JJQ

"Araby" in Context: The "Splendid Bazaar," Irish Orientalism, and James Clarence Mangan

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The story based on an actual incident in Joyce's life, "Araby," is often read on a single internal plane for its quest symbolism, its allegory of creativity, or its richness of style. But "Araby" also draws significantly upon three external contexts, namely the historical, the literary, and the biographical. Although it may seem a work of independent invention, "Araby" refers directly to an actual bazaar that visited Dublin in 1894, which was not only a memorable local entertainment event but also one of a series of major local annual events. "Araby" also evokes the distinctive version of Irish Orientalism that looked to the East for the highest sources of national identity and the very origins of the Irish language, alphabet, and people. Writing both within and against the moment of the Celtic revival, Joyce defined his place within the tradition of Irish Orientalism by writing two biographical essays on the Irish poet and Orientalist James Clarence Mangan in 1902 and 1907, the composition of which closely bracketed and heavily shaped the writing of "Araby," as Joyce acknowledges by naming an essential character in the story after Mangan. The local Dublin reader, to whom Joyce largely directed "Araby" when he wrote it in 1905, already knew a great deal about the several contexts of the story, the annual bazaars and fairs such as Araby, the long literary and even musical tradition of Irish Orientalism, and perhaps even something of the place of Mangan in the Celtic Revival. These external and social contexts of "Araby" come into dynamic opposition to the internal and private culture of the boy's narrative in the voice of the first person narrator, a more mature version of the young protagonist, who repeatedly warns the reader against the boy's characteristic confusion and follies.

Joyce used a sense of exact historical referentiality in his early fiction significantly to affect readers and critics, though he was fully aware that some might take his stories as "a caricature of Dublin life" (*LettersII* 99) or as a satire in his "nicely polished looking-glass" (*LettersI* 64); only a few months before writing "Araby," he hoped to extend his work into a second series to be called "Provincials"

(*LettersII* 92). The historical details in *Dubliners* mattered so much to him that, when the publisher Maunsel and Company threatened in 1913 to change "the name of restaurants, cake-shops, railway stations, public houses, laundries, bars and other places of business," Joyce hired two solicitors to support him in firmly preserving these detailed Dublin references (*LettersII* 325). "Araby" is the only story in *Dubliners* to be based on a famous public event; yet as historical details come to light about the immense, sprawling, noisy Araby bazaar that actually visited Dublin in 1894, they seem paradoxically to contrast with the small, dark, quiet charity sale that the boy depicts in the story. When Joyce wrote "Araby" in 1905, and even when he published it in 1914, a sizable fraction of the Dublin audience had attended and could still remember the Araby bazaar of 1894 and similar bazaars that took place each year after 1892. Thus, the narrator's warnings about the boy's "foolish blood," "confused adoration," and "innumerable follies" (*D* 30, 31, 32) refer not only to the boy's youthful infatuation in the story but also to the effects of that infatuation in the distortion of the immediate historical context already familiar to the knowledgeable Dublin reader. Joyce scholars have already offered several explanations of the problem in "Araby" of the narrator's apparent distance in "looking back at the boy, detachedly and judicially,"[1] in his introduction of the element of "dissonant self-narration,"[2] and in his role as a Lacanian "Other."[3] The new historical evidence suggests, moreover, that the narratological issue in the story rests on the deeper question of why Joyce's representational methodology in depicting the bazaar stands opposed to the shared social knowledge of his original Dublin readers.

Although Joyce is known to have visited the Araby bazaar of 1894, it is no longer possible to regard "Araby" merely as a faithful rendering of his experience. Stanislaus Joyce warned us long ago that most of *Dubliners* was "pure fiction" and that "Araby," for example, takes from Joyce's personal experiences only the North Richmond Street house and the juvenile gangs: "The rest of the story of 'Araby' is purely imaginary."[4] Although Richard Ellmann shows in his biography of Joyce that there was an actual Araby bazaar that visited Dublin in May 1894, Ellmann accepts everything recounted in the story as though it were a direct and accurate account of an episode in Joyce's life, asking us to believe that it was "perhaps described much as it happened"; Ellmann conflates the boy's uncle and Joyce's father when he speaks of "his uncle's (his father's?) consent" and goes so far as to read the text of the story as though it were taking place in real time: "the boy went anyway, and by the time he arrived, the bazaar was virtually over; the lights were going out, the merriment had ceased" (*JJII* 40n). Finally, "Araby" becomes for Ellmann both signifi-

er and signified, the emblem and the substance of Joyce's growth as an artist: "The writing of *Stephen Hero* enabled Joyce, like the little boy in 'Araby,' to carry his chalice among a crowd of foes" (*JJII* 149). Although "Araby" can be viewed as the "autobiographical nexus" from which all of Joyce's subsequent writings flow, leading to the interpretation of "Araby" as "a portrait of the artist as a young boy,"[5] recent biographical research has moved away from construing the story simply as a mirror of Joyce's life.

Joyce's classmate William Fallon recalled seeing Joyce at the Araby bazaar not as the solitary figure in the text but rather as someone amidst the jam at the rail station:

> I had just got off the train at Lansdowne Road when I spied him. The train used to draw in on the main line and then go into a siding to let off visitors to the bazaar. It was a Saturday night. When we reached the bazaar it was just clearing up. It was very late. I lost Joyce in the crowd, but I could see that he was disheartened over something. I recall, too, that Joyce had had some difficulty for a week or so previously in extracting the money for the bazaar from his parent.[6]

In the tale, the boy arrives by himself on a deserted train at closing time, but Fallon sees "Joyce in the crowd" near the station on a platform filled with many people less concerned by the late hour.

Peter Costello, in his biography, goes even further in arguing that Joyce transformed a different event into fictional form in "Araby."[7] For Costello, the actual Araby bazaar was more a "gala fund-raising event" than the modest charity bazaar in the story, and other details of Joyce's life were "largely changed from his own experience" when he used them in the text (129). Costello connects the boy's conflict at the Araby bazaar to Joyce's private disappointment at failing to get a part in the annual Belvedere Whitsun week school play of 12 May 1894, performed just two days before the opening of the bazaar: "The turmoil of his story, though largely changed from his own experience, was real enough. But who 'Mangan's sister' was—in whom the young boy had such an interest—no record now exists to suggest" (129). Although Costello could not identify "Mangan's sister" in contemporary sources, he remains understandably curious as to why Joyce should have used the significant name of Mangan.

