

The Jesuits in the Literary Work of James Joyce

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ABSTRACT

His Jesuit education played an important part in James Joyce's life and his work. In the latter, it is reflected in his prose works from *Dubliners* to *Finnegans Wake*, passing through *Portrait of the Artist* and *Ulysses*. It is in *Portrait*, undoubtedly, that the Jesuits have greatest mention, as is appropriate, since the book deals with his education in two Jesuit institutions, Congowes Wood College and Belvedere College. Although many times scathing, Joyce never outlandishly condemns the Order, and in fact he has sometimes flattering comments to make about them.

James Joyce spent many years of his education in Jesuit schools. His father, though not a very devout Catholic, had a good opinion of the Jesuits. They were, for him, the gentlemen of Catholic education whereas the Christian Brothers were its drones. The same opinion will also be shared later by James. The young Joyce was therefore taken by his parents to a Jesuit school, Congowes Wood College, County Kildare, on September 1, 1888. He was then 'half past six', as he replied when asked his age. Some of the Jesuits he met there appear later in his books. Father James Daly, for instance, who was the prefect of studies for thirty years and whom Joyce later described as 'lowbred', appears as 'Father Dolan' in *A Portrait*. Father John Conmee, the rector of the school, whom Joyce described as 'a bland and courtly humanist' and whom he praised with these words: "A humanist and a human priest of whom I was very fond". Father Conmee became later prefect of studies at Belvedere College and finally Provincial superior of the Jesuits in Ireland. He appears in action in *A Portrait*, also in *Ulysses*, and in *Finnegans Wake*. In Congowes College Joyce made his first communion and was chosen as altar boy. He also received the confirmation and took for his saint's name Aloysius, from Aloysius Gonzaga, the Jesuit saint and patron of youth. He also wrote a hymn to the Virgin Mary.

When the family moved into Dublin due to financial difficulties in 1893 John Joyce sent his children reluctantly to the Christian Brothers school on North Richmond Street. A fact that James Joyce preferred not to remember in his writings. Father Conmee who was now the prefect of studies at the renowned Jesuit school, Belvedere College in Dublin, after a casual encounter with John Joyce offered to arrange for his sons to attend the College without fees. And so James entered Belvedere on April, 6, 1893, to become, as R. Elmann puts it, its most famous old boy. His skill in English composition prompted the lay teacher, George S. Dempsey ('Mr Tate' in *A Portrait*), to inform the rector, Father William Henry,

¹ Cf. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, Oxford U.P., 1966, pág. 27. See also Kevin Sullivan, *Joyce Among the Jesuits*, New York, 1958.

that the young Joyce was 'a boy with a plethora of ideas in his head'. In the spring of 1894 competing with boys from all the schools of Ireland in the Preparatory grade he won one of the top prizes. He also won two scholarships in 1894 and 1895. As a result of his academic success two Dominican priests visited his father and offered to give the young Joyce free board, room and tuition at their school near Dublin. John left the decision to his son, who answered without hesitation: "I began with the Jesuits and I want to end with them". On December 7, 1895, he was admitted to the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and on September 25, 1896, he was elected prefect of the Sodality. This pious association was at that time and has been for a long time one of the most efficient means the Jesuits used to give special religious attention to a select group of young people inculcating in them an active and apostolic way of living their religion, and frequently extracting from among them a few as candidates for future members of the Society of Jesus. One of the main features of the sodality was the devotion to the Virgin Mary. This event coincided with the age in which Joyce's sexual life began. In the same year, November 30, he started a memorable retreat, a few days of prayer and meditation to reform his way of life in accordance with the will of God, following the first steps of St. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, under the direction of Father James A. Cullen, which would finish on December 3, the feast of St. Francis Xavier, the patron Saint of the College. A detailed account of this retreat and its aftermath is given in *A Portrait*. The idea of joining the Society founded by St. Ignatius seems to have occupied for some time Joyce's mind. At the age of sixteen in a solemn interview the director of studies suggested to James, according to his brother Stanislaus Joyce, to consider becoming a priest. But by that time his piety, even his faith in the traditional sense, was already in conflict with his feelings about art and life, about personal and even national identity. His agonizing crisis had begun and would stay with him for the rest of his life.

