that linger over the tenements.

Claude Lévi-Strauss's theories of Myth as applied to his 'Culinary Triangle', and the preface that Roland Barthes wrote to Brillat-Savarin's treatise on Gastronomy and Taste in 1975, have underpinned my analysis of how we engage with food; the what, the where, and the why we eat, and what this says about a person and society. Barthes wrote, 'we could classify novels according to the frankness of their alimentary allusions … alimentary detail goes beyond signification, it is the enigmatic supplement of meaning' (*Sade* 124).

This thesis fits comfortably into, and intersects with, a more recent reception of Joyce which embraces environmental and ecological studies, animal studies and the non-human turn. The 'microbe-hunters' Robert Koch, Elie Metchnikoff and Louis Pasteur are all referenced in *Ulysses,* and the scientific advances brought about by the

microscope. This foregrounds the innovative research that is being carried out today into the microbiome and the gut/brain axis, providing another avenue of interpretation for the reader who would like to analyse how food affects certain characters and their mental well-being. Bloom would have been intrigued by this strange invisible world of our non-human selves, or put another way, the notion of a 'gut-garden'; he is already on track with close attention to his bowel movements. In these Covid times he would have plenty of time to tend that other garden, the little patch at the back of the house and beside the jakes, with a heightened awareness of Nature, and perhaps take a greater interest in the growing of food and home-baking.

The food in *Ulysses*, and particularly Bloom's interpretations and predictions of it, are as significant today as they were then, and our reading is still as deeply entrenched and therefore enhanced by the food issues of today as in 1904. Food is still of paramount importance, its implications are not so much deeper than in 1904 but different. Bloom would probably not have been very surprised by Brexit; he already understood that the British take the best beef for themselves, and everything else too. But surely he would have been a European! The starvation issues that Bloom would have recognised are still at play; food capitalism, cheap food, and food advertising are the food issues of today. Would he be surprised how groceries are not the largest part of our household expenditure any longer? Climate change would probably not surprise him, and he would have no trouble becoming a vegetarian with that 'fine flavour of things from the earth', and even Molly is getting 'sick of that everlasting butchers meat from Buckleys'.

How would Bloom have coped with the pandemic – of being in lockdown in Dublin? He could walk 2km, and then 5km, from Eccles street. He could grow vegetables in his garden and he could still walk to the shops and become more

experimental with his cooking at home. His scientific mind would have zoomed in on the microbes, listening intently to the immunologists. He would probably argue strongly with those who were not wearing a mask, because hygiene for him is already a high priority. But he would miss the physical contact that he so obviously craves – he and Molly would have to spend much more time together, perhaps even have another child. He would miss going to funerals, but not the pub. There would be no children on the street, no book stores along the quays, no wandering into the maternity hospital. Perhaps he would read *Sweets of Sin* out loud to Molly and they could sing together. Maybe she would watch him cook, reading to him from her recipe book, telling him about Gibraltar and trying to imitate the fancy shop-bought cakes with 'cherries and pinky sugar' (731). There would be no brothels or cabman's shelters; no 'damn bad cakes' in the Gresham Hotel; no Lord Mayor's dinner, let alone travelling to Glencree over the Featherbed Mountain.

Once again, Lévi-Strauss's hypothesis has been upended, civilization has brought us to the brink of destruction by pandemic, and perhaps the only way forward is to work with nature in the future. Many of Bloom's transport schemes, from dog-drawn milk-carts to cattle transport (671) would certainly decrease our carbon footprint. However, this thesis has found the magic in the text, is in the recycling of the language of *Ulysses*. Joyce has created new life from his raw material, that is the serialised *Little Review* version, until it becomes the cooked or ready-to-eat version of *Ulysses*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Carol J. *The Sexual Politics of Meat.* NY: Continuum, 2010.

Adkins, Peter. "The Eyes of Dead Animals: Nineteenth-Century Meat Production in James Joyce's *Ulysses*." Consuming Animals Conference paper. York, 2017.

Allen, Graham. *Barthes.* London: Routledge, 2003.

---. *Intertextuality*. London: Routledge, 2010.

---. Review. *Travels in China* by Roland Barthes. *Cultural Sociology* 8, 4 (Dec 2014). 526-528.

Andrews, C. S. *Dublin Made Me*. Dublin: Mercier Press, 1979.

Armstrong, Alison. *The Joyce of Cooking: Food and Drink from James Joyce's Dublin.* New York: Station Hill Press, 1986.

---. *Eating, Reading, Cooking, Writing.* Unpublished. 2014.

Armstrong, Tim. *Modernism, Technology and the Body: A Cultural Study.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998.

---. *Modernism: A Cultural History.* Cambridge: Polity, 2005.

Attridge, Derek. ed. *James Joyce*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009.

Banta, Melissa and Oscar A. Silverman, eds. *James Joyce's Letters to Sylvia Beach.* Oxford: Plantin, 1987.

Barnes, Julian. *The Pedant in the Kitchen.* London: Atlantic Books, 2003.

Barry, Kevin. ed. *Occasional, Critical, and Political Writing.* New York: Oxford UP, 2000.

Barthes, Roland. *A Barthes Reader*. London: Cape, 1982.

---. *Album: Inédits, Correspondences et varia.* Eric Marly ed. Paris: Editons du Seul, 2015.

---. *Elements of Semiology.* London: Cape, 1967.

---. *Empire of Signs.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

---. *Criticism and Truth.* Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 1987.

---. *The Grain of the Voice.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1986.

---. *Image, Music, Text.* Glasgow: Fontana, 1977.

---. *The Pleasure of the Text.* London: Cape, 1976.

---. *Roland Barthes.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.

---. *The Rustle of Language.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

---. *Mythologies.* London: Vintage, 2009.

---. *The Semiotic Challenge*. UK: Blackwell, 1988.

---. *S/Z.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1974.

---. *Sade, Fourier, Loyola.* London: Cape, 1977.

---. *Sade, Fournier and Loyola*. Milan: Credito Italiano, 1977.

---. *Travels in China*. Cambridge: Polity, 2012.

---. *Writing Degree Zero.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.

---. 'Reading Brillat-Savarin' in *The Rustle of Language.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1986.

---. 'Towards a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption' in Counihan, Carole. *Food and Culture.* New York: Routledge, 1997.

Bauer, George. 'Eating out with Barthes.' in *Literary Gastronomy*. Ed David Bevan. Amsterdam: Rodopi,1988.

Beardsworth, Alan and Teresa Keil. *Sociology on the Menu*. London: Routledge, 1997.

Beetham, Margaret. 'Good Taste and Sweet Ordering: Dining with Mrs. Beeton.' *Victorian Literature and Culture*, vol.36, 2008, pp. 391-406.

---. *A Magazine of her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Women's Magazine, 1800 – 1914.* London: Routledge, 1996.

Bennet, Jane. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things.* Durham: Duke UP, 2010.

Bevan, David. *Literary Gastronomy.* Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988.

Blonsky, Marxhall. *On Signs*. Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1985.

Bock, Martin. 'James Joyce and Germ Theory: The Skeleton at the Feast'. *James Joyce Quarterly,* vol. 45. No. 1, 2007, pp. 23 – 46.

Bourdieu, Pierre in *Eating Culture,* Gillian Crowther. Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Bowen, Elizabeth. *The Shelbourne*. London: Vintage, 2001.

---. *Seven Winters: Memories of a Dublin Childhood.* London: Longmans, Green and Co.,1943.

Bowker, Gordon. *James Joyce: A Biography.* London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 2011.

Brazeau, Robert. 'The Colonial Market and the Commodified Animal in Telemachus'. *James Joyce Quarterly*, vol. 58, no. 1-2, 2020-2021, pp.19-35.

Brillat-Savarin, Jean Anthelme. *The Physiology of Taste: or Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy.* New York: Everyman, 2009.

Brosan, Katie. *Gut Garden: A Journey into the Wonderful World of your Microbiome.* London: Cicada Books, 2021.

Brown, Richard. *Joyce and Sexuality.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1988.

Budgen, Frank. *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses'*. London: Oxford UP, 1972.

Burgess, Anthony. *ReJoyce* London: Deutch, 1973.

Caesar, Michael. *Umberto Eco: Pholosophy, Semiotics and the Work of Fiction.* Wiley: Blackwell, 1999.

Calvet, Lous-Jean. Trans. Sarah Wykes. *Roland Barthes: A Biography.* Indianapolis: Indiana UP, 1994.

Carson, Niall. 'Print Culture Landscapes 1880-1922' in *Irish Literature in Transition* vol. 4, ed M E Howes. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2020.

Castle, Gregory. *Modernism and the Celtic Revival.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001.

Claflin, Kyri W, and Peter Scholliers. eds. *Writing Food History: A Global Perspective.* London: Berg, 2012.

Clare, Maurice. Shakespeare: *Days with the Poets.* London: Hoddder and Stoughton, 1913.

Classen, Constance and David Howes and Anthony Synott. *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell.* London: Routledge, 1994.

Cleary, Joe and Claire Connolly. *Modern Irish Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.

Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1988.

--- and George E. Marcus eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Coetze, J.M. *Elizabeth Costello.* London: Vintage Books, 2004.

Colum, Mary. *Life and the Dream.* New York: Doubleday, 1946.

--- and Patrick Colum. *Our Friend James Joyce.* New York: Doubleday, 1958.

Conley, Tim. 'The Stephen Dedalus Diet'. *James Joyce Quarterly* vol. 50. no. 3, 2013.

Costello, Peter. *James Joyce.* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1998.

Counihan, Carole and Penny Van Esterik. *Food and Culture: A Reader.* New York: Routledge, 1997.

Cousins, Margaret. *We Two Together.* Madras: Ganesh, 1950.

Cousins, Herbert. *The Chemistry of the Garden: a primer for amateurs and young gardeners.* London: Macmillan, 1910.

Cozzi. Annette. *Discourses of Food in Nineteenth Century Fiction.* UK: Palgrave, 2010.

Crispi, Lucca. *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Characters in Ulysses: Becoming the Blooms.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015.

Crowley, Ronan. 'The Queen is not a Subject' in *James Joyce in the Nineteenth Century*, ed John Nash. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013.

Crowther, Gillian. *Eating Culture: An Anthropological Guide to Food.* Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Culler, Jonathan. *The Pursuit of Signs.* London: Routledge, 1981.

---. *Roland Barthes.* New York: Oxford UP, 1983.

Cusack George and Sarah Goss, editors. *Hungry Words: Images of Famine in the Irish Canon.* Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006.

Curtin, Deane W. and Lisa M. Healdke. *Cooking, Eating, Thinking: Transformative Philosophies of Food.* Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1992.

Davis, Sara. 'The Culinary Triangle'. www.thesmartset.com. 7/8/2013.

Deane, Seamus. ' "Masked with Mathew Arnold's Face": Joyce and Liberalism'. *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies,* vol.12 no. 1, 1986.

Deleuze, Gilles. *Francis Bacon: The Logic of Sensation.* London: Continuum, 2005.

Dinan, Timothy G and John F Cryan, 'Making Sense of the Microbiome in Psychiatry'. *International Journal of Neuropsychopharmacology*, vol. 22 no.1, 2019.

Douglas, Mary. *Implicit Meanings.* London: Rooutledge, 2010.

---. 'Deciphering a Meal', in Counihan, Carole. *Food and Culture.* New York: Routledge, 1997.

Eagleton, Terry. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. Minneapolis: Minnesota UP, 2008.

---. *After Theory.* London: Penguin, 2004.

---. *Edible Ecriture. Times Higher Education*. October 24, 1997.

---. *Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture*. London: Verso, 1995.

Ellmann, Maud. *The Hunger Artists: Starving, Writing and Imprisonment.* London: Virago, 1993.

---. '*Ulysses:* Changing into an Animal.' *Field Day Review,* Vol. 2, 2006.

Ellmann, Richard. *The Consciousness of Joyce.* London: Faber, 1977.

---. ed. *The Critical Writings of James Joyce.* New York: Viking, 1965.

---. *James Joyce.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983.

---. *Ulysses on the Liffey*. New York: Oxford UP, 1972.

---. ed, *Letters of James Joyce II and III.* New York: The Viking Press, 1966.

Empson, William. *The Structure of Complex Words*. London: Penguin, 1995.

Farmar, Tony. *Privileged Lives: A Social History of Middle-Class Ireland 1882-1889.* Dublin: A & A Farmar, 2010.

Fernandez-Armesto, Felipe. *Food: A History.* London: Macmillan, 2001.

Ferris, Kathleen. *James Joyce and the Burden of Disease.* UP of Kentucky, 1995.

Findlater, Alex. *Findlaters – The Story of a Dublin Merchant Family 1774–2001.* Dublin: A & A Farmar, 2001.

Fisher M. F. K. *The Art of Eating.* New York: Vintage, 1976.

Flynn, Catherine. *James Joyce and the Matter of Paris*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2019

Foucault, Michael. '*What is an Author?' Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology II.* New York: New York Press, 1998.

Fox, Brian. *James Joyce's America.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2019.

French, Marilyn. *The Book as World: James Joyces's 'Ulysses'.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1976.

Freud Sigmund, *Psychotherapy of Everyday Life.* London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2002.

---. *Totem and Taboo.* London: Routledge, 1950.

Fritz, Elizabeth. *James Joyce's* 'Ulysses' *and Sigmund Freud*. Google Books. Web. Accessed 28 Jan. 2013.

Fuller, James David. *James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*. Hemel Hempstead: Wheatsheaf, 1992.

Gabler, Hans Walter. ed. *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition.* Garland, 1986.

---. 'What *Ulysses* Requires'. *The Proceedings of the Bibliographic Society of America,*vol.87, no. 2, 1993, pp.187-248.

Gadamer, Hans Georg. Philosophical Hermeneutics. Berkely: California UP, 1976.

Gandhi, Leela. 'Meat' in *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-de-Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship.* Durham: Duke UP, 2006.

Gibbons, Luke. *Joyce's Ghosts: Ireland, Modernism and Memory*. Chicago:

Chicago UP, 2015.

Gifford, Don. *'Ulysses' Annotated: Notes for James Joyce's 'Ulysses'*. Berkeley: California UP, 1989.

Gilbert, Sandra. *The Culinary Imagination: From Myth to Modernity*. New York: Norton, 2014.

Gilbert, Stuart. *James Joyce's 'Ulysses'.* London: Penguin, 1969.

---. ed. *Letters of James Joyce.* New York: Viking Press, 1957.

---. *Reflections on James Joyce.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.

Gilespie, Michael. 'A Critique of Ellmann's list of Joyce's Trieste Library'. *James Joyce Quarterly,* vol.19, no. 1, 1981, pp. 27-36.

Gill, Marie. 'Roland Barthes: Life as Text'. *Barthes Studies* 1, Cardiff: 2015.

Gladwin, Derek, ed. *Gastro-Modernism*. Liverpool: Clemson UP, 2019.

Goody, Jack. *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1982.

Gorman, Herbert. *James Joyce.* New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939.

Groden, Michael. *'Ulysses' in Progress.* Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1977.

---. *'Ulysses' in Focus: Genetic, Textual and Personal Views.* Florida: Florida UP, 2010.

Haggard, H. Rider. *She.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008.

Harris, Marvin. *Cannibals and Kings: The Origins of Cultures*. London: Collins, 1978.

Harris, Roy. *Signs, Language and Communication.* London: Routledge, 1996.

Hart, Antonia and Lynn Nalty. *Ghost Signs.* Dublin: History Press, 2014.

Hawkes, Terence. *Structuralism and Semiotics*. London: Methuen, 1977.