We can better understand Joyce's curious representation of the historical bazaar of 1894 by reconstructing it in some detail from the *Araby in Dublin Official Catalogue*[8] and contemporary Dublin newspaper advertisements and reports. First, we discover that the actual 1894 Araby bazaar was not at all like the one-building charity affair described in "Araby." Although Ellmann reproduced the artwork

from the front cover of the Araby catalog (*JJII* Plate III) and referred to its "merriment" (*JJII* 40), he gave no supporting details. The front cover of the official catalogue refers to Araby not as a bazaar but as a "Grand Oriental Fête," and the back cover lists these entertainments and amusements:

"Araby" 1894
Magnificent Representation
Of
An Oriental City
Cairo Donkeys & Donkey Boys
An Arab Encampment
INTERNATIONAL TUG-OF-WAR.
Dances by 250 Trained Children.
Eastern Magic from the Egyptian Hall, London
CAFÉ CHANTANT, WITH ALL THE LATEST PARISIAN SUCCESSES
Skirt Dancing Up to Date
Tableaux, Theatricals, Christy Minstrels
Grand Theatre of Varieties
"The Alhambra," an Orchestra of 50 Performers
Switchback Railways and Roundabouts
"MENOTTI," The King of the Air,
The Great Stockholm Wonder.
Bicycle Polo. Rifle & Clay Pigeon Shooting.
Dancing.
The Euterpean Ladies' Orchestra.
Eight Military Bands.
MAGNIFICENT DISPLAYS OF FIREWORKS,
By Brock, of the Crystal Palace, London
Admission One Shilling [9]

It is worth noting that Mangan's sister had in mind just such an entertainment as this in looking forward to the "splendid bazaar": "She asked me was I going to *Araby*. I forget whether I answered yes or no. It would be a splendid bazaar, she said; she would love to go" (*D* 31). Although she cannot attend, Mangan's sister correctly understands that the Araby bazaar will be a festival of music, dancing, and amusements. But the slightly younger boy can only think of trying to please her with a fairing, a token or keepsake traditionally brought back from a fair: "—If I go, I said, I will bring you something" (*D* 32).[10]

Joyce builds the story on the boy's juvenile misconception of the Araby bazaar as primarily a place where keepsakes are sold. By contrast, the historical Araby bazaar was a major public event, a huge international commercial enterprise with attractions from as far away as Galway, London, Stockholm, and Chicago. It also served a local charitable purpose in raising funds to lower the debt for the reconstruction of the Jarvis Street Hospital, which had helped 33,784 acci-

dent victims in 1893.[10] Most of the entertainments and amusements for Araby were arranged in England, and evidently the lion's share of the production costs were fees for the English entrepreneurs: "The builders of Araby, Messrs. Womersley and Company, of Leeds, receive a few hundred pounds, and the contractors Messrs. Goodfellow, receive a fair amount of money."[12] The planning for the Araby bazaar began a year in advance and entailed the placement of 1,200 "Araby in Dublin" posters in every railway station in Ireland, England, and Scotland as well as in Cook's travel offices, supplemented with placards in Dublin shops and streets, announcements similar to the one advertising the Mirus bazaar that Bloom encounters in *Ulysses* (*U* 8.1162).[13]

The Araby bazaar further promoted itself throughout the United Kingdom with a raffle of donated merchandise, including a diamond tiara, a Chippendale sideboard, a polo cart, and a grand piano, a contest echoed in Bloom's purchase of bazaar lottery tickets in *Ulysses* (*U* 12.776-77, 17.1790-91).[14] Advertisements started well in advance in several newspapers so as to promote the special railroad fares to Dublin for Araby: "CHEAP EXCURSIONS/DURING THE WEEK FROM/ALL PARTS OF IRELAND." The gross revenue for the entire event was probably between £13,000 and £18,000, and possibly a good deal more, since production costs were said to be between £5,000 and £6,000 and the net available after expenses for charity was announced as £8,000 to £12,000. The local Dublin committee, uncertain as to the economic success of the event, had sold unlimited rights to collect their own special admissions to the visiting sideshow operators. Thus, the operators of Brock's fireworks and of Toogood's amusement rides each paid £200 for rights for the first week (Toogood's paid £75 more for two additional days of the second week), and several other star performers made similar undisclosed arrangements, all proving to be remarkably profitable investments for the foreign operators.[15] The bazaar stalls were also profitable for the Dublin businessmen who used them not only to promote charity through the donated items to be raffled off but also to display and sell their own merchandise. The volunteer workers at the stalls, all women and children, dressed themselves as far as possible in costumes matching an Araby motif. In all, Araby embraced thirty-seven charity stalls and forty-three entertainments, requiring a combined staff of 1,760 stallholders and performers.[16] The *Irish Times* printed an estimated attendance total of 92,000 for the entire Araby bazaar, but the *Freeman's Journal* made a slightly bolder claim, supporting it with daily paid admissions counts (said to exclude exhibitors and workers) as follows: Monday, 10,874, Tuesday, 7,933, Wednesday, 8,852, Thursday, 15,214, Friday, 21,500, Saturday 18,000, Monday, 9,000, and

Tuesday, 9,500—"Thus more than 100,000 persons, or nearly one-third of the population of Dublin, visited the *fête*."[17] Indeed, the press claimed with some justification that the annual Dublin charity bazaars had become the largest of their kind in the United Kingdom.[18]

The central feature of the Araby bazaar, its large construction of a "[r]ealistic representation of an Oriental city,"[19] was a theatrical microcosm in the tradition of nineteenth-century panoramas and dioramas. Joyce refers throughout *Ulysses* to the similar Mirus bazaar, mentioning, in particular, the opening of it by the viceroy (*U* 10.1268-70); in the actual Araby fair, seventy-five dignitaries and titled members of the nobility, including the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Lord Mayor of Dublin, had lent their names as official patrons of the fair. Unlike the bazaar in "Araby," a small, one-day affair, the historical Araby bazaar lasted for more than a week and drew audiences that ranked second only to the annual Dublin Horse Show, which also used the same Royal Dublin Society grounds in Ballsbridge, a ten-minute trip by rail from central Dublin. Initially, all the regular Araby events were to take place from Tuesday, 15 May, to Saturday, 19 May, during the Whitsuntide holiday, with some preliminary athletic events on the previous Saturday, 12 May, and a twelve-hour special preliminary "Gala Fête" on Whit Monday, 14 May, a bank holiday. The regular fair hours were from 2:00 to 10:30 p.m. daily, and admission was one shilling, plus extra charges for many of the sideshows and special attractions. The charity stalls were located in the Central Hall, but there were nine additional buildings or outdoor areas of Araby devoted to entertainments, amusements, and refreshments: the South Hall featured flower gardens, tea gardens, and orchestras, with traditional amusements such as palmistry; the East Hall was noted for its dining area, refreshments, and cafés; the West Hall featured the Egyptian Hall of Mystery and the Telephone Concert; the Paddock Hall was home to the traditional amusements of dancing, theatricals, and music hall; the Anglesea Hall contained several larger amusements, including a concert hall, ballroom, theater, and shooting gallery; the Grounds featured the outdoor attractions of the Café Chantant (mentioned in the story—*D* 34-35), merry-go-rounds, roundabouts, and swing boats; the Veterinary Paddock housed the daily clay-pigeon shooting competitions; and finally, the Jumping Enclosure provided space for the larger entertainments, including Menotti's high wire act, Brock's fireworks, the Eiffel searchlight tower, and cycling and bicycle-polo events. Two of these locations, the Veterinary Paddock and the Jumping Enclosure, were named for their equestrian functions. There were performances by a total of eight military bands.