Nevertheless as for his feelings and ideas about St. Ignatius's Order he would always keep it in high esteem and respect. Although he admits that he was reared by the 'myrthless' Jesuits and escaped from them to 'life', and that he is differentiated from worldly Jesuit masters, that the Jesuits are 'tarts' and those who educated him had no sense of literature, he still discovers good positive results: "I spent", he admits, "16 years of my life with them and I owe them a great deal". Talking about the skill of his Jesuit masters, even after having rejected their teaching, he told the composer Philip Jarnach: "I don't think you'll easily find anyone to equal them". He also corrected his friend Frank Budgen's book when he remarked: "You allude to me as a Catholic. Now for the sake of precision and to get the correct contour on me, you ought to allude to me as a Jesuit". And to the sculptor August Suter when he asked Joyce once what he had retained from his Jesuit education, he answered spontaneously: "to arrange things so that they can be grasped and judged".²

This strong presence and influence of the Jesuits in the life of James Joyce continues, as we will see in the following pages, in his literary work starting with *Dubliners* and continuing in *A Portrait*, *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. The purpose of these pages is to present and comment briefly on the texts and passages of Joyce's literary work in which appreciations, references, facts or quotations related to Ignatius of Loyola and his followers can be found, and finally to reflect on the role played by the Ignatian theme as a part of the wider field of religion in the structure of Joyce's writings.

² Cf. Richard Elmann, *op. cit.*, *ib.*

DUBLINERS (1914)

There are in *Dubliners* two references to the Jesuit theme which look like a prelude to what would be found later in *A Portrait* and which draw the attention of the reader: life in the school and the retreat or Ignatian spiritual exercises. Both play a substantial part in *A Portrait*.

Life in the school is presented in the second of the *Dubliners* stories, "An Encounter". The main character and narrator in the story refers to the days when 'a spirit of unruliness diffused itself' among the young students under the influence and the guide of a certain Joe Dillon, who on the other hand had a vocation for the priesthood. He was the introducer among his colleagues of literature of the Far West with fierce and beautiful girls. This was discovered one day during the class of Roman History by Father Butler who described it as rubbish and told his pupils that he would not like to find again 'this wretched stuff in the college' (p.17). Another remarkable incident in the school life is told by the narrator again when he himself with Dillon and another boy named Mahony decided to have a day off, 'to break out of the weariness of school life for one day at least'. They planned to cross in the ferry boat and go to see the Pigeon House. Leo Dillon was afraid they might meet Father Butler or some one out of the school. But it was improbable. Whom they met instead was an old gentleman who seemed to have a very liberal mind, but in the end he told them that if he ever found 'a boy talking to girls or having a girl friend he would wip him and whip him' (p.23).

The second topic, the retreat, is dealt with in one of the last stories, "Grace". The background of the story is a sad account of a salesman, Mr Kernan, whose business has declined to a very low point. In his despair he has been taken to drink. But there are still a few good friends who care for him and his wife. One day they told him they were going to make a retreat and they would very much like him to join them. Were are told that Mr Kernan 'came of Protestant stock, and though he had been converted to the Catholic faith at the time of his marriage, he had not been in the pale of the church for twenty years. He was fond, moreover, of giving sidethrusts at Catholicism' (p.150). The proposal of the retreat took him by surprise. He was silent and listened to a long conversation of his three friends discussing the Jesuits:

- I haven't such a bad opinion of the Jesuits, he said, intervening at length. They are an educated order. I believe they mean well too.
- They're the grandest order in the Church, Tom, said Mr Cunningham, with enthusiasm. The General of the Jesuits stands next to the Pope.
- There's no mistake about it, said Mr M'Coy, if you want a thing well done and no flies about it you go to a Jesuit. They're the boyos have influence. I'll tell you a case in point...
- The Jesuits are a fine body of men, said Mr Power.
- It's a curious thing, said Mr Cunningham, about the Jesuit Order. Every other order of the Church had to be reformed at some time or other but the Jesuit Order was never once reformed. It never fell away.
- Is that so? Asked Mr M'Coy.
- That's a fact, said Mr Cunningham. That's history.
- Look at their church, too, said Mr Power. Look at the congregation they have.
- The Jesuits cater for the upper classes, said Mr M'Coy.
- Of course, said Mr Power.