Hayward, Matthew. 'Bloom's Job: The Role of the Advertisement Canvasser in

Joyce's Dublin'. *Modernism/modernity,* vol. 22, no. 4, 2015, pp. 651-666.

---. ' "To Arrest Involuntary Attention": Advertising and Street-selling in *Ulysses*'. In *James Joyce in the Nineteenth Century.* Ed. John Nash. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013.

Henke, Suzette. *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire.* New York: Routledge, 1990.

---. Joyce's *Moraculous Sindbook.* Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1978.

Herring, Philip F. *Joyce's 'Ulysses' Notesheets in the British Museum*. Virginia: Virginia UP, 1972.

Herz, Rachel. *Why You Eat What You Eat: The Science Behind Our Relationship With Food.* New York: Norton, 2018.

Hogan, Patrick Colm. *Ulysses and the Poetics of Cognition.* New York: Routledge, 2014.

Homer. *The Odyssey.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998.

Hutchins, Patricia. *James Joyce's Dublin*. London: Grey Walls Press, 1950.

---. *James Joyce's World*. London: Methuen, 1957.

Hutton, Clare. 'Joyce at Work on "Lotus Eaters": The Moment of July 1918 and Beyond'. *MSA*15: August 2013. Unpublished.

---. "Development of *Ulysses* in Print" in *Dublin James Joyce Journal,* no. 6/7, 2013-2014.

---. Serial Encounters: *Ulysses and The Little Review.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2019.

Joyce, James. *Dubliners.* London: Penguin, 1968.

---. *Exiles.* New York: Dover Publications, 2002.

---. *Finnegans Wake. Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 2012.*

---. *Giacomo Joyce.* London: Faber & Faber, 1983.

---. *Occasional, Critical and Political Writing.* Ed. Kevin Barry. Oxford: Oxford UP,

2008.

---. *Poems and Shorter Writings.* London: Faber, 1991.

---. *Pomes Peny-Each.* London: Faber and Faber, 1968.

---. *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.* London: Penguin, 1975.

---. *Stephen Hero.* London: Granada, 1982.

---. *Ulysses.* ed. Hans Gabler. New York: Random, 1986.

---. *Ulysses.* ed. Jerri Johnston. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998.

---. *Ulysses*. ed Sam Slote. London: Alma, 2012.

---. *Ulysses.* Intro. Declan Kiberd. London: Penguin, 1992.

---. *James Joyce Archive: a facsimile of placards.* ed. Michael Groden. Garland, 1978.

Joyce, Stanislaus. *The Dublin Diary of Stanislaus Joyce.* Ed George Harris Healey. Ithaca, New York: Cornell UP, 1962.

---. *My Brother's Keeper.* London: Faber, 1958.

Jurafsky, Dan. *The Language of Food.* New York: Norton, 2014.

Kain, Richard M. *Fabulous Voyager*. Chicago: Chicago UP, 1947.

Keep, Christopher. 'The Cultural work of the Typewriting Girl'. *Victorian Studies*, vol.40, no.3, 1997, pp.401-26.

Kelly, Joseph. 'The Prodigal Son'. *James Joyce Quarterly* vol.48, no. 4, Summer 2011, pp. 603-635.

Kenner, Hugh. *Joyce's Voices.* London: Faber, 1978.

---. *Dublin's Joyce*. New York: Columbia UP, 1987.

Kiberd, Declan. *Ulysses and Us.* London: Faber, 2009.

---. *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation.* London: Vintage Books, 1996.

---. *The Irish Writer and the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.

---. Introduction to *Ulysses.* London: Penguin, 1992.

Knight, Diana. *Barthes and Utopia: Space, Travel, Writing.* Oxford: Clarendon, 2003.

Kuch, Peter. *Irish Divorce/Joyce's Ulysses.* UK: Palgrave, 2017.

Laird, Heather. ' "[H]e daren't show his nose with the Molly Maguires looking for him to let daylight through him for grabbing the holding of an evicted tenant": *Ulysses*, the Cattle Economy and the Unwritten Agrarian Code'. *James Joyce Quarterly*, forthcoming.

---. *RTÉ Brainstorm*. 'What did James Joyce have to say about the Irish Beef Industry?' 20 Aug. 2019.

Laudan, Rachel. 'A Plea for Culinary Modernism'. *Jacobin*, vol. 5, no. 22, pp. 15. Web. Accessed 10 June 2016.

Lavers, Annette. *Roland Barthes: Structuralism and After*. London: Methuen, 1982.

Leach, Edmund. *Lévi-Strauss*. Fontana Collins, 1979.

Lekatsus, Barbara. 'Inside the Pastilles of the Marquis de Sade'. *Chocolate: Food of the Gods.* Ed Alex Szogyi. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997.

Leonard, Garry. *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce*. Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1998.

Lernot, Geert. *Joyce as Reader.* Dublin: James Joyce Summer School, 1996.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Anthropology and Myth.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.

---. *Myth and Meaning.* New York: Schocken, 1995.

---. *The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology.* London: Penguin, 1992.

---. *The Origin of Table Manners*. New York: Harper, 1978.

Litvak, Joseph. *Strange Gourmets: Sophistication, Theory and the Novel.* Durham: Duke UP, 1997.

Lloyd, David. *Irish Culture and Colonial Modernity 1800 – 2000: The Transformation of Oral Space.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011.

Lodge, David. *Modern Criticism and Theory.* London: Longman, 1993.

Lombardo, Patrizia. *The Three Paradoxes of Roland Barthes*. Athens: University of Georgia, 1989.

Lyons, J. B. *Thrust Syphilis down to Hell and other Rejoyceana*. Dun Laoghaire: Glendale, 1988.

MacBeth, Helen. ed. *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change.* Providence: Berghahn, 1997.

MacCabe, Colin. *James Joyce and the Revolution of the Word.* New York: Barnes, 1979.

McClung, Jeff. 'The Physical Fitness of Leopold Bloom'. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science,* vol. 2, no. 2, January 2012.

McCourt, John. *The Years of Bloom.* Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2001.

---- ed. *James Joyce in Context.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014.

Mac Con Iomaire, Mairtin. 'Coffee Culture in Dublin: A Brief History'. *Journal of Media and Culture,* vol.15, no. 2, 2012.

---. 'Food as "Motif" in the Irish Song Tradition'. Dublin Gastronomy Symposium, June 3 2014. www.arrow.tudublin.ie.

---. 'The Language of Food: A Review of the 2009 Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery'. *Journal of Culinary Science and Technology,* vol. 7, no. 2/3, 2009, pp. 211-217.

--- and Eamon Maher, eds. '*Tickling the Palate': Gastronomy in Irish Literature and Culture.* Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014.

McCracken, Scott. *Masculinities, Modernist Fiction and the Urban Public Sphere.* Manchester: Manchester UP, 2007.

Maddox, Barbara. *Nora.* London: Penguin Books, 1988.

Manganaro, Marc. 'Reading "Culture" in Joyce's *Ulysses*'. *James Joyce Quarterly,* vol. 35/36, no. 4 & 1, Summer/Fall 1998.

Martell, Jessica. 'Book Review: Gastro-Modernism, ed Derek Gladwin'. *James Joyce Quarterly,* vol. 58, no. 3, Spring 2021.

Maxwell, Alison and Shay Harpur. *Jammet's of Dublin: 1901 to 1967*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2012.

Miller, D. A. *Bringing Out Roland Barthes.* Berkeley: Berkeley UP, 1992.

Miller, Ian. *Reforming Food in Post-Famine Ireland*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 2014.

Mintz, Sidney. 'Time, Sugar and Sweetness'. *In Food and Culture: A Reader*. eds Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik. New York: Routledge, 1997.

Montresor, Jaye Berman. 'Joyce's Jewish Stew: The Alimentary Lists in *Ulysses*.' *Colby Quarterly,* vol. 31, no. 3, Sept. 1995, pp. 194-203. Accessed 2 Feb. 2011.

Morton, Timothy ed*. Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism.* New York: Palgrave Mac, 2004.

Mouritesen, Ole G and Klavs Styrbaek. *MouthFeel*. New York: Columbia UP, 2017.

Mullin, Katherine. 'The Shop-Girl Revolutionary in Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima*'. *Nineteenth-Century Literature,* vol. 63, no. 2, 2008.

---. *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.

---. ‘Typhod Turnips and Crooked Cucumbers: Theosophy in *Ulysses’*. *Modernism/modernity,* vol 8, no. 1, January 2001. Accessed 12 Aug. 2011.

Nabokov, Vladimir. *Lectures on Literature.* San Diego: Harcourt, 1980.

Nash, John. ed. *James Joyce in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013.

Nemeroff and Rozin. ‘You are what you eat’. *Ethos: The Journal of Psychological Anthropology,* vol. 17, no. 1, 1989.

Nolan, Emer. *James Joyce and Nationalism*. London: Routledge, 1999.

---. ‘Joyce and the Nineteenth Century Irish Novel.’ In *James Joyce in the Nineteenth Century.* Ed. John Nash. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013.

O’Connell, Helen. “Food Values: Joyce and Dietary Revival.” In *James Joyce in the Nineteenth Century.* Ed. John Nash. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013.

---. *Ireland and the Fiction of Improvement.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.

O’Connor, Maureen. *The Female and the Species.* Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010.

O’Connor, Ulick. ed. *The Joyce We Knew: Memoirs of Joyce.* Dingle: Brandon, 2004.

Ó’Gráda, Cormac. *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006.

O’Kane Mara, Miriam. ‘James Joyce and The Politics of Food’. *New Hibernian Review,* vol. 13, no. 4, 2009.

Ortner, Sherry B. ‘Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?’ in *Women, Culture and Society,* eds M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere. Stanford, CA: StanfordUP.

Osteen, Mark. *The Economy of Ulysses: Making Both Ends Meet.* New York: Syracuse UP, 1995.

Paglia, Camille. *Sexual Personae*. New York: Vintage, 1991.

Parkes, Adam. *Modernism and the Theory of Censorship*. New York: Oxford

UP, 1996.

Pont, Graham. 'Wine, Women and Song'. *Oxford Symposium of Food.* 1989.

Power, Arthur. *Conversations with James Joyce.* Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1999.

Platt, Len. *James Joyce: Texts and Contexts.* London: Continuum, 2011.

Plock, Vike Martina. Joyce, *Medicine, and Modernity.* Florida: UP, 2010.

Pollan, Michael. *Cooked: A Natural History of Transformation.* New York: Penguin, 2013.

Rains Stephanie. *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850 – 1916.* Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010.

---. 'Joyce's 'Araby' and the Historical Araby Bazaar, 1894'. *James Joyce Journal,* no.1, 2008, pp. 17-29.

---. '"Do you Ring? Or are you Rung For?": Mss Media, Class and Social Aspiration in Edwardian Ireland'. *New Hibernian Review*, vol.18, no. 4, 2014, pp.17-35.

Rando, David. 'The Cat's Meow: *Ulysses,* Animals, and the Veterinary Gaze.' *James Joyce Quarterly,* vol. 46, no. 3/4, 2009.

Regan, Marguerite M. 'Weggebobbles and Fruit: Bloom's Vegetarian Impulses'. *Texas Studies in Literature and Language,* vol. 51, no. 4, 2009, pp. 463- 475.

Rich, Lauren. '"A Table for One": Hunger and Unhomeliness in Joyce's Public Eateries.' *James Joyce Studies Annual,* 2010.

Rohman, Carrie. *Stalking the Subject.* New York: Columbia UP, 2009.

Roos, Bonnie. 'The Joyce of Eating: Feast, Famine and the Humble Potato in *Ulysses'.* Academia.edu.

---. 'James Joyce's "The Dead" and Bret Harte's *Gabriel Conroy*: The Nature of the Feast'. *The Yale Journal of Criticism,* vol.15, no. 1, 2002, pp. 99-126.

Rozin, Paul. 'Towards a Psycology of Food and Eating'. *Current Directions in*

Psycological Science, vol. 5, no. 1, 1996, pp. 18 -24.

Rosenquist, Rod. *Bloom's Digestion of the Economic and Political Situation in James Joyce's 'Lestrygonians'.* www.flashpointmag.com. Accessed June 2012.

Roughley, Alan. *James Joyce and Critical Theory.* New York: Harvester, 1991.

Russell, G. W. – *A.E. Selections from the Contributors to the "Irish Homestead",* ed. Henry Summerfield. Gerrards Cross: C. Smyth, 1978.

Sagan, Dorion and Lynn Margulis. *Garden of Microbial Delights: A Practical Guide to the Subvisible World.* Boston: HBJ, 1988.

Scapp, Ron and Brian Seitz eds. *Eating Culture*. Albany: SUNY P, 1998.

Sceats, Sarah. *Food, Consumption and the Body in Contemporary Women's Fiction.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000.

Schofield, Mary Anne, ed. *Cooking by the Book: Food in Literature and Culture*. Ohio: Bowling Green State UP, 1989.

Scholes, Robert. *Semiotics and Interpretation.* Yale: Yale UP, 1982.

Scholliers, Peter. ed. *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, eating and drinking in Europe since the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Berg, 2001.

Schork, R. J. *Greek and Hellenic Culture in Joyce.* Gainesville: UP Florida, 1998.

Scott, Bonnie Kime. *Joyce and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1984.

Segnit, Niki. *The Flavour Thesaurus.* London: Bloomsbury, 2010.

Senn, Fritz. *Joycean Murmoirs.* Dublin: Lilliput, 2007.

Shloss, Carol. *Lucia Joyce: To Dance in the Wake.* London: Bloomsbury, 2004.

Shovlin, Frank. *Journey Westward: Joyce, Dubliners and the Literary Revival.* Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2012.

Showalter, Elaine. *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle.*

London: Virago, 2009.

Small, Flicka. 'What food says about Leopold Bloom'. *Tickling the Palate*. eds Mairtin MacIomaire and Eamon Maher. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014.

---. 'Food and A Day in the Life of *Ulysses*'. *Tasting Joyce.* ed Elisa Olivier. Manchester: Metropolitan University, 2018.

---. 'Olives, Oysters and Oranges: A New Way of Reading James Joyce's *Ulysses*'. *The Boolean,* 2012, pp. 98-101.

---. *RTÉ Brainstorm.* 'What Leopold Bloom's Diary tells us about Bloomsday'. 16th June 2020.

--- and Colin Sage. 'The Food Culture of the Iveragh Peninsula'. *Atlas of the Iveragh Peninsular.* Cork: Cork UP, 2009.

Smith, Zadie. 'Rereading Barthes and Nabokov'. *Changing my Mind*. London: Penguin, 2009.

Somerville-Large, Peter. *Dublin.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1979.

Sontag, Susan. ed. *A Barthes Reader*. London: Cape, 1982.

Spence, Charles. *Gastrophysics: The New Science of Eating.* UK: Penguin, 2017.

Stafford, Andy. *Roland Barthes: Critical Lives.* London: Reaktion, 2015.

Stano, Simona. 'Introduction: Semiotics of Food'. *Semiotica,* vol. 211, 2016, pp. 19.

Stein, Gertrude. *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas.* New York: Vintage, 1990.

Strachan, John. '*Ulysses* and the Dublin Advertising Business'. In *James Joyce in the Nineteenth Century.* Ed. John Nash. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013.

Sturrock. *Stucturalism and Since.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 1979.

Swanson, Arthur. 'Edible Rocks: The Pun as Allegory in Joyce's *Lestrygonian*s'. *Genre,* vol. 6, 1972, pp. 385-403.

Szogyi, Alex. *Chocolate: Food of the Gods.* Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1997.