There is some confusion in the use of the words "bazaar," "fair," and "fête." The official Araby catalogue refers to the entire entertainment event as a "Grand Oriental Fête," as indicated, and to the charity stalls alone as the "Grand Oriental Fair." Although *Thom's Official Directory of the United Kingdom* for 1904 lists four businesses as bazaars,[20] in his writings, Joyce almost always uses bazaar to mean a place of entertainment rather than a market. In *A Portrait*, young Stephen Dedalus is called a "model youth" for avoiding three temptations: "He doesn't smoke and he doesn't go to bazaars and he doesn't flirt" (*P* 76); in *Ulysses*, while Stephen vividly remembers the sexual entertainments of Paris, Molly and Boylan first meet at a bazaar dance (*U* 4.525-30, 15.2826-28). Indeed, the Dublin bazaars had a very old reputation for sexual immorality. The first medieval Irish fair was established in 1204 in Donnybrook, the Dublin suburb directly adjoining Ballsbridge, the site of Araby, eventually not only lending its very name to violence and mayhem but also becoming notorious for widespread female drinking and sexual misconduct. Even the regular importation of English entertainments and amusements at Donnybrook after 1819 did not quell the mounting waves of moral protest, which eventually led to its suppression after 1855.[21] These annual Donnybrook fairs were soon replaced by a series of industrial and commercial Dublin shows, as recorded in the Dublin annals of *Thom's* for 1904: the Dublin International Exhibition of 1865, from 9 May to 9 November, which had drawn 900,000 people; the Dublin Exhibition of Arts, Industries, and Manufacturers of 1872, which opened 1 June and ran for 154 days and 58 evenings, attracting 420,000 people; and the Masonic Centenary Exhibition and Bazaar for the Masonic Female Orphan's School, which opened 17 May 1892, the first of the series of annual Dublin charity bazaars that was to include Araby two years later. This 1892 fair is confusedly remembered by the boy's aunt in the story as "some Freemason affair," and the name of Mrs. Mercer, the pawnbroker's widow who collects used stamps for "some pious purpose" (*D* 32, 33), alludes to the May 1904 Mirus Bazaar for Mercer Hospital, which Joyce immortalized in *Ulysses*, moving it to 16 June 1904 (*U* 8.1162-63, 10.1268-69, 13.1166-67).

As a syndicated international fête of traveling entertainments and amusements, the Araby bazaar reflected both its English origins and the local sharing of Anglo-Irish culture in subtle ways, celebrating British rule in a theater called the "Empire" and in a *tableau vivant* representing a scene called "Britain and her Colonies," according to the *Araby in Dublin Official Catalogue* (61). Tickets for merchandise to be raffled off were called "ballots," a conflation of commercialism and enfranchisement. There was an imperial British attitude, simultaneously arrogant and naive, in claiming, as the *Official Catalogue* does,

that each attendant for the garden seats of the Arab Encampment "speaks a foreign language" and that the Cairo Donkeys and Donkey Boys had an "Oriental" in attendance, as though all foreign languages were the same or all "Orientals" were alike (53, 73). The press linked Dublin to London as the other major British city included in the itinerary of the current traveling bazaar, taking pride in the fact that "Araby in Dublin" was scheduled before rather than after its sister bazaar, "Constantinople in London."[22] Araby made a show of scientific and technological progress (which Joyce satirized at length in the "Circe" episode of *Ulysses*) in the displays that featured recent inventions such as the Telephone Concerts from Belfast, the electric searchlight display, and the use of electric lanterns at night on a scale then unprecedented in Dublin.[23] But some attractions were more pseudo-scientific than scientific, such as the claim, in the *Araby in Dublin Official Catalogue*, of the "Eiffel Search-Light Tower," said to be "80 FEET HIGH, Imported for ARABY directly from Chicago": "This powerful light will turn night into day, and when flashed on the Moon at 9 p.m. at night, the Man will be distinctly visible to the naked eye" (73)

Many of the amusements, such as séances, tableaux, and mirror and lighting effects were typical components of the traveling fairs and fêtes of the precinematic era.[24] In the smaller Irish county fairs, safely removed from the watchful eye of Dublin authorities, a strong undercurrent of Irish nationalism could be found in the only entertainment available, the ballad singer whose songs contained covert political messages.[25] But in "Araby," these nationalist ballads are performed far outside the Araby bazaar by "street-singers, who sang a come-all-you about O'Donovan Rossa, or a ballad about the troubles in our native land" (*D* 31), allusions to the notorious harshness of the British towards imprisoned Irish nationalists and indifference to Irish suffering during the famine.[26] Moreover, the mass scale of Araby and the impersonal, commercial quality of its physical entertainment and material amusements seem to have eclipsed any political meanings that might have been found in ethnically designated performances, such as the Irish songs, Irish dances, or even Irish fireworks. Instead, the volunteer workers in the stalls expressed themselves through their own costumes, many representing Arabian, Ottoman, Egyptian, Moorish, Spanish, Gypsy, Mediterranean, Deccan, Hindu, and even Japanese expressions of the Araby theme or its Middle Eastern or Oriental variations.

Although "Constantinople in London" might reflect the view of sophisticated British and European travelers who, since 1883, could take the Orient Express train twice a week directly from Paris to Constantinople, by contrast "Araby in Dublin" was associated with

more distant Moorish and Spanish cultures, the press likening its large constructed Oriental replica to "a city like Algeria [*sic*] or Granada."[27] The Irish-Spanish-Moorish link became explicit in the theme of the Galway stall, "Algeciras" (31), the Andalusian port opposite Gibraltar. Joyce reminds us that Galway, often known as the "Spanish city" of Ireland, was reputedly settled by "Spanish stock" and was still famed for the "Spanish type" in its population, anticipating the Galway-Gibraltar-Semitic association that he made in connecting Nora and Molly Bloom (*CW* 229).[28] Joyce elsewhere used some of the same geographical landmarks to define the linguistic domination of Latin at its height as extending "from Gibraltar to Arabia, and to the stranger-hating Briton" (*CW* 30). The range of the Dublin costumes defined the domain of Araby in the popular mind as the zone of the ancient Near East and the Phoenician Mediterranean associated with the old Irish myths, but the politically astute could see Araby also as the community of exclusion just outside the main perimeter of Anglo-Saxon political domination and western European hegemony. Joyce, already very sensitive to how language, literature, and culture defined nationality, may have felt a kinship with the East in reporting from Austria shortly before writing "Araby" the fact that Berlitz, his multinational employer, operated from its Vienna office all its outposts in "Austria-Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Turkey, Greece, Egypt" (*LettersII* 84)

Had Mangan's sister in the story come to the actual Araby bazaar, she would have discovered the extent to which popular entertainments and amusements were associated with eastern and Oriental exoticism. In the West Hall, she would have encountered the Egyptian Hall of Mystery, featuring James Stuart, from the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, London, in his "Marvelous Séance Mystique" (57), the tableaux vivants of Androeikonismata, including such oriental or exotic motifs as the "Graces Decorating a Statue," "Night Attack by Matabele," "Espanita: A Spanish Restaurant on a Fête Day," and finally the previously mentioned number, "Britain and her Colonies" (31, 57). In addition, she would also have found in the Paddock Hall the "Empire" theater, with skirt and serpentine dancing, Spanish lady guitarists, and the Princess Nala Damajante, the "Hindoo Serpent Charmer with Her Boa Constrictors and Pythons," and in Anglesey Hall, the Alhambra Theater offering "musical, histrionic, terpsichorean, and acrobatic entertainment" (61, 63, 65) The Café Chantant was actually located in the Grounds, where it featured French, German, Italian, Spanish, English, and Irish songs, piano and violin solos, recitations, dances, and many other attractions. The Grounds also had Toogood's "Merry-Go-Rounds, Ships in Full Sail, American Swing Boats, And all the latest novelties in Locomotion," anticipating the

hobbyhorse rides that Joyce included in "Circe" (*U* 15.2719, 4109). It is hard to know what to make of the presence at Araby of Mrs. Cohen, a gypsy queen at the Arab Encampment, and Master Cohen, a violin prodigy of eight at the Café Chantant, who may have been mother and son, suggesting some possible familial tradition in these traveling entertainments that Joyce later incorporated into "Circe" by giving Bella Cohen, whoremistress, a son she supposedly supports at Oxford (*U* 15.1289).[29]