- Yes, said Mr Kernan. That's why I have a feeling for them. It's some of those secular priests, ignorant, bumptious —
- They're all good men, said Mr Cunningham, each in his own way. The Irish priesthood is honoured all the world over.
- O yes, said Mr Power.
- Not like some of the other priesthoods on the continent, said Mr M'Coy, unworthy of the name.
- Perhaps you're right, said Mr Kernan, relenting.
- Of course I'm right, said Mr Cunningham. I haven't been in the world all this time and seen most sides of it without being a judge of character. (p. 150-51).

The retreat will be mainly for businessmen, and it will be given by Father Purdon, a 'fine jolly fellow. He's a man of the world as ourselves', as Mr Cunningham says. It will not be like a sermon but 'just a kind of friendly talk in a common sense way' (151). The conversation among the four friends falls on different topics. The Pope, Leo XIII who is 'one of the lights of the age', *Lux upon Lux – Light upon Light*, as Pius IX was *Cross upon Cross, The Prisoner of the Vatican*.³ The role of the Pope and the papal infallibility in the Church is also discussed. The three friends tell Mrs Kernan they are going to make her husband 'a good holy pious and God-fearing Roman Catholic'. But she is not convinced.

The transept of the church of the Jesuits was almost full with gentlemen. Father Purdon addresses the business men as a man of the world speaking to his fellow-men. He tells them to be straight with God and behave in a business-like way. If their acconts with Him are all right they should say:

Well, I have verified my accounts. I find all well.

If that is not the case, they should admit the truth, be frank and say like a man:

Well, I have looked into my accounts. I find this wrong and this wrong. But with God's grace, I will rectify this and this. I will set right my accounts (p.159).

The whole atmosphere of this retreat differs essentially from the one which is presented in *A Portrait*, as we will see. Here there is simple reasoning and reflection. In *A Portrait* much more passion and rhetoric. Here those addressed are grown up people, men of the world, in *A Portrait* they are young boys in a boarding school.

A PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A YOUNG MAN

The book is, as a matter of fact, a detailed description and reminiscence of the hero's life, that's to say the author's and narrator's life in the years of his education in the Jesuit

³ The mottos or devices *Lux de Luce* and *Crux de Cruce*, applied respectively to the Popes Leo XIII and Pius XII, come from the well known *Prophecy of the Popes*, attributed to the Irish monk Saint Malachy O'Mongoir who died in the famous French Abbey of Clarabeaux on November 2, 1148. The prophecy presents a future vision of the last 112 Popes who will rule the Church till the end of the times, and the author assigns to each pope a device. Obviously Joyce was familiar with the prophecy since he also refers to it in his parable of 'The mookse and the grapes' in *Finnegans Wake*, (pp. 152-159). For a more detailed explanation of the text see, José M. Ruiz, "The Mookse and The Grapes" of *Finnegans Wake: Religión y Poltica*", *E S, Revista de Filología Inglesa*, Nº 16 (1992), 13-31.

institution. More than half of the book, well into chapter 4, the book deals precisely with that theme, while the second part of the book could be considered as a reflection on the previous experience. The atmosphere of a Jesuit school is perfectly reflected in the persons, in the activities and in the places. We find brothers (lay brothers not ordained members of the order, the fathers with different functions, the prefect of studies, the father minister (in charge of the welfare and order in the house), the Rector, the Provincial and the General, and also Jesuits who are addressed as "Mr.", Mr. Glade and Mr. Gleeson (p. 48), being young Jesuits, "scholasticus approbatus", who had already made temporal vows - not yet perpetual -, who had studied philosophy and before going into theology and priesthood they spend a few years teaching in a school.

Through their activities we discover the ideas of the founder Loyola. He wanted his companions to be "contemplative in action": Prayer and meditation in due proportion leading to action. Education, foreign missions, or taking care of the sick, as Brother Michael does in the infirmary of the College. From the times of the founder the infirmary has always been a very much appreciated place, so much that Ignatius used to say that even the chalices of the church should be sold if necessary to attend to the sick, and in the boarding schools the infirmary was also a refuge from academic activity for the internees. Stephen Dedalus was also a visitor to the infirmary under the care of Brother Michael. And so practically all the aspects of college life are minutely described in the pages of *A Portrait*.