Tucker, Lindsey. *Stephen and Bloom at Life's Feast. Alimentary Symbolism and the Creative Process in James Joyce's 'Ulysses'.* Columbus: Ohio UP, 1984.

Valente, Joseph. *The Myth of Manliness in National Culture: 1880-1922.* Illinois: Illinois UP, 2011.

Vichnar, David. *Joyce Against Theory.* Prague: Litteraria, 2010.

Visser, Margaret. *The Rituals of Dinner*. London: Penguin, 1991.

Vogler, Pen. *Scoff: A History of Food and Class in Britain.* London: Atlantic, 2020.

Walkowitz, Judith R. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Whiting, Sydney. *Memoirs of a Stomach: Written by himself that all who eat may read*. London: W. E. Painter, 1875.

Whitman, Walt. *Song of Myself.* www.poets.org/print/node/53880

Wilcken, Patrick. *Claude Lévi-Strauss: The Poet in the Laboratory.* London: Bloomsbury, 2010.

Williams, Raymond. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* London: Fontana, 2010.

Wood, Roy C. *The Sociology of the Meal.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1995.

Yared, Aida. 'Eating and Digesting "Lestrygonians": A Physiological Model of Reading.' *James Joyce Quarterly,* vol. 46, no. 3-4, Spring – Summer 2009, pp. 469-479. Accessed Jan. 10 2011.

Zizek, Slavoj. *Plague of Fantasies*. London: Verso, 2008.

Appendix

In spite of careful and repeated reading of certain classical passages, aided by a glossary, he had derived imperfect conviction from the text, the answers not bearing in all points.

'Ithaca' 630

[Joyce] spent an inordinate amount of time in giving his students the names of foods, insisting, 'these words are very important'.

Ellmann, *James Joyce* 472

A Selection of Food Words in *Ulysses*

Episode 1	'Telemachus'
Episode 2	'Nestor'
Episode 4	'Calypso'
Episode 5	'Lotus Eaters'
Episode 6	'Hades'
Episode 7	'Aeolus'
Episode 8	'Lestrygonians'
Episode 10	'Wandering Rocks'
Episode 11	'Sirens'
Episode 12	'Cyclops'
Episode 13	'Nausicaa'
Episode 15	'Circe'
Episode 16	'Eumaeus'
Episode 17	'Ithaca'
Episode 18	'Penelope'

All references to *Ulysses* are from: Joyce, James. *Ulysses*. Ed Jeri Johnson. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998.

Episode 1. 'Telemachus'. Scene: The Tower. Hour: 8 am

Page Number	Food Reference	Context
7	Marmalade	Stephen envisages a scene from Oxford, which puts him in mind of Oxford Marmalade, an English jam made from oranges traditionally eaten at breakfast time.
8	Tea	Stephen recalls that Mulligan was making tea when he overheard him say, 'it's only Dedalus whose mother is beastly dead'.
9	Rashers	Slices of bacon (Canadian bacon) usually eaten at breakfast time.
10	A cored apple, filled with brown sugar	Memories of his dead mother beset Stephen's brooding brain.
12	The fry The loaf, pot of honey and butter Lemon Sugar Eggs	Mulligan makes a cooked breakfast, known as 'the fry'. Stephen puts out bread and butter and honey. The milk has not arrived and Stephen suggests they use lemon, as there is one in the locker. Mulligan says this is a 'Paris' fad and he prefers to have Sandycove milk. Haines, the Englishman, comments on the strong tea.
13	The Milk Woman	She is also a symbol of the 'Old woman of Ireland'. The lines of a poem by Yeats (9) makes reference to the Countess Cathleen who sold her soul to buy food for her people. Mulligan says the goodness of the milk would compensate for eating cheap food (14).
15	A crust thickly buttered on both sides	Mulligan fills his mouth with the buttered bread.

		The expression 'buttered on both sides' means to benefit or profit from two separate or contradictory things. Despite coming from an affluent family, Buck Mulligan claims to be broke. See further references to buttered bread: The nuns who do well for themselves are buttered 'in and out' (148). When Molly is affronted by Bloom's audacity for asking for breakfast in bed she presumes he will want his toast buttered on both sides (722). Later in the day Bloom tells Stephen that Dr Mulligan 'knows which side his bread is buttered' (576).
16	Honey trickles over a slice of the loaf	Stephen eats as he talks. Haines wants to make a collection of his sayings.
20	Salt bread	'Eating salt bread' is an expression similar to 'eating humble pie', as in being apologetic or accepting humiliation. Literally, humble pies were originally a pastry filled with offal, the inner organs of animals. 'Umble' was a word for offal, or inferior food.

Episode 2. 'Nestor'. Scene: The School. Hour: 10am

24	Figrolls	These are sweet biscuits filled with fig puree. A bag of them are found in Stephen's pupil's school bag. In 'Eumeus' Stephen finds a few broken biscuits in his pocket and tries to recollect where he got them from (573/574).
31	Orange Lodges	Mr Deasy, the headmaster, belongs to the Orange Order, a protestant organisation.

		Orange is the 'colour' of 'Calypso' (Gilbert Schema). The word 'orange' has a trajectory in *Ulysses* thats course travels from the fruit to colour (especially as a binary of green), to politics and religion.
32	Meat faced woman, a butcher's dame, nuzzling thirstily her clove of orange	The butcher's wife has become what she eats. This is a recurring animal/human allusion with meat. In *Giacomo Joyce*: 'A symphony of smells …sour reek of armpits, nozzled oranges, melting breast ointments…' (12). In "Wandering Rocks" Blooms reads from *Sweets of Sin*: 'Melting breast ointments…Armpits' oniony sweat' (227).

Episode 4. 'Calypso'. Scene: The House. Hour: 8 am. Organ: Kidney

53	The inner organs of beasts and fowls. Thick giblet soup, nutty gizzards, a stuffed roast heart, liver slices fried with crust crumbs, fried hencod's roes. Grilled mutton kidneys.	Leopold Bloom ate these with relish (appreciation). He particularly likes mutton kidneys, which gives his palate a fine tang of faintly scented urine. See repetition on page 258.
	Another slice of bread and butter	Bloom is putting breakfast items on a tray. Molly likes thin bread and butter in the morning. Bloom suggests Molly is like a 'Queen in her bedroom eating bread and (sic)' (72). This references the nursery rhyme *Sing a Song of Sixpence.* In the rhyme there are 24 blackbirds and in 'Aeolus', "Life on the Raw", the two women eat 24 plums (139). The blackbirds in the rhyme peck off the nose of the maid 'hanging out the clothes' and it is obvious Bloom has been watching the maid next door whacking carpets on the clothes line (57).

54	Milk for Pussens	Hanlon's milkman has filled the jug with warm bubbled milk. Bloom gives some to the cat.
	Ham and eggs	There are no good eggs to be had during the drought of June 1904, as it caused the hens to go off lay. See 'Ithaca': the 'prolonged summer drouth' resulted in the rationing of water in the Dublin area (624).
	Pork kidney from Dlugacz's	Thursday is not a good day for mutton kidneys from Buckley's. There is no fresh killing of animals on a Thursday, because Friday is a Catholic (religious) abstention from meat. Bloom breaks Jewish dietary taboo by buying and eating a pork kidney. In 'Circe' Bloom declares the New Bloomusalem is built in the shape of a huge pork kidney (458). Joyce explains that motifs (like the trajectory of his food words) could be incorporated in writing: 'In one chapter a man may eat a kidney, in the next suffer from kidney disease and in the next his friend is kicked in the kidneys (Ellmann 436). Inner organs and offal are recurring motifs throughout *Ulysses*.
55	Potato	Bloom checks his pockets to make sure he has a potato. We learn that this shrivelled tuber was a talisman his mother gave him (450), and that it is a preservative against plague and pestilence (470). He says it is 'a relic of poor mamma (518). References to 'potato blight' in *Ulysses* are a euphemism for the Great Famine. Potatoes and truffles, both tubers, have symbolic significance throughout *Ulysses*. Brillat-Savarin says he values 'potatoes solely as preventives of actual famine' (242).

	Make a picnic of it	By this expression Bloom means that wearing a light suit to the funeral would be too informal. Mention of picnics occurs several times in *Ulysses*. Although the picnics are family occasions, they often link Boylan to the Bloom family.
	Trays of daily bread	Boland's bread van is delivering fresh bread but Molly 'prefers yesterday's loaves turnovers crisp crowns hot'. A turnover is a Dublin term for a Grinder, which is similar to a Batch loaf but has a fat and a thin part so as to have both crust and crumb, whereas the Batch is mostly crumb (these are known in Galway as Ducks).[102]
	Water scented with fennel, sherbet	Sweet and flavoured diluted fruit juices are popular in Oriental countries. Bloom imagines that he is wandering through the streets of a town in the East.
	Ginger, tea dust, biscuit mush.	Wandering through Dublin, Bloom smells this mixture through the open doors of Larry O'Rourke's.
57	Sausages, polonies, forcemeat, cooked spicy pig's blood. A kidney oozing blood gouts.	These items are displayed in Dlugacz's butcher-shop window. Polonies (a type of sausage) are also found in Richie Goulding's black bag (424)
	1½ pounds Denny's sausages	The ferret eyed butcher folds the sausages he has snipped off with blotchy fingers that are sausage pink. Resemblances between humans and animals and meat continue throughout the novel, especially in 'Circe'. ('An animal episode, full of animal allusions, animal mannerisms'. Budgen 234).
	Moving hams	The next-door girl has 'vigorous hips'. Bloom wants to walk home behind her so he can admire the way

[102] Thanks to Mairtin Mac ConIomaire for this information on 'Turnovers'

		she moves. He thinks about her later: 'How did she walk with her sausages?'(69)
	Prime sausage	Sausage is used here as a sexual innuendo, meat as a human body part. Bloom fantasises about the girl and how her boyfriend, a constable, might be well endowed: 'they like them sizeable'.
	Moist tender gland	This is in reference to the kidney – but it can also be read here as a *double entendre* for sexual organs.
58	Orange groves and melon fields. Land planted with olives, oranges, almonds and citrons	Old newsprint was cut up and used to wrap parcels of meat (116). Bloom picks a page up and reads an advertisement for a model farm at Kinnereth in Turkey. *Agendath Netaim* is the name of the company of planters. Bloom thinks about the work involved in irrigating oranges, packing olives in jars, wrapping citrus fruits in tissue paper and putting them in crates. The word citron reminds him of Mr Citron and other Jewish friends. ('Citron's Saint Kevin's Parade' 148). He remembers how Molly did not like olives before she got used to the taste. Repetition of 'rich fruits, spicy from Jaffa. Agendath Netaim. Wealth of the World' (160). Melons have a recurring significance in the text. They are the emblem of Trieste, where Joyce lived in Europe; it is the name for the type of bowler hat Bloom wears; and it is also the 'creamfruit' in 'Proteus' (46), and 'S&C' (209), and suggestive of Molly's buttocks in 'Ithaca' (686).
59	Cold oils (slid along his veins) (Age crusted him with a) salt cloak	A cloud covers the sun and Bloom begins to feel depressed. Later in the day (1pm) he again feels

		lacking in vitality, dull and gloomy: 'feel as if I had been eaten and spewed' (157).
	Gentle smoke of tea, fume of the pan, sizzling butter	Bloom hurries home to be in familiar and safe surroundings. Nostos, a longing for home, is a theme in the *Odyssey*.
60	Scald the teapot	Molly tells Bloom to rinse out the teapot with boiling water before making the tea. Confused with 'scold' or to nag, this is a precursor to the sexual connotations about teapots in 'Circe' (423 - 425).
60	Bloom scalded and rinsed out the teapot and put in four full spoons of tea tilting the kettle…and set it to draw	This is the ritual attached to making tea.
	Bloom unwrapped the kidney And dropped it into the sizzling butter sauce	Bloom considers how cats are kosher because they do not eat pork. However his cat laps milk as well as licking the 'bloodsmeared' paper in which the kidney was wrapped. It is a Jewish dietary requirement that 'no milk and meat [are eaten] together' (163). 'The prohibition of the use of fresh meat and milk at one meal' (Ithaca 676).
	Lough Owel picnic	A lake in the midlands, north of Mullingar. Milly is going on a picnic with some young students (Repeated on 63).
61	Orange keyed chamber pot and Apple design cretonne covers the commode	These items were bought from Henry Price, Moore street, Dublin. Orange, a fruit and item of food, is now becoming a motif. Orange is the colour of the 'Calypso' episode (Gilbert Schema).
61	Bread and butter, four, sugar, spoon, cream	These are the items on Molly's breakfast tray. Compare with Gerty McDowell's idea of the 'brekky' she would like to serve to her ideal husband (337). Also see Bell/o's description of breakfast (499); and

		the hangman's breakfast (296). In total there are six different breakfasts described in *Ulysses.*
62	The sluggish cream wound curdling spirals through her tea	Bloom buys extra cream for Molly. In 'Lestrygonians' Nosey Flynn reports having seen Bloom buying the cream (169). Bloom serves the cream to Stephen in 'Ithaca' (629).
63	The pungent smoke shot up in an angry jet Smell of burn	The frying kidney has started to burn while Bloom is upstairs. Molly complains about Bloom burning the bottom of the pan (705). Bloom cuts away the burnt flesh and gives it to the cat. Smoke from the kidney is described as being 'angry'. The words 'smell of burn' are repeated in 'Sirens' (258). Odysseus, and the ancient Greeks, sacrificed burnt inner organs of animals to the Gods. See 'God wants blood victim…sacrifice, kidney burnt offering' (144)
63	Dies of bread, sopped in gravy	Bloom soaks pieces of bread soaked in juice from the kidney. He is described as chewing with discernment the toothsome pliant meat.
	Box of creams	Molly sent a box of cream-filled sweets to Milly for her birthday. Cream and creaminess are motifs throughout *Ulysses*.
	Scrap picnic	Picnics in *Ulysses* are linked to Boylan, Milly and Molly. The links to Boylan are often indirect (61). Bloom and Molly go on a Church picnic in 'Lestrygonians' (148). Molly remembers and plans picnics in 'Penelope' (706 and 715). In 'Hades' crumbs found in the carriage are suggestive of a picnic (86).

64	Cakes	Bloom remembers how Milly would not eat her cake when he took her out to tea when she was a child, and later they had a row over a bracelet.
66	Peas, lettuce, fresh greens	These are all green vegetables. The colour green is a symbol of Ireland. Bloom thinks how these vegetables could be grown in his garden if it was reclaimed and manured.
67	I'm swelled after that cabbage	Molly says this to Bloom. He would like to write down for publication all the funny things Molly says. He thinks again about the fact that she swells after cabbage when he is at the funeral (100).

Episode 5. 'Lotus Eaters'. Scene: The Bath. Hour: 10 am. Organ: Genitals

68	Bucket of offal	A butcher's boy is carrying a bucketful of skins (intestines for sausage making) and other inner organs of animals. Brady's cottages are in a very poor area of Dublin. In the Linati schema the organ is skin.
	Tea	Bloom looks in the window of the Belfast and Oriental Tea Company. He reads the labels that advertise 'choice blend' and 'family tea'. Tom Kernan (from "Grace", *Dubliners*) is the agent.
69	Tripe and cowheel	This harks back to the offal in the bucket. Tripe is the muscle wall of a cow's stomach, used as food.
	Sausages	Bloom tries to remember how his neighbour walked when she was carrying her sausages back from the butcher's (57).
70	Half baked they look.	Bloom is thinking about the militia stationed in Dublin, who have been overseas, and how they are now rotten with venereal disease and have a haunted look.