The two attractions that dominated Araby were the fireworks and the high-wire act. Brock's Fireworks, specializing in narratives of "a magnitude and brilliancy never before seen in Ireland," featured eastern motifs for the occasion in the form of the "Grand Naval Spectacular Device, The Battle of the Nile (first time in Ireland)," the "Marvelous Transformation Device, Araby (new)," and the "Triple Device, The Oriental Mystic Fountains (first time)" (77, 78), the additional admission charge being 6 d. (2s 6d. for reserved seats). Brock's shaped and narrative fireworks anticipate the fantasy in "Circe," where the *"Mirus bazaar fireworks go up from all sides with symbolical phallopyrotechnic designs"* (*U* 15.1494), and fireworks elsewhere in *Ulysses* (*U* 13.680-86, 1166-68). Nearby, the crowds wondered at "Menotti, the King of the Air: The Great Stockholm Wonder," who performed in the Jumping Enclosure at 4:30 and 9:30 P.M. each day with his "Marvelous and Sensational Performance on the High Wire" (75), which was illuminated in the evening by the electric searchlight in the background.[30] Thanks to its dazzling electric amusements and pyrotechnic entertainments, Araby seemed unusually attractive at night; after dark on Friday, for example, attendance was estimated at 12,000 and 15,000, about two-thirds the daily total of 21,500.[31]

Friday night was intended to be the climax of the bazaar, according to the official catalogue, and the attractions were to taper off gradually on Saturday until closing time at 10:30 P.M. Therefore, in Joyce's story, by the time of the boy's arrival on Saturday at 9:50 P.M., he would have had only a few minutes in which to complete his mission before closing time on the last night of the Araby bazaar. But, in reality, the schedule was altered after it rained earlier in the week. The new fair hours were extended until 11:30 P.M. on Friday and Saturday nights, and direct trains (the boy in the story arrives on just such a train) were provided to and from the Araby site in Ballsbridge between 7:00 and 11:30 P.M. In fact, these special trains were so successful in bringing immense crowds to Araby on Friday night that a two-hour "crush at the turnstiles" developed, requiring the intervention of the police.[31] Extra Saturday night events were added, including performances every thirty minutes at the Café Chantant until 10:30 P.M., an additional night session of Brock's fireworks, and a final

high-wire performance by Menotti at 9:15 or 9:30 P.M.[33] Thus, Saturday night rivaled Friday night at the Araby fair, and the momentum carried over to the added evening sessions on Monday and Tuesday of the following week. Perhaps the extended late Saturday night entertainments may explain why the gate attendant in the story accepts the boy's admission fee at 9:50 P.M. even though the charity portion of the bazaar is closing. At 9:50 P.M., the actual Café Chantant was still in operation, with two more lively shows, said always to be full, still to come at 10:00 and 10:30 P.M.[34] If the charity stalls were empty or closed in the Central Hall after 9:50 P.M. on Saturday night, it was because the main events of the evening, the spectacular fireworks and the high-wire acts, had drawn the crowds to the Grounds and the Jumping Enclosure only a few minutes before.

The knowledgeable Dublin reader who knew the minutiae of the historical 1894 Dublin bazaar might well wonder why so few significant details survive in Joyce's text. Perhaps 6,000 people were still actively enjoying themselves in several brightly lighted sites of the actual Araby bazaar at 9:50 P.M. on Saturday evening, 19 May 1894, at the very moment that Joyce's story describes only six persons in one closing building. The actual Café Chantant had several packed performances still to come at that hour in the bustling Grounds, but its counterpart in the story is shown as already closed amidst darkening charity stalls. Even the detail in the text of the "great jars that stood like eastern guards" (*D* 35) at the charity stall seems to echo an Arabian Nights tale more than the actual Araby bazaar.

But the strongest social reality that the knowledgeable Dubliner could bring to bear on the event was the awareness of the sheer magnitude and scale of the Araby bazaar, attended by some 100,000 people, requiring 1,760 workers, and grossing £18,000 or more. These circumstances focus critical attention not only on the matter of the boy's money but also on corresponding business details in the background of the story. For example, in the final scene, the boy's thoughts are diverted by the significant iteration of three triads involving money: "two men were counting money on a salver," two men talk to the girl in the sales stall, and the boy lets "two pennies . . . fall against the sixpence" in his pocket (*D* 35). The boy's hope to find an affordable and appropriate gift for Mangan's sister vanishes as he sees at the stall only an array of "porcelain vases and flowered tea-sets" (*D* 35). Even though the boy is running out of time and money, these domestic ornaments for an aspiring Victorian household are utterly inappropriate for him as a personal keepsake because porcelain and tea, as commodities of the Far East trade, which the Dublin reader would immediately realize, were obvious emblems of British economic colonialism. Sadly, any of the boy's well-intentioned attempts to win the

girl's esteem with a gift rather than with his deeds would degrade his chivalry into simony, the theme of the poem mentioned in the text, "*The Arab's Farewell to his Steed*" (*D* 34).

The sophisticated Dublin reader may have had further suspicions about the scene where the two young English gentlemen flirt with the young working girl. The gentlemen seem curiously out of place, being neither regular patrons nor working staff, their accents signifying not only their social superiority but also some identification with their compatriots, the English entrepreneurs behind the fair. Perhaps they wish in all sincerity to invite her to join them in the fun of the entertainments continuing elsewhere at the fair; yet if the old sexual notoriety of the Dublin Donnybrook fair was perhaps on the minds of the parents of Mangan's sister when they sent her on a retreat during the very week of the Araby bazaar, then that same reputation might have figured in the plans of the two English gentlemen who strategically engage a solitary girl in flirtatious conversation just at closing time on a Saturday night.

Of course, the boy's imagination is primed from the start to escape from all adversity seen in the external social world into his private realm of sexual and literary images. As a fictional character, he belongs to the same type as the younger boy in "The Sisters," remembering a dream, perhaps, of Persia (*D* 14), the older boy in *A Portrait*, who is seen "praying in an ecstasy of Oriental posture" (*P* 258), and several characters in *Ulysses* who share thoughts of Turko the Terrible and Haroun al Raschid.[35] Such dreams of the East had long flourished in western literature, beginning with sometimes fabulous medieval travelers' accounts of wealth, power, and spices, inventing Araby as a place where "reality and dream become one," outside the ordinary boundaries of geographical, historical, and political Europe.[36] In English literature, images of Araby can be traced back to John Milton's "Araby the blessed" and John Skelton's phoenix as the "bird of Araby," as well as to fragrant Araby in English romantic poetry and even "Araby's gay Haram" in Thomas Moore's popular *Lalla Rookh*.[37] In English and French writers of the nineteenth century, Araby became an exotic, sensual, or utopian alternative to the West, an epitome of difference. But Irish writers looked to the Orient to represent their rising cultural nationalism and their rejection of British influence. For several centuries, Irish thinkers had claimed a special cultural relation to the ancient East, believing that the Irish language derived not from Celtic or other European tongues but directly from Phoenician or Hebrew and that, therefore, the Irish people were also of ancient Middle Eastern descent (if not one of the lost tribes of Israel).[38] Just as Aeneas had come from Troy via Carthage to found Rome, so the ancient Milesians were said to have made the epic voy-

age from Phoenicia via Scythia and Spain to Ireland. These Hebraeo-Hibernian and Phoenician myths of origin were supported in early modern scholarly manuscripts, such as Richard Creagh's *De Lingua Hibernica* and Geoffrey Keating's *History of Ireland*, and even in efforts published as late as the nineteenth century, such as Francis Crawford's learned papers on "Hebraeo-Celtic Affinities" and Standish James O'Grady's highly influential *History of Ireland*.[39] Significantly, by the early eighteenth century, these Oriental myths of Irish origins had been incorporated into a distinctively Irish literary form, the *aisling*, the dream-vision poem of love or nationality, in which the poet encounters the beautiful, noble sky-maiden, the persona of Ireland, typically of Milesian ancestry, in an intense, myth-laden, virtuoso-style interview.[40]