72	What is home without Plumtree's Potted Meat? Incomplete. With it an abode of bliss.	This is from an advertisement Bloom reads in the *Freeman's Journal.* The words of the advertisement become a recurring motif and metaphor throughout *Ulysses*. See 147, 163, 627 and 636. To pot one's meat is slang for copulation.
72	Eating bread	Bloom thinks about Molly who is still in bed. And the nursery rhyme *Sing a Song of Sixpence*. See note for page 53.
73	Nosebag time	Bloom watches the carriage-horses eating. They are champing (chewing) the oats with their teeth.
76	Getting the supper: Fruit, olives…water	Bloom recollects a painting of Jesus in the home of Mary and Martha as they prepare supper.
77	Eating bits of corpse	In All Hallows church, Bloom watches the priest distribute bread for the communion. He thinks of how it represents the 'body' of Christ, which makes the communicants cannibals. He compares the communion wafer to mazzoth, ritual Jewish bread. He thinks of cannibals again in "Lestrygonians" (163), the episode that is named after the cannibals in the *Odyssey*.
81	Sweet almond oil. Strawberries. Oatmeal in buttermilk.	Bloom is in Sweny's chemist and thinks about homely recipes for medicines and cosmetic lotions, which use natural ingredients, such as 'strawberries for the teeth'. Bloom is always acutely aware of smells. Molly's bathwater reminds him of strawberries and cream (357).
82/83	Tender turkey	There has been a regular hotbed of betting recently but Bloom admits that a raffle ticket costing 3d could win a Christmas dinner.
83	A cod in a pot	Cod is a type of fish.

		Bloom passes an advertisement for a college sports-day that depicts a cyclist doubled up over the handlebars. This reminds him of trying to squeeze a cod into a pot.

Episode 6. 'Hades'. Scene: The Graveyard. Hour: 11am. Organ: Heart

85/86	Breadcrumbs. Crust-crumbs. Crumbs.	There are crumbs have on the seat of the funeral carriage. The occupants speculate that a picnic has taken place. See notes on picnics for page 63. See reference to crumbs in Stephen's pockets (573). See earlier reference to Bloom eating liver fried with crust crumbs (53).
89	Red Bank	The occupants of the carriage see Boylan coming out of the Red Bank restaurant. The restaurant was established in 1845 in D'Olier Street and famous for its oysters. Oysters play an important part as an aphrodisiac in *Ulysses*. See page 166.
94	Roast beef for old England	The cattle run lose in the street as they are herded to the docks and shipped to England.
94	Tanneries, soap, margarine	Bloom conjectures how these are by-products of 'the dead meat trade'.
97	Cakes and fruit. Simnel cakes	At the gates of the cemetery a hawker stands by his barrow, selling food to the mourners. Simnel cakes are traditionally eaten at Easter to celebrate Christ rising from the dead.
	Fish's face	A girl coming out of the cemetery has a face that is bloodless and livid, like a fish.
100	Swells after cabbage	Bloom notices that Father Coffey is all swelled up and wonders what makes him like that. He

		remembers that Molly swells up when she eats cabbage and he has previously made a note of this (67).
	Raw beef steaks	Bloom thinks that butchers get to look like raw beefsteaks. Brillat-Savarin aphorism: 'you are what you eat'.
102	Lungs, heart, liver	Bloom imagines how many of these organs must be interred in the graveyard. These inner organs that are necessary for life are also eaten as food, and particularly relished by Bloom. This reference foregrounds the theme of cannibalism to follow.
104	Grilled beefsteaks	The smell of these would be tantalising to anyone who was starving or 'gnawing at their own vitals'. See where Bloom suggests the smell of food can 'deaden the gnaw of hunger' (150).
	Kind of cheesy Treacle oozing out of them	Bloom lists the stages of decomposition. Corpses then turn green and pink as they decompose.
105	A juicy pear or ladies' punch, hot strong and sweet	The dead are comforted by the ordinary lives of the people who visit the graveyard.
107	Frying pan	Bloom contemplates the meaning of death. His axiom is 'out of the frying pan of life and into the fire of purgatory'.
109	Saucepan Irish stew	Bloom thinks it would be more appropriate if gravestones recorded the occupations of the deceased, for instance, a woman's grave could be decorated with a saucepan and engraved 'I cooked good Irish stew'.
109	Basket of fruit	Bloom thinks of the anecdote about a painting that was so life-like that the birds pecked at the fruit.

110	Ordinary meat	Bloom sees a rat in the grave. Rats would pick the bones of a corpse clean. It would be a regular 'square feed' for them. A corpse is meat gone bad.
	What's cheese? Corpse of milk	Bloom makes this logical deduction.
	Raw white turnips	Bloom thinks that the crumbling mush of corpse smells and tastes like raw white turnips.
111	Oyster eyes	Bloom uses this description about a person's eyes several times (111, 152, 243).

Episode 7. 'Aeolus'. Scene: The Newspaper. Hour: 12 noon. Organ: The Lungs

116	Wrap up meat, parcels	Old newsprint is used to wrap up meat. See cut sheets that Bloom reads in the butcher's shop (57).
118	Everybody eating everyone else	Bloom remembers an Aramaic song that includes a butcher in a cumulative chant. He concludes that this is what justice and life is like. In 'Lestrygonians' he returns to this theme, 'Eat or be eaten. Kill! Kill!' (162).
119	Water biscuit	Professor MacHugh in the newspaper office nibbles at a thin crescent shaped biscuit.
121	Shite and onions!	This is an exclamation made by Mr Dedalus, meaning 'Nonsense!'.
122	Hot cake, bakery, Doughy Daw	An anecdote in the newspaper is about Doughty Daw who owned a bakery. Stories like this 'go down like hot cakes', meaning they are popular.
127	"Shindy in a Wellknown Restaurant"	A newspaper headline.
128	Soup	Myles Crawford recalls how Mr Deasy's wife once threw a bowl of soup in a waiter's face.
131	Bransome's Coffee	An advertisement for this coffee has been placed in the newspaper. A Code? Should be Branson's.

139	Brawn, panloaf, and plums	In Stephen's Parable of the Plums as told to MacHugh, two women take these items of food to the top of Nelson's column to see the view of Dublin. Brawn is cooked pig's head, pressed and sliced. A panloaf is shop-bought bread. Brawn is also used to describe physical strength and contrasted with brains. Stephen retells the parable to Bloom (638).
140	Crubeen	This is a cooked pig's trotter.
141	Brawn and bread	The women finish eating and wipe their fingers on the greasy paper.
142	Plums and plumstones	The women eat the plums and spit the plumstones out between the railings. (See Bloom on Boylan 359).

Episode 8. 'Lestrygonians'. Scene: The Lunch. Hour: 1 pm. Organ: Esophagus

144	Pineapple rock, lemon platt, butter scotch	A shop girl is shovelling scoopfuls of sweets into a bag in Lemon and Co., 49 Sackville St. lower. Lemon's was a lozenge and comfit manufacturer by appointment to his Majesty the King. Confectionary as a metaphor is also taken up in *Sweets of Sin*, the book that Bloom obtains for Molly (227).
	Cod fish	Cod is the common name of the genus *Gadus* and often used for other fish species. When Bloom is thinking about phosphorescence, he recalls seeing bluey silver light on a piece of fish in his pantry. He doesn't like the smell of fish but recalls that it is said

		to be good for the brain. The latter idea links to the notion 'you are what you eat'.
	Malaga Raisins	Molly had cravings for these during pregnancy. They made her think of when she lived in Spain.
145	Eat you out of house and home Living on the fat of the land	Large families have many mouths to feed. There is no contraception. Priests have only themselves to feed. They are celibate.
	Cross buns	These are traditionally eaten on the Friday before Easter, a spicy bread roll marked with a cross on the top. Bloom associates fasting on Good Friday with the fast of Yom Kippur ('spring-cleaning of inside' 163) and thinks eating cross buns is breaching a strict fast. Yom Kippur is actually an autumn fast; Passover heralds Spring, as does Easter.
	Bread and Butter	This is a reference to a street rhyme or superstitious blessing. It is based on the concept of the difficulty of separating butter from bread once it has been spread – buttered bread cannot be 'unbuttered'. This may be why Bloom wants his toast buttered on 'both sides' as a mark of his regained togetherness with Molly in 'Penelope' (722).
	Potatoes and marge	Margarine is a substitute for butter. It was invented by Frenchman H. Mouries in 1869 and Irish production was carried out in Limerick from as early as 1876. In those early days it was not enthusiastically received; apart from it not being particularly palatable, its low price became associated with poverty (Murray 33 - 34).

	Pudding	Pudding is a sausage made from blood and the inner organs of animals. Here it is used as an expression: 'Proof of the pudding is in the eating'.
	Stale cake	Bloom throws cake into the Liffey, which gets caught in the wake of the boat.
146	Two apples a penny	These are Australian apples. Irish apples would not have been available in June. Australia was still under British rule in 1904.
	Banbury cakes (2 for a penny)	Bloom buys some cake and breaks it into pieces to throw to the gulls. It is a Eucharistic gesture.
	Manna	This is a miraculous 'bread' which God sent to the children of Israel.
	Swan meat	Swans belonged exclusively to the British Royal family and therefore the eating of them was prohibited. The same prohibition applied to Royal Sturgeon (167). In the Bible, swan meat, like pig meat, is considered unclean.
	Cram a turkey on chestnut meal	The ingredients in the stuffing flavour the poultry. Bloom contemplates how we absorb the characteristics of what we eat. Turkey stuffed with chestnuts is a traditional dish of artisans (see Brillat-Savarin 89).
147	Baron of beef	This refers to a double sirloin of beef. It is a play on the word Baron linking it to establishment hierarchy. Beef (John Bull) was a symbol of British Colonial identity.
	Bread. Our staple food	One of the Hely's sandwich board men munches bread as he walks.

		In 1903 Findlaters' sandwich board men were prosecuted for infringing Dublin Traffic Regulation Act (*Findlaters* 124). Walter Benjamin said that a sandwich board man was the ultimate flaneur.
	Have a finger in the pie	This is an expression for wanting to get involved. It is also a sexual innuendo.
	Pillar of Salt	In the Bible, Lot's wife gets turned into a block of salt because she looked back. In "Lestrygonians" Bloom is interested in the anatomical features of female statues (168).
	Plumtree's potted under the obituaries, cold meat department	Bloom sees the advertisement for Plumtree's Potted Meat in the obituary section of the paper, and makes a joke about it. This is a recurring motif and metaphor throughout *Ulysses*. See 72, 163, 627 and 636.
148	Caramel	This is a play on the word 'sweet' and a reference to Our Lady of Mount Carmel. There are also references to sweets on 144, 227 and 249. When Bloom worked for Hely's he found it difficult to collect money from the nuns. He liked the Sister whose name he cannot remember. Some women joined the convent because they came from poor families.
148	Fried everything in the best butter. No lard for them. My heart is broke eating dripping. They like buttering themselves in and out	This means that the nuns at Tranquilla Convent do well for themselves. There are other references in *Ulysses* to eating bread and butter: Buck Mulligan likes to butter his bread on both sides (15). Tea and toast for him (Bloom) buttered on both sides (722).

		Knowing 'which side his bread is buttered' (576) is a metaphor for knowing where one's best interests lie.
	Port in his soup	Alderman Robert O'Reilly ate this at the Glencree Dinner. See also "Nausicaa" (354). For the full story of the dinner see "Wandering Rocks" (224/225) and "Penelope" (701 and 724).
	Rabbit Pie	Molly and Bloom ate rabbit pie at the Choir picnic at the Sugarloaf.
149	Pieces of Mutton with Chutney Sauce	Supper after Molly has been to choir practice and Bloom has been to Lodge meeting.
150	Hot mockturtle vapour and steam of new baked jam puffs	Imitation turtle soup made from a cow's head. See the making of Mockturtle soup in *Fannie's Last Supper* (39)
	Good pastry made from butter, best flour and Demerara sugar	There are flakes of pastry on the gusset of Mrs Breen's dress, and a daub of sugary flour stuck to her cheek.
151	Dowdy toque, three old grapes	Mrs Breen's hat is decorated with this fruit brooch. Bloom thinks she used to be a 'tasty' dresser but now her clothes are 'shabby genteel'
151	Pungent mockturtle oxtail mulligatawny	The smell makes Bloom feel hungry. This links him to the barefoot Arab who stood over the grating, breathing in the fumes to deaden the gnaw of hunger (150). See 'gnawing on their own vitals' (104).
151	Rhubarb tart with liberal fillings, rich fruit interior.	This is a metaphor for Josie Powell (Mrs Breen) in her youth. Rhubarb indicates the growing season, June.
153	Fruit or pork shop	Bloom sees an advertisement for a position in a food shop in The *Irish Times.*
	Mayonnaise, plums, custard	Bloom, 'scavening (sic) what the quality left', he pours mayonnaise on plums thinking it is custard. In

		other versions of *Ulysses* this is correctly spelt 'scavenging'. Plums are a recurring symbol in *Ulysses:* See Parable of the Plums (139) and Bloom on Boylan (359).
153	Saffron bun and milk and soda lunch.	Mr Purefoy is 'eating with a stopwatch, thirtytwo chews to the minute'. In mid-nineteenth century Horace Fletcher, the Great Masticator, advised industrious munching as a regimen against indigestion (Maud Ellmann 8). Bloom hopes to find a cabman's shelter selling 'milk and soda' so he can sober Stephen up (369)
	Muttonchop whiskers	This refers to the whiskers on a man's cheek when shaped like a mutton chop, narrow at the top and broad and rounded at the bottom. Chops: A cut of meat or a person's or animal's cheeks or jowls.
	Only one lump of sugar in my tea	Sugar was a cheap source of energy for poor families, and sweet tea often replaced a meal. An insatiable sweet tooth in poor people is indirectly linked to slavery, capitalism and imperialism (Sidney Mintz 'Time, Sugar and Sweetness'. 357- 368).
154	Tea, Tea, Tea	Bolton's Westmoreland House, Tea Merchants. Bloom intends to get an advertisement from tea-salesman Tom Kernan. Tea is linked to slavery, capitalism and imperialism (see note on sugar above).
	Goose green/Goose step	Goose green: An open space in Drumcondra, Dublin. The Goose Tavern is situated off Griffith Avenue, Dromcondra, near Glasnevin Cemetery (site of 'Hades').

		Goose step: A military marching step in which the knees do not bend.
	Mackerel they called me	A mackerel is an oily fish. Later Bloom names the friends who called him a mackerel (512). Bloom often has messianic connotations and fish are associated with Jesus who was a 'fisher of men'. Also slang for a pimp (*un maquereau* in French) See *Soir Bleu* (1914) painting by Edward Hopper.
	Good load of fat soup under their belts Food heated faces	The constables have had their lunch and thus satisfied, return to their beats. Bloom thinks the best time to attack one would be at 'pudding time', of to give one 'a punch in his dinner'.
	Bound for their troughs Prepare to receive soup	The next shift of constables are on their way to eat. When Bloom is in the Burton he thinks to himself 'see the animals feed' (161). Most of the food allusions on this page pertain to political and military institutions who were civilising and controlling forces. The march of food down the gullet is a form of digestion (Burgess 122).
	Ought to be places for women. Running into cakeshops	Bloom passes a urinal and thinks how there ought to be public conveniences for women. The rise of department stores and restaurants provided tearooms specifically for women where they could meet without being chaperoned and could use the ablutions ('Ghost Signs', *Irish Times,* November 15th 2014). When Brillat-Savarin discusses the inception of restaurants, and the necessity of having toilets or 'inconveniences' within them, he alludes to this as making 'sacrifices … to the least worthy of the Venuses' (317).