Celtic antiquarianism, already spurred by the vogue of Ossian,[41] contributed, in the next generation, to the full flowering of popular Irish Orientalism in the widely admired poetry and parlor songs of Moore, who had tactfully attempted to raise English consciousness of the problems of Ireland through such works as *Irish Melodies*.[42] Moore subsequently exploited what has been called "the parallel fashion for Orientalism and Celticism"[43] in his sensationally successful verse tale *Lalla Rookh*, in which he embedded a political plea for tolerance for Irish Catholics: "*the cause of tolerance was again my inspiring theme*; and the spirit that had spoken in the melodies of Ireland soon found itself at home in the East."[44] The popular song "Araby's Daughter," from *Lalla Rookh* and set to music by George Kiallmark, went through many editions both as a separate number and in song collections.[45] Moore's *Lalla Rookh* was still so well liked in the 1870s that it could be adapted by Frederick Clay into a musical cantata with lyrics by William Gorman Wills, from which came the separate number, "I'll Sing Thee Songs of Araby," often cited as a possible direct source of the name of the 1894 Dublin bazaar.[46] The sustained vogue of *Lalla Rookh* in various incarnations served to define a distinctive genre of popular Irish poetry and music as the "songs of Araby,"[47] a fresh epidemic of which was touched off by the Dublin Araby bazaar:

> There must be something in the name of Araby that causes the divine afflatus to descend upon those who study its manners and customs. Moore's "Lallah Rookh," with its resplendent and vivid imagery and perfect poetry, was the wonder of the age, for the Irish songster's experience of the East was confined to his reading of the Arabian Nights and Oriental literature generally. With the advent of Araby in Dublin there has been a passion for producing Arabian poetry and music.[48]

Honoring this tradition, the uncle in the story associates the mention of Araby with Caroline Norton's sentimental poem, "*The Arab's Farewell to his Steed*," which he is still reciting as the boy departs (*D* 34).[49] Joyce often acknowledges the public fascination with Moore, referring or alluding to him in *Dubliners* as a favorite author of the "josser" in "An Encounter" (*D* 25, 26), the author of the song performed by the harpist in "Two Gallants" (*D* 54), and the writer of the *Irish Melodies* that Gabriel thinks of in "The Dead" (*D* 179), the title of which story echoes Moore's song, "O Ye Dead!" (*JJII* 244).

Joyce also ridiculed Moore's musical strain of Irish Orientalism as "the moore the melodest" (*FW* 468.27-28), pretending to be sick of the cloying popularity of Moore's *Irish Melodies* and *Lalla Rookh* in "tummy moor's maladies" (*FW* 492.34) and making Rudyard Kipling's popular *Mandalay* one too many in "Inglo-Andean Medoleys from Tommany Moohr" (*FW* 106.08), in each instance playing with the Irish pronunciation of Moore as "moor." But in complete seriousness, when it suited him, Joyce also subscribed to many of the same Irish myths, including the belief that both the Irish language and alphabet were "oriental in origin": "The Irish language, although of the Indo-European family, differs from English almost as much as the language spoken in Rome differs from that spoken in Teheran. It has an alphabet of special characters, and a history almost three thousand years old" (*CW* 155). Citing Charles Vallancey, Joyce believed that Irish folk speech still resembled the ancient Phoenician language (*CW* 156). In the late eighteenth century, Vallancey had made the extravagant claim that Irish was the source of most ancient languages by interpreting the name Iran, the place where Indo-European languages were said to have originated, as a variant spelling of Eiran, an old name for Ireland.[50] In *Ulysses*, Stephen and Bloom illustrate a variation on this idea when they compare the Irish and Hebrew alphabets (*U* 17.24-73). Joyce's schematic geography for *Ulysses*, as Michael Seidel has shown, links the Hungarian Virags to the Gibraltar-born Molly by building on the Irish myths that traced the original rulers of Ireland to Milesius, a king who could claim both ancient Phoenician and Hebrew ancestors, then to descendants who had roamed in Scythia, the region north and east of ancient Greece, later migrating via Spain to settle finally in Ireland.[51] Joyce was so passionate in stressing the literary affinity of Ireland and the Orient that he began his list of modern Irish authors with the names of two distinguished nineteenth-century translators of Oriental literature, Edward Fitzgerald and Richard Burton, confusing the actual translator of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* with his namesake, the Irish rebel whose biography had been written by Tom Moore (*CW* 171). For Joyce, Irish literature could not be based on European literature any more than it

could be on English literature: "For the Irish, the dates of Luther's Reformation and the French Revolution mean nothing" (*CW* 167).

By 1902, three years before undertaking the writing of "Araby" and while he was still an undergraduate of twenty, Joyce found in writing the essay "James Clarence Mangan" the alternative version of Irish Orientalism upon which to build his own. Eventually, Joyce was to rank Mangan with Dante and Henrik Ibsen, acknowledging him among those writers he especially admired by writing a musical accompaniment for Mangan's "Dark Rosaleen" and reciting Mangan from memory.[52] Joyce would have joined William Hazlitt in condemning Moore for turning the "wild harp of Erin into a musical snuffbox,"[53] and for just this reason in his essay Joyce took Mangan's isolated life as the necessary antithesis of the social success of Moore's career, embracing Mangan's primitive, compelling, and forbidding poetry as the perfect antidote to Moore's well-polished, easily accessible, and universally praised verse. Joyce paid homage to Mangan as the last of "the old Celtic bards" (*CW* 174), the one intense nationalist among the Irish Orientalists, the leading Byronic poseur in Dublin who flagrantly puzzled readers in his translations as to "whether learning or imposture lies behind such phrases as 'from the ottoman' or 'from the Coptic'" (*CW* 76). It is possible to see young Joyce being instinctively drawn to what Robert Welch has called the final images in Mangan's poetry of "freezing, dumbness, inarticulateness" in his exploration of his favorite themes of "darkness, paralysis, and the abyss."[54]

In his 1902 essay, Joyce also announced his discovery in Mangan of what were to be the main underlying themes of "Araby," the noble twin identity of "Ireland" and "Istambol" and its merger with chivalric love in its highest manifestation in Michelangelo, Dante, and Petrarch:

> East and West meet in that personality (we know how); images interweave there like soft, luminous scarves and words ring like brilliant mail, and whether the song is of Ireland or of Istambol it has the same refrain. . . . Vittoria Colonna and Laura and Beatrice—even she upon whose face many lives have cast that shadowy delicacy, as of one who broods upon distant terrors and riotous dreams, and that strange stillness before which love is silent, Mona Lisa—embody one chivalrous idea. (*CW* 78-79)[55]

Moreover, Joyce evidently found in Mangan's fictionalized autobiographical sketches a source for the character type of the boy in "Araby," particularly in Mangan's claim to have suffered a childhood so wretched that he took "refuge in books and solitude," preferring to shut himself up in a "close room" in a state of high bliss: "I loved to

indulge in solitary rhapsodies, and if intruded upon on these occasions, I was made very unhappy."[56] Joyce further seems to have encountered in the famous "ballad episode" of Mangan's biographers an anticipation of the basic plot situation of "Araby."[57] After his adored older sister died in childhood from a scalding incident (in another autobiographical fragment, he writes that her father's impudence drives her from the house), the child Mangan immortalizes her as a "blue-eyed cherub, her image haunting him in his dreams," and in this juvenile variation on the *aisling*, she is immediately replaced in Mangan's affections by the surrogate sister who lives next door, the "little girl of curling sunny locks, a couple of Summers his senior."[58] In this "full blown childhood romance," as Lloyd puts it (*Nationalism* 44), the beloved girl sends the quiveringly incapable child Mangan out into the streets in quest of a ballad, whereupon the rain damages his eyes.[59] Several distinctive elements of the conclusion of "Araby" are anticipated here: the beloved slightly older neighbor girl, the identification of the girl as Mangan's surrogate sister, the juvenile quest as a version of the chivalric mission, the ballads in the streets, the inadequacy of the child fully to accomplish the courtly deeds that he has undertaken, and the final damage to his eyes.

The ultimate appeal of Mangan for Joyce, as David Lloyd suggests, is in his having made his life, or at least his own fictional accounts of his life, into the first authentically Irish version of the myth of the romantic hero, the Byronic self-inventing self, the wanderer and outcast from society who savors memories of his sinful and gloomy past (*Nationalism* 44). Joyce reports the lengths to which Mangan had gone in pursuing his self-definition: when faced with the charge that his autobiographic sketch was "wildly exaggerated and partly false, Mangan answered, 'Maybe I dreamed it'" (*CW* 181). The harshest possible external conditions of deprivation and alienation were essential elements in Mangan to produce their opposite, intense visions in the tradition of the Irish *aisling*. Following Mangan, Joyce stipulated that the highest form of poetry required a double denial, first, the negation of the usual sense of social and historical reality, and second, the rejection of whatever seemed merely literary tradition: poetry was therefore "always a revolt against artifice, a revolt, in a sense, against actuality" (*CW* 81). In a note, Mangan reported that, while translating the *aisling*, "A Vision of Connaught in the Thirteenth Century," he replaced the Irish *ceann* with its homonym, the Arabian *khan*: "Identical with Irish *Ceann*, head or chief; but I the rather gave him the Oriental title, as really fancying myself in one of the regions of Araby the blest."[60]

But in both these largely biographical essays on Mangan, Joyce had no choice but to follow the views of John Mitchel, Mangan's first biog-

rapher-editor, a political exile, who made Mangan into the Irish hero who opposed the imperialism of British criticism by his own duality between his inner and outer lives, "one well known to the Muses, the other to the police", in tracing Mitchel's influence, Lloyd has characterized his goal in presenting Mangan as "explicitly the image of an Ireland outwardly oppressed but secretly, spiritually alive" (*Nationalism* 28-29, 32). For Joyce, the stories in *Dubliners*, similarly intended as "the first step towards the spiritual liberation of my country" (*LettersI* 63), drew on Mangan as a significant ally by depicting him, as Mitchel had done, like one of those rare poets who believe that "their artistic life should be nothing more than a true and continual revelation of their spiritual life," and who, furthermore, had rejected all ancestries and dependencies in the tenet "that the poet is sufficient in himself" and the maker of his own patrimony (*CW* 184). The boy in "Araby" knows very well that he lives in the realm of images and the imagination when he reacts to the political songs of the nationalistic street-singers: "These noises converged in a single sensation of life for me: I imagined that I bore my chalice safely through a throng of foes" (*D* 31). Although he knows both chalice and foes are unreal, the boy uses their unreality to launch his own fictional identity. In denying the reality of both the historical Araby fair and the popular tradition of Irish Orientalism in "Araby," Joyce seems to embrace the duality of the Mangan-Mitchel principle as his own representational methodology. In this light, "Araby" may be an ironic satire on the boy's follies, but it also confronts the reader with the rejection of their binary opposite, the representation of English and Anglo-Irish material culture and literary tradition.[61]

Mangan had openly admitted the extent to which he had transformed Moore, and when confronted with the accusation that he had exaggerated his knowledge of Oriental languages, he replied that his translations were if not Moorish, then Tom-Moorish.[62] Nor was Mangan troubled by the discovery that his command of Irish was so weak that he had to rely entirely on prose paraphrases: the final result was so effective that he could describe himself, as Joyce would have been delighted to learn, not so much "a singular man" as "a plural one—a Proteus."[63] Joyce, in turn, seems to be participating in Mangan's struggle, which "mangled Moore's melodies" (*FW* 439 09-10). Joyce's texts also sometimes "mangled" both Moore and Mangan although there are far too many echoes and parodies of both Moore and Mangan in Joyce's corpus to trace in full here, it is worth noticing that in *Ulysses*, young Paddy Dignam visits Mangan's pork store (*U* 10.534), and the name Dignam almost becomes Mangan when his deceased father's name is spelled in reverse as "mangiD" by Bloom, who watches a typesetter redistribute the letters while he thinks of

Hebrew (*U* 7.206). More significantly, perhaps, Joyce creates a fictional historical identity for Mangan as "the most significant poet of the modern Celtic world," a title that in reality belonged to W. B. Yeats,[64] further projecting an image of Mangan's "hysterical nationalism" (*CW* 186) into future Irish politics: "Mangan will be accepted by the Irish as their national poet on the day when the conflict will be decided between my native land and the foreign powers—Anglo-Saxon and Roman Catholic, and a new civilization will arise, either indigenous or completely foreign" (*CW* 179). In this passage, such a future civilization could be *both* "indigenous" *and* "completely"foreign" for Joyce by evoking the imagination with the appropriate "magical name" for Irish Orientalism: "The syllables of the word *Araby* were called to me through the silence in which my soul luxuriated and cast an Eastern enchantment over me" (*D* 32).

But the magic in "Araby" is not limited to words. One little puzzle in the story is why Joyce fixes the time of the boy's arrival at the bazaar at exactly 9:50 P.M., even though other events in the story are only given approximate times. It is simply "after eight o'clock" when Mrs. Mercer leaves and about "nine o'clock" when the uncle returns, but it is precisely "ten minutes to ten" when the boy arrives at the bazaar, emphasized by "the lighted dial of a clock" on the large building displaying "the magical name" (*D* 33, 34). And why is Joyce's expression "ten minutes to ten" used here rather than 9:50 P.M.? Apparently "Araby" evokes magical numbers in the tradition of Arabic ciphers, which use letters of the alphabet and individual numbers as substitutes for each other, as in the systems of cabala and Pythagoras. If we regard "ten" as a cipher in the Latin alphabet, we obtain the letter "J," and for two tens we get "JJ," Joyce's initials. Furthermore, if we visualize the position of the hour and minute hands at exactly "ten minutes to ten" on a large outdoor clock, we find them perfectly superimposed. At this moment, the two tens as words, the two tens as numbers, the two clock hands as visual indicators, and the two "J"'s as letters are all ciphers for the doubled, mirrored signature of Joyce.

The vectors of "Araby" take into account three dynamic contexts, the historical Araby bazaar of 1894, the popular literary tradition of Irish Orientalism dominated by Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, and the intense life of Mangan reflected in his *aisling* poems and fictional autobiographies. The boy is given no relative, teacher, or confidant close enough to tell his story to, and even the first-person narrator has a slightly different identity as the man the boy will become looking back at the boy he was. Perhaps Mangan's sister has never really mattered to the boy as a discrete individual, since the narrator never shares with the reader the particular name that the boy utters in his private adoration of

her (*D* 30). If there is a use of the *aisling* in "Araby," it is less in the boy's fragmented images of the girl than in his gazing deeply into his own imagination, ultimately descending from the sublimity of his literary voyagings to what seems a final moral and emotional perception of his vanity and pain: "Gazing up into the darkness I saw myself as a creature driven and derided by vanity; and my eyes burned with anguish and anger" (*D* 35). The understandings of the boy and the narrator finally seem to be one, the several external and internal planes of context seem to coincide, and the Dublin reader can concur in the boy's admission that vanity has been the cause of his youthful infatuation, his folly of undertaking the mission of attempting to impress the girl by buying her a keepsake, and his consequent denial of reality through flights of imagination. But the boy's final vision leads to no feelings of humility and remorse, as a true Bunyanesque allegory of vanity at the fair should. On the contrary, in the inflated rhetoric of the transformation scene at the end, we find the boy playing the Manganian hero one more time, alternately inventing, effacing, and enlarging himself, now in the Araby of his own memory. At this mythopoetic level, "Araby" seems another fictional biography of Mangan, the Irish Orientalist, or perhaps an early fictional autobiography of Joyce in the process of reinventing himself.

NOTES

[1] Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren, *Understanding Fiction* (1943; New York: G. S. Crofts, 1947), p. 423.

[2] John Paul Riquelme, *Teller and Tale in Joyce's Fiction: Oscillating Perspectives* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1983), pp. 106-08.

[3] See Sheldon Brivic, *The Veil of Signs: Joyce, Lacan, and Perception* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1991), p. 12, and Garry M. Leonard, *Reading "Dubliners" Again: A Lacanian Perspective* (Syracuse Univ. Press, 1993), pp. 73-94.

[4] Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper* (New York: Viking Press, 1958), pp. 62, 61.

[5] Harry Stone, "'Araby' and the Writings of James Joyce," *Antioch Review*, 25 (Fall 1965), 376.

[6] "William G. Fallon," in *The Joyce We Knew*, ed. Ulick O'Connor (Cork: Mercier Press, 1967), pp. 47-48.

[7] Peter Costello, *James Joyce: The Years of Growth, 1882-1915* (West Cork: Roberts Rinehart, 1992). Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text.

[8] *Araby in Dublin Official Catalogue* (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1894). Further references will be cited parenthetically in the text.

[9] See Heyward Ehrlich, "Joyce's 'Araby' and the 'Splendid Bazaar' of 1894," *James Joyce Literary Supplement*, 7 (Spring 1993), 18-20, and John Wyse Jackson and Bernard McGinley, *James Joyce's "Dubliners": An Illustrated Edition*

(New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1995), p. 26.

[10] Interestingly, the Irish vernacular for "fairing," *faireen*, suggests, in particular, a present bought at a fair for a child. See Richard Wall, *A Dictionary and Glossary for the Irish Literary Revival* (Gerrards Cross; Colin Smythe, 1995), p. 67.

[11] *Irish Times*, 14 May 1894, 4.

[12] *Irish Times*, 23 May 1894, 6.

[13] *Irish Times*, 13 May 1894, 6.

[14] *Irish Times*, 4 May 1894, 4.

[15] *Freeman's Journal*, 23 May 1894, 6; *Irish Times*, 23 May 1894, 6. In 1894, £1 was equal to $5, but a century later the spending power of that money has been estimated as equal to $20 to $50. If we calculate the average of these two estimates at $35, the gross bazaar revenues estimated here at £13,000 to £18,000 would be worth approximately $455,000 to $630,000 today.

[16] *Irish Times*, 18 May 1894, 6.

[17] *Irish Times*, 23 May 1894, 6; *Freeman's Journal*, 23 May 1894, 6.

[18] *Irish Times*, 11 May 1894, 6.

[19] *Irish Times*, 16 May 1894, 6.

[20] *Thom's Official Directory of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the Year 1904* (Dublin: A. Thom, 1904), p. 2052. A microfiche edition was issued in Dublin by the Irish University Press in 1973.

[21] Séamus ó Maitú, *The Humours of Donnybrook: Dublin's Famous Fair and Its Suppression* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1995), p. 45; concerned about the fair's reputation for the ruin of women, one observer is quoted in this work as estimating that, of 40,000 women present, some 30,000 were drunk by 5:00 P.M.

[22] *Irish Times*, 23 May 1894, 6.

[23] *Freeman's Journal*, 23 May 1894, 6.

[24] See Christiane Py and Cécile Ferenczi, *La Fête forain d'autrefois: Les années 1900* (Lyons: Manufacture, 1987).

[25] Patrick Logan, *Fair Day: The Story of Irish Fairs and Markets* (Belfast: Appleton Press, 1986), pp. 127-28.

[26] See *D* 467-69; Don Gifford, *Joyce Annotated: Notes for "Dubliners" and "A Portrait of the Artist as Young Man,"* 2nd ed. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1982), pp. 45-46; Donald Torchiana, *Backgrounds for Joyce's "Dubliners"* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1986), pp. 56-62; R. B. Kershner, *Joyce, Bakhtin, and Popular Culture* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 46-60; and Jackson and McGinley (p. 22).

[27] *Irish Times*, 16 May 1894, 6.

[28] For further discussion, see Suzette Henke, "James Joyce East and Middle East: Literary Resonances of Judaism, Egyptology, and Indian Myth," *Journal of Modern Literature*, 13 (July 1986), 307-19.

[29] *Irish Times*, 16 May 1894, 6; 21 May 1894, 6.

[30] Perhaps Stockholm had some special significance for these traveling shows: the sailor in the "Eumaeus" episode of *Ulysses* claims to have seen Hengler's Royal Circus there (*U* 16.411-13).

[31] *Freeman's Journal*, 21 May 1894, 4.

[32] *Freeman's Journal*, 19 May 1894, 5.

[33] *Freeman's Journal*, 19 May 1894, 5.

[34] *Freeman's Journal*, 21 May 1894, 4.

[35] Such popular entertainment is deeply embedded in *Ulysses* as a "text of the culture"—see Cheryl Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 8 and passim.

[36] Dorothee Metlitski, *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1977), p. 240.

[37] Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh* (London: Longman, 1849), p. 151.