	I was souped	This is an expression meaning in trouble.
155	Sour apple tree	This is from an American civil war song, 'John Brown's Body'.
	Vinegar Hill	This is a reference to the site of the 1798 Rebellion in Enniscorthy, County Wexford. The battle was between Wexford United Irishmen and the forces of King George III. Vinegar is acidic and a defence against bacteria. Vinegar was a mispronunciation by the British of Cath Cnoc Fiodh na gCaor – The Hill of the Wood of Berries. Place names that feature foods tend to come from a very early Irish diet (Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire).
	Butter Exchange band	The dairyman's guild band played at political rallies. Bloom considers that some of these rebellious young men will eventually become servants of the establishment (Blamires 66).
	Egging them on	An expression meaning encouragement. Here it is about encouraging raw or green youths to be rebellious. The words raw and green are also associated with food.
	Drop him like a hot potato	An expression meaning to ostracise someone.
	Then the next thing on the menu	Bloom is thinking of 'edible slaveys'. Bloom considers how plain clothes men seem to court slaveys, and how men in uniform can be sexually abusive; 'push her up against the door and maul her a bit'.
156	Gammon and spinach	Slang for the everyday round of things
	Dublin Bakery Company's tea room	This café was known as the DBC. This is where Boylan first saw Molly when she was having tea with Bloom (696).

		Mulligan and Haines also have their afternoon tea here. Mulligan says DBC stands for damn bad cakes (238).
	Michaelmas goose. Good lump of thyme seasoning. Goose grease. Penny roll. Best sauce. Apricots. Peaches.	Michaelmas is a festival held on 29th September. Bloom's thoughts link food with political debate, nationalists and Irish speakers. Sauce and goose, throughout the text, act as metaphors.
157	Built on bread and onions	Bloom contemplates the impermanence of cities and the buildings in them. The pyramids are built on sand. Bloom also considers the role of landlords and how they swindle their tenants. Time eats architectural edifices, becoming food for time, stones are like faeces and history is a sort of cannibalism (Burgess 23).
	Mushroom houses	This refers to Kirwan's low cost housing, built for the Dublin Artisan's Dwellings project, east of Phoenix park.
	Feel as if I have been eaten and spewed out	Bloom is hungry and feels despondent. Earlier, when the sun goes behind a cloud, it has the same effect (59). 'I expel myself, I spit myself out, I abject myself within the same motion through which I claim to establish myself' (Kristeva).
	Tinned Salmon	'Tinned' is used here to mean having money. It is a reference to Dr Salmon the provost, who is wealthy; and plays on his family name, Salmon.
	Liver and Bacon	Bloom hopes that liver and bacon is on the menu even though he has had a kidney for breakfast.
	Eaten a bad egg. Poached eyes on ghost	This is a malaproprism, or mistaken use of similar sounding words, here 'poached eggs on toast'. It is

		used here to refer to the facial features of Charles Stewart Parnell's brother John Howard Parnell. He plays chess and drinks coffee in the DBC (see note on 156).
	Eating orange peels in the park	Nationalists ate oranges at political rallies to taunt Orangemen (see note on 31).
158	Weggebobbles and fruit. Nutsteak not beefsteak. Nutarians and Fruitarians	Bloom sees AE coming out of a vegetarian restaurant with Lizzie Twigg (see also 184 and 480). Bloom thinks, 'that kind of food…produces the like waves of the brain poetical'. This idea links to the recurring Brillat-Savarin aphorism: 'We are what we eat'. For a list of 'that kind of food', vegetarian foods from the earth, including truffles, see page 163. Brillat-Savarin uses the word Fruigivorous (284).
	Irish stew	Bloom contrasts policemen 'sweating Irish stew into their shirts' with vegetarians who are aesthetes. Policemen came from farms and villages in the country, so the city centre was dominated by cultural values of the 'peasant periphery' (Kiberd 295).
160	Country bred chawbacon Beef to the heels	'Beef to the heels like a Mullingar heifer' is an idiom for overweight legs. When Bloom sees the thick feet of a woman it reminds him of what Milly wrote in her letter about country people coming into the fair in Mullingar, where she is living (63).
	Molly looks out of plumb	Joyce explained to Budgen, 'walking towards his lunch my hero, Leopold Bloom, thinks of his wife and says to himself "Molly's legs are out of plumb" because he is thinking of food' (Budgen 21).

160	Rich fruits, spicy from Jaffa	This is a reference to the advertisement for the model farm in Turkey (58).
	A warm human plumpness settled down on his brain With hungered flesh obscurely	Food metaphors are used to describe Bloom because he is hungry.
161	Pungent meat juice. Slop of greens. Gobfuls of sloppy food. A man spitting back on his plate Gurgling soup. Half masticated gristle. Chump chop from the grill. Bitten off more than he can chew	In the Burton restaurant Bloom watches the men eating. They are shovelling food down their gullets. The imagery is repeated in 'Nausicaa', 'spitting back gum chewed gristle' (354).
	Hungry man is an angry man	In the story 'The Dead' in *Dubliners*, Mary Jane says to Aunt Kate, 'when we are hungry we are all very quarrelsome' (192).
	Scoffing up stew gravy with sopping snippets of bread	See Bloom 'dies of bread, sopped in gravy' (63).
162	Eat or be eaten. Kill! Kill!	Bloom is predator and hunter. 'Everybody eating every one else' (118) Joyce had originally intended to call the Bloom character Mr Hunter (Ellmann 162, 230, 375)
162	Never know whose thoughts you're chewing	This is a reference to the late 19th century obsession with a fear of contamination or adulteration. Bloom makes reference to the lack of hygiene in the restaurant: 'polished his tumbler knife fork and spoon with his napkin. New set of micobes….Couldn't eat a morsel here'(161).
163	Garlic. Onions. Mushrooms. Truffles.	Bloom lists these vegetarian fine flavours and foods from the earth. Brillat-Savarin believes that truffles induce dreams and are an aphrodisiac (103).

		Other aphrodisiacs discussed in *Ulysses* are oysters and fizz in 'Lestrygonians' (166) and chocolate in 'Circe' (494). See more on truffles in 'Circe' (485, 494, and 498).
	Bubble and Squeak. Lights. Brisket. Raw head and bloody bones	This is a traditional dish made with fried bacon (or beef) and cabbage. Lights are the lungs of sheep or pigs sometimes used for food. This describes food from the cattle market. Bloom worked in the cattle market and gives a graphic description of the slaughter.
163	Hot fresh blood	This was often prescribed for tuberculosis sufferers. The 'famished ghosts' are a reference to the dead in the *Odyssey's* Hades that must drink from the blood-filled trench.
	'Lick it up, smoking hot, thick sugary'	This is a reference to the blood. See 'licking the blood off the street' (231).
163	Sardines Sandwich	These are some of the foods available from the shelves in Davy Byrne's pub. More are listed on page 166. 'On the shelf' is an expression meaning left behind, or not married. This foreshadows the 'last sardine of summer' left under the sandwich dome in 'Sirens' (277). Bloom makes a pun on the ingredients, 'Ham and his descendants mustered there' (Bible, 'Genesis' 9:22).
163	Potted meat	This is preserved meat in a jar. Bloom is reminded again of Plumtree's potted meat. He also thinks how now that Dignam is dead he is indeed 'potted', and this links to the advertisement seen under the obituaries (147).

	Lemon and rice Pickled pork	Bloom remembers a limerick (rhyme) in which a missionary, the Rev Mr MacTrigger, has his 'parts of honour' eaten by the chief of the cannibals. Bloom thinks that a missionary would be too salty for the cannibals, tasting like pickled pork. Bloom thinks the cannibals would serve their 'meat' with lemon and rice. In 'Circe' Bell/o threatens to eat a slice of suckling pig (aka Bloom) with rice and lemon (499). Lemon and rice is still a traditional accompaniment to many Greek dishes.
	Cauls, mould tripes, windpipes, minced up Find the meat	Potted meat might be made up of these ingredients. As Bloom jests, it would make a puzzle to find the actual meat.
	Kosher food. No meat and milk together	It is a Jewish dietary regulation (Kosher) that no meat and milk should be taken together. Bloom thinks this is related to hygiene. See Kosher cat (54) and the prohibition of flesh and milk at the one meal (676).
	Peace and war depend on some fellow's digestion	Joyce said to Frank Budgen that 'how a man eats his egg will give a better clue to his differentiation than how he goes forth to war' and 'cutting bread displays character better than cutting throats' (Budgen 75). Third Aphorism of Brillat-Savarin: 'The Destiny of nations depends on how they nourish themselves' (15). Other references to 'love and war' in 'Sirens' while Bloom is eating (257 and 259).
163	Christmas turkeys and geese. Eat, drink and be merry	These are traditional foods eaten at Christian feasts; thus making a connection between religion, and eating, sometimes followed by a hangover.

		On Yom Kippur and foods eaten at religious festivals see notes for page 145.
	Cheese digests all but itself Mighty cheese Cheese sandwich	Bloom decides to have a cheese sandwich. Cheese digests itself during the fermentation process, which uses rennet from a cow's stomach. 'Cheese is corpse of milk' (110). 'Mighty' is spelt 'Mity' in all other versions and does not appear in the *Little Review* at all. The use of the word 'mity' indicates the bacteria used to make Gorgonzola cheese.
	Italian olives. A nice salad. Cool as a cucumber Pure olive oil Cutlet with a sprig of parsley Spanish onion Devilled Crab	As Bloom gets nearer to assuaging his hunger, he thinks of more elaborate foods. He would like some olives with his sandwich. The fact that he prefers Italian olives shows that there was a choice in Dublin at this time. Bloom's diet is sophisticated enough for him to think that a cool cucumber, olive oil and onion would make a nice salad. 'Cool as a cucumber' can also mean calm and self-possessed – something that Bloom would prefer to be at this time. Bloom remembers that Milly once served him a cutlet of meat with a sprig of parsley. Onions in *Ulysses* are often specified as being Spanish and linked to Molly, who was born in Gibraltar. See 'Adieu to you Spanish onions' (606). There is a Spanish onion on the dresser at Eccles Street (627). *Devilled Crab* was the name of the first film shown at the Volta Cinema, which Joyce opened in Dublin in 1909.
	God made food. The devil the cooks	This is an expression meaning that cooks can ruin good food.

	Gorgonzola	Bloom chooses gorgonzola cheese for his sandwich.' Italo Svevo once said to Joyce '[Man] becomes more sophisticated slowly and becomes completely civilised only when the day arrives in which he can fully enjoy gorgonzola' (McCourt 91). Bloom thinks it has 'the feety savour of green cheese' (165)
	Mustard	Mustard is a 'hot' condiment. Bloom puts some in his sandwich and 'a warm shock of air heat of mustard hauched on [his] heart'. 'Relish of disgust, pungent mustard' (165). 'Pith of bread mustard a moment mawkish cheese' (166).
165	Duck eggs	Boylan is training a boxer and recommends a diet of sucking eggs and keeping off the booze.
	A herring's blush	Davy Byrne has rosy cheeks; it does not mean that he wears a shameful expression.
	Too much fat on the parsnips	This suggests that Davy Byrne is polite and fawning towards his customers. A similar use of the term would be 'buttering them up'.
166	Shelves of tins, sardines, lobster claws	A list of more items on the shelves in Davy Byrne's Pub
	Shells, periwinkles, snails, tempting fruit, ice cones, cream	Bloom thinks of 'all the odd things people pick up for food', and how it is 'risky putting anything into your mouth'.
166	Poisonous berries. Johnny Magores	Johnny Magores are a local name for the wild rosehip, from the Irish mogóir, a hip. They grow in hedgerows and contain more vitamin C than any other fruit or vegetable known (*Irish Times* July 25th, 2020).

		Bloom reasons, 'Roundness you think good. Gaudy colour warns you off. One fellow told another and so on. Try it on the dog first. Led on by the smell or the look'. Claude Lévi-Strauss says that learning which foods are poisonous is part of civilisation. Roland Barthes writing on the anthropological aspect of food says that civilisation came when men 'ceased living off berries' (*Psychosociology* 21). Brillat-Savarin says, 'a man eats nothing without smelling it more or less consciously… his nose acts always as the first sentinel' (49).
	Fizz and Red bank Oysters	Other unlikely foods, according to Bloom, are oysters which are unsightly like a 'clot of phlegm. They have 'filthy shells' and are the 'devil to open'. Oysters feed on sewage and garbage. In 'Nausicaa' Bloom recalls how O'Connor, his wife and five children were poisoned by eating mussels that were poisoned by the sewage (363). Oysters also have aphrodisiac properties when served with Fizz (champagne) Bloom thinks. He saw Boylan coming out of the Red Bank restaurant (89), and, remembering this, he contemplates Boylan's ability to have sex. Oysters are considered to be in season only when there is an R in the month. In the summer months of June, July and August the heat would multiply bacteria. In 'Cyclops' the Citizen 'spat a red bank oyster out of him' (317). In 'Circe' there is mention of 'two commercials that were standing fizz in Jammet's' (562).

	Jugged hare 50 year old eggs	Another couple of unlikely foods that have become desirable: Jugged hare is a stew made in a covered dish, and cooked over a long time. There is a Chinese tradition of preserving eggs in the ground for over fifty years before eating them.
167	Raw pastry	Bloom likes eating raw pastry. See 'Circe', Mrs Keogh the brothel cook has raw pastry.
	Caviare (sic)	Caviar is a delicacy made from fish eggs, usually from the Sturgeon. See below. Sturgeon traditionally belonged to royalty (see Swans 146)
	Platter of pulse	The hermit, stung by hunger, is contrasted with the *elite* who want special dishes. This is possibly a reference to the Bible where Esau sold his birth right for a meal of lentil stew or 'a mess of pottage' ('Genesis' 25: 29 -34) See Mary Colum's anecdote about Joyce upsetting his host Sylvia Beech when he ordered a dish of lentils at a party she gave to commemorate *Ulysses*. Lenehan eats a 'plate of peas' in 'Two Gallants, *Dubliners* (55).
167	Combustible duck *Crème de la crème* Curly cabbage *à la duchesse de Parme* Geese stuffed silly Lobsters boiled alive Filleted Lemon Sole	Bloom lists some 'special dishes' that might be served in a 'swell hotel', pretending to be something they are not. Duck flambéed in brandy Baked savoy cabbage with a stuffing of veal, herbs, etc. Some pretentious restaurants use a mishmash of French and English to describe items on the menu.