[38] See Norman Vance, "Celts, Carthaginians, and constitutions: Anglo-Irish literary relations, 1780-1820," *Irish Historical Studies*, 22 (March 1981), 226-27; Joseph T. Leerssen, "On the Edge of Europe: Ireland in search of oriental roots, 1680-1850," *Comparative Criticism: An Annual Journal*, 8 (1986), 94-101; and Ira B. Nadel, *Joyce and the Jews* (Iowa City: Univ. of Iowa Press, 1989), pp. 156-62.

[39] See Norman Vance, *Irish Literature: A Social History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), pp. 21-22, 27-28.

[40] Declan Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1996), p. 318; see also Robert Welch, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* (Oxford: Clarenden Press, 1996).

[41] James Macpherson stimulated preromantic enthusiasm for old and primitive works with his sensationally successful *Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books, Together with Several Other Poems* (London: T. Becket and P. A. DeHondt, 1762) and related works, supposedly translations of the writings of the third century bard and warrior, Ossian. Widely read and imitated, the writings enjoyed prolonged attention, and even after their exposure as Macpherson's inventions, they continued to have an influence on Romanticism and the Celtic Revival.

[42] Moore, *Irish Melodies*, 10 vols. (1808-1835; Dublin: Gill and Son, 1963)

[43] See David Lloyd, "James Clarence Mangan's Oriental Translation and the Question of Origins," *Comparative Literature*, 38 (Spring 1986), 33.

[44] After twenty editions of *Lalla Rookh*, Moore added a preface in 1841 that revealed his covert didacticism. The italics are added to make the point in Mohammed Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism: Literary Encounters with the Orient* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1994), p. 172.

[45] *Lalla Rookh* achieved prominence through frequent reprints, and the widespread adaptations of various portions of the work into such forms as parlor song, musical review, pantomime, opera-comique, ballet, oratorio, and Oriental extravaganza kept it before the public in England, France, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere for fully seventy years. Three well-known composers who wrote extended musical settings of *Lalla Rookh* were Robert Schumann, Jacques Offenbach, and Anton Rubenstein.

[46] The Frederick Clay-William Gorman Wills version of *Lalla Rookh* was first produced as a cantata in London around 1877, and its popular signature song, "I'll Sing Thee Songs of Araby," survived well into the twentieth century in the repertory of one of Joyce's favorite Irish tenors, John McCormack, who recorded it on the Victrola label. "I'll Sing Thee Songs of Araby" may have helped to suggest the theme of the 1894 bazaar, but I find no evidence

that it was ever adopted as its "theme song," as has been claimed.

[47] See the *Irish Times*, 16 May 1894, 6.

[48] *Irish Times*, 18 May 1894, 6

[49] As Stone has pointed out (*D* 357-58), the theme of simony in the poem was echoed in a famous lawsuit brought by Norton against his wife, a well-known beauty, which publicized his exploitation of her to gain political preferment. Norton's poem was also printed in a musical setting. "Araby" was a standard nickname for a horse; an Arabian horseman was pictured on the Araby store-window posters.

[50] See Leerssen (pp. 102-08, 111-12), and Lloyd (p. 33). Perhaps Irish was technically classified as an Oriental language because the phonetic values in the Irish alphabet could not be directly transposed to the Roman alphabet.

[51] See Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce's "Ulysses,"* rev. ed. (New York: Knopf Publishers, 1952), pp. 65-66, and Michael Seidel, *Epic Geography: James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976), p. 17. Joyce frequently refers to Milesius and the Milesians (*CW* 159, 166; *P* 100; *U* 12.1310, 14.372; *FW* 253.35, 347.09, 518.07).

[52] See Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain, *The Workshop of Daedalus* (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 178, 191-92, 215. Joyce planned a deluxe edition of the Mangan essay in 1930 to compete with its unauthorized issue by Jacob Schwartz (*LettersIII* 209 and n3). For further evidence of Joyce's interest in Mangan, see Marvin Magalaner and Richard M. Kain, *Joyce: The Man, the Work, the Reputation* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1956), pp. 27-30, 67, 318n.

[53] William Hazlitt is quoted in Vance (p. 232).

[54] Robert Welch, *Irish Poetry from Moore to Yeats* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1980), pp. 77, 84.

[55] The passage is quoted and amplified in Gilbert (p. 86), and see Mary T. Reynolds, *Joyce and Dante: The Shaping Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press), pp. 164-65, 238-40.

[56] Mangan is quoted in D. J. O'Donoghue, *The Life and Writings of James Clarence Mangan* (Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes, 1897; Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1897), pp. 6-7, 9. Joyce had heard of Mangan at meetings of Irish literary societies (*CW* 76) and was also personally acquainted with O'Donoghue (*LettersII* 77). In *Nationalism and Minor Literature: James Clarence Mangan and the Emergence of Irish Cultural Nationalism* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1987), pp. 32-34, 49-77, Lloyd sorts out the chronology of Mangan's several fictional autobiographies: Mangan's earliest sketch, prepared for Father Meehan, appeared more than three decades later in *Poets and Poetry of Munster: A Selection of Irish Songs by the Poets of the Eighteenth Century* (1884; Dublin: James Duffy, 1925); the next self-sketch to be composed was the first to be published, appearing in *The Irishman*, 1 (August 1850). The John Mitchel political biography in James Clarence Mangan, *Poems with Biographical Introduction by John Mitchel* (New York: P. M. Haverty, 1859), seems to have set the tone that Joyce himself followed. In the absence of supporting documents for Mangan's fictitious autobiographical sketches, his later biographers took liberties in merging or embellishing on whatever he had published. Further references to the Lloyd text will be cited parenthetically in the text as *Nationalism*.

[57] See Lloyd, in *Nationalism* (p. 33). The most recent biographer of Mangan agrees in reading "Araby" as essentially "repeating the formula of Mangan's own story"—see Ellen Shannon-Mangan, *James Clarence Mangan: A Biography* (Dublin· Irish Academic Press, 1996), p 439 n11. This volume became available only after my article was completed

[58] John McCall, *The Life of James Clarence Mangan* (1882, Dublin: Carraig Books, 1975), pp. 4-5

[59] "Araby" particularly echoes the episode in Mangan's fictional autobiography that McCall's *Life* had mythologized into a parable of the child "knight-errant" on a dedicated "mission" (p. 5) to please his slightly older beloved. In this episode, Mangan attempts an act of gallantry far beyond his years, and the ill-advised quest results disastrously in eight years of near blindness, an anticipation of the concluding image in "Araby": "my eyes burned with anguish and anger" (*D* 35).

[60] Jacques Chuto et al., eds., *The Collected Writings of James Clarence Mangan Poems, 1845-1847* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1997), p. 455n

[61] In referring to several contexts that do not support it, "Araby" follows a curious tradition in Irish Orientalism of the self-contradicting text. Moore's *Lalla Rookh* mixes genres as a long prose narrative with extensive verse interludes, at times heavily supported (or is it undermined?) by running footnotes; Mangan followed in the same spirit in the ironic notes to his supposed translations from languages that he did not know in his "Literae Orientales" series.

[62] An ironic joining of Moore and Mangan took place when one collector had Mangan's *Irish and Other Poems* (Dublin: M. H Gill, 1887) bound with Moore's *Lalla Rookh* in a volume now housed in the Brigham Young University Library.

[63] Mangan is quoted in Robert Welch, *A History of Verse Translation from the Irish* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1988), p. 111.

[64] W. B. Yeats had done a good deal to promote Mangan, who was much better known in the time of the Celtic revival than it would appear from Joyce's essays.