		This is called macaronic and comes from a sixteenth-century verse style, mixing Latin with Italian dialect originally named after macaroni. (Dan Jurafsky, *The Language of Food* 7-11) Geese were force-fed to produce outsize livers to make into paté (*fois gras*). See in 'Circe', 'when coopfattened their livers reach an elephantine size' (483). Bloom points out that a fish is the same fish whatever fancy name it has.
	Broth Desiccated soup	Broth is a type of soup made with stock. This is a dried soup that needs reconstituting. The expression 'too many cooks spoil the broth' means too many people doing the same task will not be satisfactory. Here Bloom refers to too many 'drugs' spoiling the broth, linking to the adulteration of food (see note for 162).
	Master of the Rolls	Bloom looks down into the basement kitchens of the Master of the Rolls' residence at 42 Merrion Square. This was a full time judicial position held by Sir Andrew Porter from 1883-1906. A pun on bread rolls.
167	Whitehatted *chef* like a rabbi	Rabbis wear cylindrical hats on ceremonial occasions that are similar to a chef's hat. Hely's men wear 5 tall white hats (147 and 218)
167	Know me come eat with me	Fourth aphorism of Brillat-Savarin: 'Tell me what you eat, and I shall tell you what you are' (15)
	Seedcake	This is a traditional sweet cake or bread made from caraway seeds. The glowing aftermath of wine and food remind Bloom of his first date with Molly. Hidden under wild

		ferns on Howth hill, Molly gives Bloom the warm and chewed seed cake to eat. Molly retells the same event on page 731. There are similarities in the text here to Brillat-Savarin's description of digestion (50-52).
168	Dropping currants	This is a reference to goat's droppings that were on the ground where they lay.
	Boiled mutton, carrots and turnips Allsop Beer	This is the fare on offer for a 'tanner' lunch, which would be an inexpensive meal. Tanner is slang for sixpence. Allsop's was an imported British beer. The logo on the label was the Red Hand of Ulster. Bloom compares this meal to ambrosia, food of the gods, which links to his simultaneous contemplation of goddesses and their digestion.
	Food, chyle, blood, dung, earth, food	This is a reference to the cyclical nature of eating, digesting and excreting, and how the body has to be with fuelled like an engine. As Bloom remarks, we mortals have to stuff 'food in one hole and out behind'.
169	Plovers on toast	Plovers are plump-breasted game birds. Nosy Flynn is alluding to Molly, who he says is 'well nourished' because Bloom buys her jars of cream from an Irish farm dairy (See also 61 and 629).
	Bacon	Bacon is salted pork, but used here to mean financial support.
170	Breadsoda	Bread soda is used as a raising agent in Irish bread making, rather than yeast. It is also used to relieve indigestion (dyspepsia). Traditionally bread soda was used in rural areas when cooking cabbage to keep the colour; it

		destroyed the vitamins leading to scurvy and depression.
171	Spinach	This is a green vegetable containing iron. Bloom says if one was going to follow the course of food through the body using x-rays it would have to be something green (Also 588 on x-rays).
172	Gnawing a crusted knuckle	Bloom sees a 'drowsing loafer' (an idle person) chewing the back of his hand, to keep away the pangs of hunger. Also 'deadens the gnaw of hunger' (150) and 'starving gnawing their vitals' (104).
172	Unbought tarts	Bloom sees these pastries in a confectioner's window. In 'Two Gallants' the men call women 'tarts' (*Dubliners* 47).
172	Give soup to pauper children	It was a practice during the famine to give soup to starving people if they would convert to Protestantism in exchange for food. Bloom calls the famine 'the time of the potato blight'.
	Slobbers his food Tastes all different	Bloom helps a blind boy cross the road and tries to imagine what it would be like not to see. He concentrates on the 'sense of smell', something that we know Bloom has a heightened awareness of. Brillat-Savarin discusses smell and its influence on taste (49).
175	Potato	Bloom retrieves a potato from his pocket. See 'potato I have' (55).

Episode 10. 'Wandering Rocks'. Scene: The Streets. Hour: 3pm. Organ: Blood

212	Bacon flitches and butter	A flitch of bacon is a side of a salted pig. Father Comee can smell these foods as he walks down the street.
212	Pig's puddings, white and black red, lying neatly curled in tubes	Father Conmee sees these in Youkstetter's, the pork butcher's.
214	Fruit clusters	Plaster ornament on the ceiling of a drawing room where Father Conmee has heard confession.
	Breadths of cabbages	Looking through a gate, Father Comee can see cabbages growing in a field.
216	Rabaiotti's Icecream car	See also 408, 577, 591. Italian families came to Ireland to open fish and chip shops and icecream parlours since 1880 (*Irish Times* 25th Jan. 2020) Rabaiotti's traded from 49 Amiens Street.
218	A bottle swathed in pink tissue paper and a small jar	This section takes place in Thornton's fruit shop and describes the contents of Boylan's seduction basket. (Unwrapped in Eccles Street, 627). Boylan produces a bottle of port and a jar of Plumtree's Potted Meat, which he asks to be put in the basket first.
218	Fat pears and ripe shame-faced peaches	The shop assistant arranges the fruit head to tail in the basket. (Molly and Bloom sleep like this in bed 627).
	Young juicy crinkled and plump red tomatoes	All the fruits are described very sensuously, tactile and olfactory senses to the fore. Boylan picks up pieces of fruit and smells the tomatoes. Aztec cannibals accompanied human flesh with tomatoes (Harris). Ellmann suggests that Boylan cannibalized women's flesh (*Liffey* 78).

218	A chip of strawberries	Bloom turns away from the basket of fruit to look at his watch. Bloom thinks that Molly smells like strawberries and cream (528); perhaps Boylan gets the connection too.
219	Fat pears and blushing peaches	Almost a repetition of the previous page but this time Boylan is looking into the blouse of the shop assistant. He holds the stalk of a red rose between his teeth. He is seen later in Grafton street, still holding the flower in his mouth, by Master Dignam (241). 'Strawberries for teeth' was one of the homely recipes in "Lotus Eaters" (81).
222	Carob and palm nut meal	On Mary's abbey, draymen are loading floats with sacks of these.
224	Banana peel	In Temple Bar McCoy dodges a banana peel on the footpath.
	Pound and a half of pork steaks	Dignam's son, Patrick Aloysius, buys meat in Mangan's.
224	Glencree reformatory, annual dinner Cold joints and mince pies	This was a political banquet held for fundraising. After the ample supply of drinks there was food galore: large cuts of meat, and sweet mince pies made from marinated dried fruit. Lenehan is reciting his version of the dinner. It is recounted elsewhere by Bloom (148) and by Molly (701).
227	Melting breast ointments. Armpits' oniony sweat	Bloom reads this in *Sweets of Sin.* In *Giacomo Joyce:* 'Sour reek of armpits…melting breast ointments' (12).
229	Glass of milk and a bun	Mr Dedalus gives his daughter two pennies and tells her to go and buy a glass of milk and a bun. She really

		needs enough money to feed a household of children now that their mother has died.
232	Garlic Egg Cockles	These three food items are used to conjure up exotica. The two old women (see page 38) are cockle pickers. See 'The Cockle Pickers' a painting (c 1890) by Joseph Malachy Kavanagh in the Crawford Gallery, Cork. 'Eleven cockles rolled' is repeated on 244.
238	A *mélange* Scones, butter and cakes	Haines and Mulligan are in the DBC having afternoon tea. They order a traditional selection of scones and cakes. A *mélange* is a black coffee topped with thick whipped cream. Haines is concerned that the cream is truly Irish.
240	Pork steaks Cottage fruit cake	Master Patrick Dignum is loath to return home with his porksteaks (See 224) to the women who are mourning his father, crying over fruit cake.
243	Oyster eyes	This is always a reference to John Henry Menton (See also 111 and 152).
244	Dry bread	The mysterious man in the macintosh, seen at the graveyard, is eating dry bread as he passes the Viceroy cavalcade.

11. 'Sirens'. Scene: The Concert Room. Hour: 4pm. Organ: Ear

248	Tea tray. Tea to draw. Sweet tea with milk	The Barmaids in the Ormond Hotel, Miss Douce and Miss Kennedy, enjoy a cup of tea. See the reference to drinking sweet tea (153).
249	Sweets are the sweets	This is a reference to *The Sweets of Sin,* a novel (227). A list of sweets figure in 'Lestrygonians' and again in this chapter (261).

250	Eat first…where eat? ...The Clarence, Dolphin	Bloom is desperate to eat. He wants to deal with the Keye's advertisement and he wants to avoid thinking of Molly and Boylan meeting at 4pm. The Clarence hotel is on the opposite side of the river to The Ormond.
254	Dinner fit for a prince	Richie Goulding joins Bloom for something to eat in the Ormond Hotel.
258	Liver and bacon. Steak and kidney	Richie Goulding and Bloom order their meal from Pat the waiter.
	Smell of burn	Bloom is thinking of cooking the kidney earlier (63)
	Nutty gizzards, fried cod's roes.	'As said before he ate with relish the inner organs.' This is a repetition of the foods that Bloom likes to eat (53 and 260).
259	Liver gravy and mashed potatoes	Bloom cuts his liver into slices and mashes the potato into the gravy.
260	Bloom ate liv (sic)	While Bloom is eating, many of his thoughts are half finished or distracted. He compares the Ormond with the Burton. 'Clean here at least. That chap in the Burton, gummy with gristle'. This is one of many additions about toothlessness and chewing added to the original text (and repeated on 354).
	Gravy's rather good fit for a	Fit for a prince (254). A motif that is repeated (254, 260. 261).
261	Graham Lemon's pineapple rock Elvery's Elephant	Lemon's sweet shop (see note 144) Elvery's, 46 Lower Sackville Street was a waterproof and gutta percha manufacturer (Thom's 1862). Elvery's were originally tea merchants, and the elephant was a symbol of India and Empire. Gutta percha is an electrical insulator made from the sap of trees from Sri-Lanka.

	Steak, kidney, liver. Liverless bacon. Kidney pie. Sweets	These are repetitions of the items of food Bloom is eating.
263	Jenny Lind soup; stock, sage, raw eggs, 1/2 pint cream For creamy dreamy	Jenny Lind soup made for professional singers, beneficial to the chest and throat. The soup was named after Jenny Lind, the Swedish soprano of the mid -1800s, known as the Swedish Nightingale. 'Creamy' is a recurring motif in *Ulysses*.
264	Under a pear tree	This comes from the words of a song. Boylan buys Molly 'fat pears and blushing peaches' (218).
265	Bread and water	Ben Dollard says that if anyone was in jail for seven days without bread and water, they would sing like a garden thrush (or nightingale), that is, become a police informer.
268	Sauce for the Gander	This is from a proverb and means that no double standards should apply. The same 'sauce' should be served for a goose or a gander (men or women).
	By Dlugacz' pork shop	This is where Bloom bought the kidney for his breakfast (56).
270	Buttered toast	Lydia's skin is the colour of toast from sunburn; she should have put on cold cream to protect her skin.
270	Eating dockleaves	Dockleaves are a coarse field weed. Bloom has an image of starving faces, eating dockleaves, looking in through the window. This is an indirect allusion to the famine.
277	Headless sardine	A sardine is a small oily fish. 'Under the sandwich bell lay on a bier of bread one last, one lonely, last sardine of summer: Bloom alone'. 'I feel so lonely (275). Bloom's reverie has been prompted by the men at the bar singing *The last Rose of Summer.*

		Bloom rejects sardines in Davy Byrne's (163).
	Pig's cheek and cabbage	Pig's cheek and herrings were eaten by the very poor (O'Brien 165) The chap who plays the drum in Micky Rooney's Band is at home eating this cheap food with cabbage.

Episode 12. 'Cyclops'. Scene: The Tavern. Hour: 5 pm. Organ: Muscle

280	Tea and sugar	The beginning of this episode makes many references to grocer's, tea merchant's, and fresh foods from Ireland sold at the corporation markets.
281	First choice tea at three shilling per pound, sugar, crushed crystal, three pence per pound	These are non-perishable goods bought from Moses Herzog, Kevin's Parade, who is trading without a licence. It is a parody of legalese.
282	Gunnard, plaice, roach, halibut, haddock, grisle, dab, brill, flounder	This is a list of fish found in the streams of Ireland. This passage is also a romantic parody on the bounty of Ireland.

282	Cauliflowers, spinach, pineapple chunks, Rangoon beans, tomatoes, figs, swedes, potatoes, kale (York and Savoy), onions, mushrooms, custard marrows, vetches, bere and rape, apples, strawberries, gooseberries, raspberries	These are fresh produce from the fields of Ireland, delivered to Dublin Corporation Produce Market in Mary's Lane, Smithfield, built in 1892. This is another example of romantic parody. Pineapple chunks are obviously out of place here (see 44). The market building, described as a 'shining palace [with] crystal glittering roof', is conflated in 'Circe' with Bloom's Bloomusalem, 'a colossal edifice with crystal roof' (458).
	Ewes, rams, lambs, geese, steers, mares, calves, sowpigs and baconhogs	These are all animals for slaughter. 'Eat or be Eaten. Kill! Kill!' (162).

283	Milk, butter, cheese lamb, corn, eggs.	These are Irish dairy products and fresh meat. Also listed are the specific names of their receptacles, such as butts and firkins.
284	Eyes … the dimensions of a good sized cauliflower	The Citizen is portrayed as a stereotypical mythical hero. His physical attributes are larger than life, including his eyes.
287	Succulent berries of the hop	These are the raw ingredients of Guinness.
290	I beg your parsnips	This is an expression (See 165).
293	Jacob's biscuits	Jacob's had a biscuit factory in Dublin. The Citizen's dog eats crumbs out of the biscuit box. The Citizen throws the empty tin box at Bloom (327 and 329)
	Mollycoddle	Coddle is a traditional Dublin dish made of left-overs, most often sausages, rashers and potatoes. It is also an expression meaning over protective, and can sometimes be used to describe a gay man or a young boy.
	Not eating meat on a Friday	This is a reference to the Catholic dietary law that meat should not be eaten on Fridays (see Bloom on religious rituals 163). Compare with Jewish dietary laws and ritual (676). See Joseph Valente on perceived effeminancy of Bloom and his indulgence of Mrs Riordan's Catholic ways to inherit her money. This relationship is also noted by Bloom (633) and Molly (690). Mrs Riordan links Bloom to Stephen.
293	Chewing the fat By herrings if the three women didn't near roast him	This is an expression meaning to gossip. This is an exclamation that the women gave him a hard time.

296	Rashers and eggs, fried steak and onions, hot breakfast rolls and tea	A discussion about the official hangman in Ireland includes the 'excellent repast' prepared for a man about to be hanged.
298	Oranges and lemonade and a few old dry buns	These were on sale at a Gaelic League musical evening.
299	Not as green as he's cabbage looking	This is an expression meaning that someone is not as naive or ignorant as they might appear.
306	Coconut milk	This is used to jokingly explain something, 'that explains the milk in the cocoanut…'(sic).
	Loquat and almonds	These are exotic eastern fruits and nuts that scent the air.
	Olives	Plentiful in Gibraltar, olives would not be so common in Ireland. However see references to olives on 58, 164, 627, and 729.
307	Fish. Flesh. Red Herring	A discussion takes place that is full of innuendo and allusion to Breen, but probably about Bloom too. The barflies say that Breen is 'Half and half…neither fish nor fowl…nor good red herring…a pishogue' (see also 527 and 612). A pishogue in Irish means a talisman, but Joyce may have deliberately confused it with the word pithogue, which describes an effeminate man (see note on mollycoddle 293).
311	With a face on him as long as a late breakfast	Idiomatic. Breakfasts are a recurring meal in *Ulysses*.
316	Sausage eating bastards. Prooshians and Hanoverians	A debate by the barflies on the famine is followed by a discussion of Europe and European eating habits. See Brillat-Savarin on sausages from Arles and Bologna and smoked beef from Hamburg (285).
317	A red bank oyster	The Citizen spits a gob of phlegm; it looks as ugly as an oyster (See note to page 166).

320	In that fruitful land the broadleaved mango flourished	In the hot countries of the east, exotic fruits such as mangoes grow very well. A camel picks Molly a mango in 'Circe' (418).
322	Squab pigeon pasty, collops of venison, a saddle of veal, widgeon with crisp hog's bacon, a boar's head with pistachios, a bason of jolly custard, a medlar tansy	This is a satire on pretentious or Elizabethan food. A similar description occurs in *A Day in the Life of Shakespeare* which Joyce had in his library: 'Pigeons stuffed with green gooseberries, fiercely-seasoned herring-pies, roast pork with green sorrel sauce – mustard, ginger and honey *ad lib*, and sweet dishes innumerable' (n/p). Appropriately there is a similar description of a meal, taken from the same book, in 'Scylla and Charybdis', the chapter that discusses Shakespeare (193).
	Pistachios	These are exotic edible nuts. In Dublin in 1904 they cost eight shillings per pound. (*Findlater's* price list).
	Buying a tin of Neave's food	Neave's is the brand name of infant formula or baby food. Bloom was seen buying this six weeks before Molly gave birth to Rudy. 'Do you call that a man?' says the citizen. See advertisement for Neave's on front cover of *The Lady of the House* Vol. xvi, 182. Xmas 1904.
326	Butter for fish	This is a toast or salutation meaning 'wealth and good fortune'.
327	Biscuit box	The citizen throws the tin at a retreating Bloom (See note on 293).

Episode 13. ‘Nausicaa’. Scene: The Rocks. Hour: 8pm. Organ: Eye, Nose

332	Heel of the loaf or brown bread with golden syrup	The heel is the crust of the loaf. It is a treat for a young boy – or a bribe to take his castor oil.
	Cherry red lips	This refers to lips the colour and plumpness of ripe cherries.
	The apple of discord	This is an expression meaning the point of contention. Apples are associated with Eve and relate to the young women in this episode.
	Butter and cream	The child is called after these foods as a form of endearment and to ‘sweet-talk’ or coax.
333	Lemon Juice. Milk footbath	These are food-products used in beauty products. They are ‘homely recipes using natural ingredients’ (see 81).
337	Griddle cakes. Queen Anne’s Pudding. Self-raising flour, milk, sugar, white of eggs.	Gerty prides herself on her excellent cooking skills and because she thinks she is ‘womanly wise’ she knows that a man likes a feeling of hominess. She has been complemented on her culinary skills but she doesn’t like eating in front of other people, wishing she could eat something ‘poetical’ instead, like violets or roses.
	Brekky	Breakfast. Gerty imagines the domestic bliss of having breakfast with her husband before he goes to work.
338	Gingerbread carriage	This is not literally made out of cake but fancily decorated as if in a fairy-tale.
	Chinese tea and jaspberry ram	Raspberry jam. Cissy Caffrey makes Gerty laugh with her antics and malapropisms.

339	Stewed cockles and lettuce. Lazenby's salad dressing.	Cockles are shellfish collected on the seashore. Lazenby's salad dressing was a kind of branded mayonnaise. Gerty has fond memories of her father despite his alcoholism.
340	The Grocer's Almanac	This is a calendar given away at Christmas to loyal customers. It is tacked up on the wall of the outside toilet. Gerty likes the romantic picture on it that shows an aristocratic gentleman dressed in chocolate (colour).
352	Turns milk	Bloom has heard that if a woman touches milk when she has her period it will turn sour. He has also heard that fiddlestrings snap and plants wither under the same circumstances.
353	Bread and milky	After his orgasm Bloom is not so enamoured of Gerty and imagines her going home to the comfort of childish food.
354	Eating off his cold plate. Spitting back gumchewed gristle	Bloom thinks back to the men he saw eating in the Burton. He appears to associate the men and the cold and chewed food with adultery. The memory of the uncouth diners weighs on his mind; he used the same vocabulary when eating in the Ormond Hotel earlier in the day (260).
354	Glencree Dinner	This is the fundraising dinner held at Glencree (see 148 and 701). Bloom remembers how other men flirted with his wife.
354	Jammet's	This is a Famous French Restaurant and Oyster Bar, opened in Dublin in 1901. It is also mentioned in 'Circe' (562). Michel Jammet was chef to the Vice Regal, Lord Cadogan, Lord Lieutenant of Dublin 1895 – 1901.

		It is possibly the restaurant 'Underdone's' in *Portrait* (97*)*, with Joyce making a joke about French steak traditionally being served rare. It is also the same establishment as Corless's in 'A Little Cloud', *Dubliners* (69). Jammet bought The Burlington in Andrew Street from Tom Corless.
354	Prunes and prisms	This is a tongue twister which comes from Dickens' novel *Little Dorrit.*
355	Beef to the heel	Repetition. See note for page 160.
357	Strawberries and cream	The smell of Molly, and her bathwater, reminds Bloom of strawberries and cream. This is probably because she uses 'homely recipes' for soap. This is repeated in a more sexually suggestive way in "Circe" (528).
358	Potted herrings gone stale	Potted herrings are fish that have been preserved in a jar. Bloom thinks that menstruating women smell like a pot of these that have gone off.
	What you eat and drink gives you that (sic)	Bloom thinks this. Brillat-Savarin aphorism: You are what you eat.
	Treacle	Black sticky molasses. Bloom contemplates what men smell like, and concludes that men attract women to 'buzz like flies round treacle'.
	Celery sauce	Bloom thinks it curious that semen, which is the 'source of life', smells like celery sauce.
	Green Apples	Young and unripe apples. Bloom is thinking about young girls.
	Jerusalem artichokes	This is an edible tuber, although related to the sunflower. Bloom probably means Globe artichoke as he is thinking about how young girls open up like flowers.

359	He gets the plums while I get the plum stones	Bloom is disconsolate that Boylan gets Molly while he only gets the leftovers. However, Molly actually thinks that 'Poldy has more spunk'.
363	Poisoned by mussels from sewage	O'Connor, his wife and five children were poisoned eating mussels. Shellfish thrive in the warm water near sewage outlets (See 166). Subsequently four of O'Connor's children died but his wife Moya survived and appears in *Finnegans Wake* 201: 29-30 (Conversation with Anne Marie D'arcy).

Episode 15. 'Circe'. Scene: The Brothel. Hour: 12 Midnight. Organ: Locomotor apparatus

408	Ice Gondola	This refers to an ice-cream cart owned by the Italian family of Rabaiotti who had a business at 49 Amiens Street. See also page 216, 577 and 591.
412	The loaf and jug of bread and wine	This is from the *Rubayiat of Omar Khayam.*
412	Bread and chocolate	Bloom crams these into a side pocket.
413	Fish and taters	Fish and chips. It is past midnight and therefore Friday and no meat should be eaten according to religious law.
413	Crubeen and trotter	Both are pieces of meat from animal feet. A crubeen is from a pig and a trotter from a sheep. Bloom shops in Olhousen's pork butchers and buys a warm crubeen and a cold trotter sprinkled with whole pepper. He hides the parcels behind his back (416). He jettisons these parcels later (430).
417	Mutton leg sleeves	This refers to the arm of a blouse or shirt that is the shape of a leg of mutton when it is prepared for cooking.
418	Large mango fruit	This is an exotic eastern fruit (320)

		A camel offers one to Molly. Camels do not have cloven hooves (as stated here) and are therefore unclean and not kosher.
415	Something poisonous I ate	Mercury – a cure for syphilis. Bloom's father took his own life with mercury. Mercury was the messenger god who gave Odysseus the magical herb moly, to protect him from Circe's charms.
423	Teapot	Here there is wordplay and innuendo between Bloom and Mrs Breen on the word 'teapot', which is mentioned four times in quick succession. Mrs Breen says 'You're hot! You're scalding!'. Molly tells Bloom to 'scald the pot' (60).
424	Kosher. A snack for supper. The home without potted meat is incomplete.	Kosher is food that is considered 'clean' and obeys strict Jewish dietary rules. Crubeens or pig's feet as a snack for supper (418) are not kosher. Plumtree's potted meat is made from all pork and not kosher. Ergo a home will be incomplete if one cannot eat this unclean food.
	Polonies, kippered herrings, Findon haddies	These are in Richie Goulding's bag. Polonies were for sale in Dlugacz's (57). Kippers are herrings that have been smoked to preserve them. Findon haddie is a breakfast fish dish (see note 714).
424	Pat waiting to wait. Advances spilling gravy. Steak and kidney	This refers to Pat, the waiter from "Sirens" (252). Richie Goulding ate steak kidney pie in "Sirens" (258).
430	Pigsticky	'Circe' is full of pig imagery. Bloom lets the crubeen and trotter go and the dog gluts himself on the bundle, crunching the bones.
450	Shrivelled potato	Zoe slides her hand into Bloom's pocket and brings

		out the potato. He tells her it is a talisman and an heirloom. (See 518).
	Potato and weed	Sir Walter Raleigh brought the potato and tobacco from the new world.
458	A huge pork kidney	Bloom proclaims the new Bloomusalem, which will be a colossal edifice with a crystal roof, built in the shape of a kidney, with forty thousand rooms. See description of Dublin Corporation Markets (282).
	Loaves and fishes, cow bones for soup, butter scotch, pineapple rock, toad in the hole, dairyfed pork sausages	These are the food items amongst a random list of items that are described as being distributed by Bloom's 'bodyguard'. Toad in the hole is a dish made of sausages and batter.
463	Nine new muses - Gastronomy	The keeper of Kildare Street museum brings on a lorry load of statues of goddesses and the nine new muses, one of which is Gastronomy. See references to the Muse of Gastronomy in Brillat-Savarin (193).
464	Hambones, condensed milk tins, unsalable cabbage, stalebread, sheep's tails, odd pieces of fat	Shopkeepers from upper and lower Dorset Street throw these items of food at Bloom (See also 545).
466	Cold dried grocers peas	Bloom, an example of the 'new womanly man', eats this, the 'most Spartan food' (See 590).
467	12 dozen oysters	Bloom is described as eating these, shells included. Oysters are associated with sex throughout *Ulysses*.
470	Potato Preservative	The Daughters of Erin pray to the 'Potato Preservative against Plague and Pestilence' (See 450 and 518).
480	Dreamery creamery butter	Here AE is lampooned. 'I am the light of the homestead/ I am the dreamery creamery butter'. The cooperative dial glowing with twelve signs of the zodiac is a reference to his cooperative watch (184).

481	Sausaged	Sausages are made from meat being forced into intestines or 'skins'. Bloom's father Virag has been squeezed into several overcoats and a macintosh.
483	Livers Pellets of new bread with fennygreek and gumbenjamin swamped down by potions of green tea	Virag is describing a large woman, in uncharitable terms. He says that fleshy parts are the product of careful nurture. When coop fattened, he says, their livers reach an elephantine size. (See 'geese stuffed silly' 167). The stuffing is made of bread and herbs. Fenugreek is a medicinal and culinary herb. Gum Benjamin is also used in perfume.
	Wheatenmeal with honey and nutmeg	This is said to be a cure for warts, according to Virag.
485	Truffles of Perigord	Prized truffles come from Perigord. They are tubers that are rooted out of the ground by trained pigs. (See also 485, 494, 498). Brillat-Savarin also prizes truffles from Perigord. Both Virag and Brillat-Savarin couple truffles with oysters as being aphrodisiacs.
493 &494	Chocolate. Aphrodisiac. Vanilla	Chocolate eaten in its solid form was a colonial product, created around the time of the famine. It was considered to be an aphrodisiac that symbolised power. See Roland Barthes on 'Sadean' chocolate, which makes the link to coprophilia (see below 498); de Sade gave his conquests chocolate to make their stools more malleable. The Silver foil from the chocolate also refers to French lozenges aka prophylactics.
494	Truffles at Andrews	Andrews was a high-end store in Dame street. Like Findlater's, they delivered to the gentry in the suburbs.

	Olive face and orange tainted nostrils	Bella Cohen is described thus. Foods have become facial imagery.
498	Truffles: grunting, snuffling rooting	Truffles are an aphrodisiac. Bell/o makes Bloom root for them.
	Dung devourer	This is a reference to coprophilia. (See note above on chocolate 494)
499	Crisp crackling from the baking tin basted and baked like suckling pig with rice and lemon or currant sauce	Bell/o describes how she would like to 'slaughter and skewer' Bloom, and enjoy slices of her/him in this way. (See rice and lemon and cannibals 163).
	Matterson's fat ham rashers and a bottle of Guinness's porter	Bell/o would like a 'thumping good breakfast' made up of these ingredients.
500	The brothel cook, Mrs Keogh … a rollingpin stuck with raw pastry in her bare red arm	In Homer's *Odyssey* Circe has a cook's power in her knowledge of herbs, fruits, balms and spices (Sandra Gilbert 53). Brillat-Savarin says that cooks in luxurious brothels have aided the progress of culinary science (303). Bloom likes to eat raw pastry (167).
506	Curly teapot	Teapot was used as a sexual innuendo between Bloom and Mrs Breen (423). Now Bell/o asks Bloom where is his curly teapot (penis). 'Can you do a man's job?'
506	Brawn	Brawn, cooked pig's head, is used here to mean physical strength. (See notes 139). Bell/o says that a 'man of brawn' has cuckolded Bloom.
	Fat suet	Suet is a hard fat that surrounds the kidneys, sometimes used in cooking.
508	Sauce for the goose, my gander	This is taken from a proverb (See 268).
512	Mackerel	Bloom names the friends that called him mackerel, in Halcyon Days (see note 154).
	Currants	This is used to describe goat's droppings (see 168).

	Grass	This is a reference to the famine.
518	Silver paper	This is a reference to the chocolate wrapper (see Silver foil of leaves 494 and 517).
518	Mutton dressed as lamb	This is an expression meaning an older person dressed to look younger. Bloom says this about Bella. He says she should take a raw onion at night to benefit her complexion.
518	Potato	Bloom asks Zoe to give him back his potato. He keeps it as a 'relic of poor mamma' (see 450 and 470).
522	London Lamb	Stephen is referring to the prostitute.
	You ought to eat	Bloom thinks Stephen should eat something and regrets giving the crubeen and trotter to the dog.
	Pishogue	See note 307.
528	Strawberries and cream	The prostitutes are watching Bolan and Molly having sex and reference mouthfuls of strawberries and cream (see 357).
531	Veal liver or omelette	The butcher's boy 'pollutes' food items, these suggesting masturbation. Later there is a reference to 'hand hurts me slightly' (547).
533	Mutton broth, carrots, barley, onions, turnips, potatoes	These are the ingredients of a good Irish Stew. They are poured over Mr Deasy and his horse.
540	Boiled Rice	Stephen's mother says that Dilly should make him boiled rice every night after his 'brain work'.
541	Corpsechewer	This is someone who eats dead bodies. Stephen is aghast at seeing his dead mother.
545	Cabbage stumps, biscuit boxes, eggs, potatoes, dead codfish	Bloom is pelted with more items of food (see 464). See notes on cod fish (144).
552	Potato blight	Potato blight sparked the events of the Famine. 'Old Gummy Granny in sugarloaf hat … the deathflower of the potato blight on her breast' (see notes on 'Old

		woman of Ireland' 13).
554	Bleeding butcher's shop	There is a bloody fight between Compton and Stephen.
562	Fizz in Jammet's	This refers to drinking Champagne in Jammet's Restaurant (see note 354).

Episode 16. 'Eumaeus'. Scene: The Shelter. Hour: 1 am. Organ: Nerves

569	Milk Soda Mineral	Bloom describes the cabman's shelters as being 'run on teetotal lines for vagrants at night' (589). Bloom hopes that he will be able to get a 'milk and soda or a mineral' for Stephen to sober him up. Mixing milk with soda water was no unusual.
570	Daily bread, bread, fancy bread	They are able to smell the bread baking from James O'Rourke's city bakery, at 5/6 Store Street. The staff of life – bread has religious connotations. Earn your bread – a metaphor for money or wages.
573	Broken biscuits	There are some crumbs in Stephen's pocket but he cannot remember where he came by them. Are they Fig rolls? (See 24).
576	Trinidad shell cocoa Oatmeal water for milk Herrings Eggs	This is an inferior brand of cocoa made from carob shells. The water that the oatmeal has been soaked in is used as a substitute for milk. Stephen and Dilly eat the herrings; they are two for a penny and a cheap source of protein. The eggs are for the younger sisters. It is a rule of the church to fast and abstain from meat on Fridays.
	Egg shells and charred fish heads and bones	The cat gets to devour these remains.
576	Which side his bread is buttered	An expression meaning to know what is to one's advantage. Here it refers to Mulligan who always has

		regular meals.
577	Icecream Car	This refers to a stall selling icecream. (see Icecream Gondola owned by the Rabaiotti family 408). Bloom tells us that the Italianos lived in little Italy near the Coombe (591).
577	Cup of coffee A Roll of some description	Bloom tries to persuade Stephen to eat solid food with his cup of coffee (repeated on 589/590).
578	Coffee and a bun	This turns out to be a rather 'antediluvian specimen of a bun' which is as hard as 'one of our skipper's bricks disguised', says Bloom. And the coffee is only a 'concoction labelled coffee' in which the sugar has clotted. Bloom says that the beverage is an 'untasteable apology for a cup of coffee (599).
580	Rump steak and onions	Bloom imagines the publican of the Crown and Anchor eating this good food in the home of the sailor he has cuckolded.
581	Maneaters in Peru that eat corpses and the livers of horses	The sailor shows the men in the shelter a postcard from Peru. Bloom has shown an interest in cannibals earlier in the day (163). 'Cut off their diddies' links to the limerick about Rev Mr MacTrigger and how the chief cannibal eats the 'parts of honour' (163).
582	Liver was out of order	This is a reference to a man who has an ailment of the liver. Joyce explained to Budgen how a motif, like liver or kidney, can change its meaning throughout the text (Ellmann 436). (See note for 54).
584	Soup with rats in it	The sailor recounts that the Chinese cook this.
589	The Coffee Palace	The Coffee Palace conducted temperance and lucrative work (569). Molly played the piano here to raise money for the shelters.

590	Dried peas	Sulphur was added to peas served in a cheap eating houses. It was considered to be 'Spartan food' (466). (see 'Two Gallants' in *Dubliners*, 55).
	Dr Tibble's Vi-cocoa	Dr Tibble's cocoa came with a medical analysis. Bloom, with his interest in hygiene, thinks there should be a medical inspection of all foods. This may be a pun on the philosopher Vico.
591	Ice creamers Friers in the fish way Chip potato variety	This is how Bloom refers to the 'Italianos'. See note above on the Italian community in Dublin (408 and 577). In the 1911 Dublin Census the Rabaiotti family were listed as fish merchants.
594	Biscuits. Beef	This is from an adaptation of an English sea shanty or song: 'The Biscuits was as hard as brass, and the beef as salt as Lot's wife's arse'.
595	Pork, butter and eggs	These foods were exported from Ireland to England (see note on 316). All the natural riches were drained out of Ireland to support the Japanese/German war. Joyce makes reference to this in his 1907 essay 'Saints and Sages' (*Critical Writings* 167).
	Irish Bacon	This is another 'natural resource' of Ireland. See AE's writings on the advantages and patriotic nature of home produced foods in the *Irish Homestead.*
598	You just took the words out of my mouth	This means that someone has said what the other is thinking. It is a reference to orality and draws attention to the fact that acts of eating and speaking are both via the mouth.
599	Brain and Brawn	Brawn is jellied pig's head. Here Bloom is making a reference to both manual labour and living by the pen. Brawn is used as the filling in the sandwiches in the

		'Parable of the Plums' (139) and used physically about Boylan (506).
605	Cooked his matrimonial goose	This is an idiomatic expression meaning ruined or downfall.
606	Spanish onions	References to onions in *Ulysses* are always a reminder that Molly is from Spain (164 and 627).
610	Egg flip	This is a drink made from raw eggs. Bloom still thinks Stephen should eat something substantial and an egg would be unadulterated and nutritious. Alternatively he should eat a boiled egg. Humpty Dumpty was an egg in a nursery rhyme.
611	Epp's cocoa	This is a popular brand of cocoa, a chocolate beverage.
	Warm as Toast	This is a homely expression meaning cosy. This toast is bread cooked on a trivet over an open flame or fire.
612	Red herring	This is an expression to mean diverting attention away from something (see note 307).
616	Grapes. Potheen.	Potheen is an illicit Irish whisky made from distilled potatoes. Here it is suggested that grapes could be made into potheen in the hump of a camel. The camel is the ship of the desert, says Bloom.
	Sugar lump	This is sugar in cube form. Bloom wants to give a lump of sugar to the horse

Episode 17. 'Ithaca'. Scene: The House. Hour: 2 am. Organ: Skeleton

620	Diet	During their discussion Stephen dissents openly from Bloom's views on the importance of dietary and civic self help (see 626).
624	Water	Bloom fills the kettle. Roundwater is the reservoir that the water comes from in Wicklow. There has

		been a drought (54). Bloom is the 'Watercarrier'. Stephen is a 'hydrophobe' (625) Bloom washes his face and hands, using Barrington's lemon flavoured soap. Washing hands sometimes has religious significance. Bloom is Messianic (154).
626	Bacon, salt ling and butter	Ling is a type of fish that is usually preserved in salt. Bloom debates the calorific energy of each of these Irish foods. This is a continuation of his discussion on diet (620).
627	Pepper, salt, conglomerated black olives, empty pot of Plumtree's potted meat, Jersey pear, Epp's cocoa, Anne Lynch's choice tea, lump sugar, two onions (one Spanish, one Irish), cream, sour milk, two cloves, ribsteak	These items are on the middle shelf of the dresser in Bloom's kitchen. See *Findlater's* price list 1904 for cost of these items. They include the remains of Boylan's food basket from Thornton's (218). Bloom finds flakes of potted meat in his bed (683). The cream is from Irish Model Dairy (169). For further references to Plumtree's potted meat (see 72, 163, 636).
629	Collation	This refers to a light informal meal for breaking a fast. It can also mean information listed in order and as such is a play on words, which is appropriate for this catechistic episode.
629	Two level teaspoons …Epps soluble cocoa	This is a popular brand of drinking chocolate (see 611). Bloom makes the cocoa according to the directions on the label. 'Epp's massproduct' has Eucharistic overtones, transubstantiation of creature cocoa into massproduct.

		Note the continuous repetition of the word 'host' in this episode.
	Cream	Bloom gives Stephen the cream ordinarily reserved for Molly's breakfast (See 61 and 169).
631	The new municipal fish market	See 282
636	Plumtree's Potted Meat	Bloom is thinking about the advertisement for Plumtree's (also 72, 163, 627).
642	Water plus sugar plus cream plus cocoa	This is a 'mechianacal' (*sic*) mixture, meaning two or more substances mixed together. This is a mixture of British (colonial) chocolate with Irish milk.
651	Heaventree of stars hung with humid night blue fruit	This refers to the spectacle of the night sky when Bloom and Stephen urinate out of doors.
664	Pork kidney, Banbury cakes, pig's foot, sheep's trotter Fry's plain chocolate, soda bread, coffee and bun	These items are on Bloom's budget for June 16, 1904
665	Olive green	This is the colour of the hall door in Bloom's home of ultimate ambition: Bloom Cottage, Saint Leopold's, Flowerville (667). Olive is also the colour of Bella Cohen's face (494).
671	Morning milk	Bloom concocts a scheme to deliver milk by dog-van or goat-van.
676	Flesh meat and milk	There is a Jewish prohibition on the use of both flesh and milk at the same meal. Bloom feels remorse at disrespecting his father by not following this practice. 'No meat and milk together' (163). The cat licks bloodsmeared paper and laps milk together (60). 'Kosher' cat does not eat pork (60).
677	Juice of gooseberry fool	Bloom lists the idiosyncrasies of his father Rudolph, who drank juice 'voraciously' from an inclined plate. He also ate without removing his hat, and removes

		traces of food from his lips with a lacerated envelope.
678	Vegetable missiles	Bloom recalls being bombarded with vegetables in the brothel (464 and 545).
680	Breakfast	Reviewing the day, Bloom recalls that his breakfast was a 'burnt offering'. See Homeric references (63 and 144).
681	Unsubstantial lunch	Bloom recalls the Gorgonzola sandwich he ate in Davy Byrne's. Lunch in the Burton would have cost him 6d (a tanner 168), and dinner in the Ormond plus a tip was 2/-. This meal is expensive in comparison but more substantial.
683	Crumbs and flakes of potted meat	Bloom finds remnants of Plumtree's Potted Meat (72, 163, 627, 636) in his bed. This is evidence of Boylan's and Molly's lovemaking.
686	Milk and honey	This is taken from the Bible, 'Exodus', in which God promises to bring Moses to the land of milk and honey or the promised land. Here it is suggestive of, or sweet smelling. Molly's fleshy posterior is Bloom's promised land (Herring 63).
686	He kissed the mellow yellow smellow melons of her rump	Bloom kisses Molly's buttocks. Melon is a symbol of the City of Trieste. Stephen holds a melon against his face (46). Bloom is the 'adorer of the adulterous rump' (498). Idiomatically the melon in Italy is symbolic of marriage, but in the West it is associated with prostitutes and oriental women (McCourt 48).

690	Breakfast in Bed	Molly thinks that Bloom has asked her to give him breakfast in bed (714, 722).
	A couple of eggs	Bloom wants eggs for breakfast. Eggs are symbolic of new life, fertility, and hope for the future. Will this breakfast restore Bloom's intimacy with Molly? (Rich 91).
691	Potatoes and Oysters 2/6 per doz	The Bloom's maid in Ontario Terrace stole these items. Maids often boosted their income with 'perks' (Farmar 89)
693	Port and Potted meat	Boylan and Molly shared these after making love. Plumtree's potted meat (72, 163, 627,636, 683, 693). Molly says that 'it' had a fine salty taste. Is she referring to Boylan's penis or the potted meat? Bloom says cannibals would find a white missionary too salty, like pickled pork (163).
694	A few dozen oysters	Molly thinks that Boylan must have eaten a few dozen oysters because he was in great singing voice and his member was as thick as a crowbar, standing all the time.
695	Potato cake. Pasty flour	Molly is baking when she tries to get a declaration of love out of Bloom.
696	We both ordered 2 teas and plain bread and butter	Molly is in the DBC with Bloom when she first sees Boylan looking at her (156).
698	I left my purse in the butchers	Molly makes an excuse to her father for being home late.
699	Old stew	Molly is making stew when Professor Goodwin calls to the door.

699	Port and peaches	These were in the basket that Boylan sent to Molly (627 and 636).
699	Boiling soup	Bloom runs along the platform at Mallow station with two bowls of boiling soup.
701	Nuts Browned Chicken	Molly recalls the Glencree Dinner (224/225). The way in which she describes eating the food is quite sensuous and she attracts the attention of the men at the dinner. She cracks the nuts between her teeth. 'Nuts' is slang for testicles (see 'how's the nuts?' 450). She wants to eat the chicken with her fingers. She wants to hide the silverware in her 'muff'. Muff is a vulgar term for female genitalia. See Brillat-Savarin's "Portrait of a Pretty Gourmande" (159).
702	Beef tea and chicken soup	If Molly has no face lotion she says she will have to wash in these.
703	Oyster knife	Molly has heard a story about a man who has put a chastity belt on his wife, which needs to be opened with an oyster knife.
704	Eggs beaten with Masala	Molly drinks this to fatten out her breasts (see 'plovers on toast' 169).
	Cabbage leaf	Molly refers to statues in the museum that conceal themselves behind a hand. She thinks women are beautiful in comparison to men who have to hide their naked parts behind a cabbage leaf. This links cabbage with Boylan (726).
705	Oranges and lemonade Sausage Kidney Breast of milk	The Blooms had consumed these citrus fruits at the Comerford's party in 1893 and Molly found them refreshing but necessitated having to relieve herself. Molly's drawing of a penis is like a sausage.

		Molly recalls how Bloom has burnt the 'bottom out of the pan' when cooking the kidney. Molly remembers how she had plenty of milk for breast-feeding but when Boylan bites her nipple he leaves teeth marks on her.
706	Currant scones and raspberry wafers	Molly had these for tea in Gibraltar with Mrs Stanhope. The lovely tea was scrumptious.
714	Pork chop and cup of tea	Molly wonders if the pork chop she ate was fresh.
	Findon Haddy and hot buttered toast	This is a breakfast fish dish, also known as Cullen Skink, Finnan Haddie, or Findrum Speldings. It is named after the hamlet of Findon near Aberdeen in Scotland (see 424). The dish is not common in Ireland. Molly thinks Bloom has notions of sitting up in bed like the king of the country to eat this for his breakfast.
715	Plaice	This is a flat fish. The cat waits to rob some of the fish.
	Blancmange with blackcurrant jam. 2 lb pots of mixed plum and apple	This is a milk jelly. Shop jam came in 2 pound pots. Molly plans her meal for the next day.
	Cod Loin Chops, leg of beef, rib steak, scrag of mutton, calf's pluck	This is a type of fish. Molly is 'sick of everlasting butcher's meat from Buckley's' that Bloom buys. She would prefer some fish.
	Cold veal and ham mixed sandwiches	Molly plans a picnic for the bank holiday. These details are borrowed from Queen Victoria's journal about her visit to the Strawberry Beds. (See Ronan Crowley 'The Queen is not a Subject' 206).
718	Potatoes	Molly asked Milly to go buy some potatoes. Milly is growing up and spoke to her mother like a 'fishwoman', that is, in coarse language.

	Cheese	Molly cannot sleep if she eats cheese at night
722	Tea and toast, buttered both sides New laid eggs	This is the breakfast that Molly thinks Bloom wants (690 and 714).
723	White head of cabbage	Fanny McCoy's husband looks like a cabbage.
725	Epps's Cocoa	A popular brand of chocolate beverage (see 611 and 629). Molly thinks that Stephen cannot be a stuck up university student if he is sitting downstairs with Bloom drinking cocoa.
726	Doesn't know poetry from a cabbage	Molly thinks that Boylan is an ignoramus that would not know poetry from a cabbage. Molly swells up after eating cabbage (67 & 100).
729	Toast. Olives	There are some olives on the kitchen dresser (627) Molly plans the breakfast she could give Stephen if he stayed the night.
	Watercress	This is an edible leaf that grows in streams.
	Dos huevos estrellados	This is Spanish for two fried eggs. Molly likes to pretend that she is in Spain.
	Vegetables and cabbages. Tomatoes and carrots	Molly plans to go to the market (see note 282). Molly would like to eat a juicy pear. There is one left from the seduction basket in the kitchen (218 and 627).
	Eggs and tea in the moustachecup	Milly gave Bloom a cup that accommodates a large moustache. This is a sexual innuendo about the size of his mouth and what he could take in it (see oral sex 705).
730	Plum and apple	Molly is using this to refer to whether her period makes her laugh or cry. Used figuratively, the plum represents harmony and the apple represents discord (see note on 332). There is a reference to plum and apple jam on 715.

731	Fairy cakes 7 ½d a lb. With cherries and pinky sugar 11d a couple of lbs.	These cakes are quite an extravagance, as they are shop-bought rather than home-made (see Gerty's aspirations for cooking cakes 337). Molly thinks if Stephen comes to visit again she will smarten up the house, buy flowers and serve cakes for tea.
731	Seedcake	Molly gives Bloom a piece of seedcake out of her mouth (167). Caraway seeds come from the parsley family. Molly and Bloom are linked by their memories of this event.