But I would like to point out two or three passages of special interest for our purpose. The first one takes place when Stephen in very low spirits is going to see the Rector to tell him that Fr. Dolan has been unjust to him "pandyng" him, in the episode of the broken glasses:

He passed along the narrow dark corridor, passing little doors that were the doors of the rooms of the community. He peered in front of him and right and left through the gloom and thought that those must be portraits. It was dark and silent and his eyes were weak and tired with tears so that he could not see. But he thought they were the portraits of the saints and great men of the order who were looking down on him silently as he passed: saint Ignatius Loyola holding an open book and pointing to the words *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam* in it; saint Francis Xavier pointing to his chest; Lorenzo Ricci with his berretta on his head like one of the prefects of the lines, the three patrons of holy youth - saint Stanislaus Kostka, saint Aloysius Gonzago, and Blessed John Berchmans, all with young faces because they died when they were young, and Father Peter Kenny sitting in a chair wrapped in a big cloak (p. 56).

In this paragraph Joyce gives us a nice summary of his Ignatian theme. Ignatius of Loyola - the founder of the Jesuits with his motto, A. M. D. G. which is to be found time and again in the three novels. With him, his companion, good friend and cofounder Francis Xavier who extended the order to the end of the earth in the Far East. Ricci the Jesuit who brought the Gospel, with western science to China, and the three saints, patrons of youth, Kostka, Berchmans, and Gonzaga.

Both Loyola and Xavier receive important mention in *A Portrait* and will appear in different occasions in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. The same could be said in due proportion of the three young saints - "Santos mozos" - as they are called in *Finnegans Wake*. The order founded by Loyola is responsible for the education of Stephen Dedalus. And one of the most efficient means is through the spiritual exercises which represent a very important part in the structure and development of *A Portrait*, as, without any doubt, in the life of its author. One of the main objectives of the spiritual exercises or retreat will be to internalize the spirit of

the Ignatian motto, A.M.D.G. The retreat for Stephen and the rest of the students will start, as the rector said, “on Wednesday afternoon in honor of St. Francis Xavier, whose feast day is Saturday”:

—The retreat will begin on Wednesday afternoon in honour of saint Francis Xavier whose feast day is Saturday.

—You are all familiar with the story of the life of saint Francis Xavier, I suppose, the patron of your college. He came of an old and illustrious Spanish family and you remember that he was one of the first followers of saint Ignatius. They met in Paris where Francis Xavier was professor of philosophy at the university. This young and brilliant nobleman and man of letters entered heart and soul into the ideas of our glorious founder and you know that he, at his own desire, was sent by saint Ignatius to preach to the Indians. He is called, as you know, the apostle of the Indies. He went from country to country in the east, from Africa to India, from India to Japan, baptizing the people. He is said to have baptized as many as ten thousand idolaters in one month. It is said that his right arm had grown powerless from having been raised so often over the heads of those whom he baptized. He wished then to go to China to win still more souls for God but he died of fever on the island of Sancian. A great saint, saint Francis, *Xavier!* A great soldier of God!

The rector paused and then, shaking his clasped hands before him, went on:

—He had the faith in him that moves mountains. Ten thousand souls won for God in a single month! That is a true conqueror, true to the motto of our order: *ad majorem Dei gloriam!* A saint who has great power in heaven, remember: power to intercede for us in our grief; power to obtain whatever we pray for if it be for the good of our souls; power above all to obtain for us the grace to repent if we be in sin. A great saint, saint Francis *Xavier!* A great fisher of souls! (pp. 107-108)

Francis Xavier was also the patron saint of the College. It is important to emphasize the insistence on the weekday of the feast, Saturday. The memorable morning of the feast of St. Francis Xavier, Saturday 3 of December 1898 is also recorded in *Ulysses* (p. 590). It looks as if that was the year of the memorable retreat made by James Joyce, but Richard Elmann, the biographer of Joyce, insists on the year 1896. Only in 1898 the 3rd of December was a Saturday.

The rector in his talk emphasizes the personality of Francis Xavier who was the the first companion of Ignatius and personified one of the main ideas of the Order, special vow of obedience to the Pope for going to the “missions”. The scene will be remembered again, as we will see, in *Finnegans Wake* (p. 432). The retreat which Stephen was going to start was not properly speaking the one designed by Loyola for four weeks. It was going to be just three days with special emphasis on the meditation of the “last things”, death, judgement and hell, so as to arouse a deep feeling against sin and fear of its consequences. This unilateral approach to the spiritual exercises of Loyola is certainly a great deviation from the spirit of the author of the exercises. The main body and also the aim of the exercises is to contemplate and imitate the life of Christ. This deviation can be tracked back to the XVII century when a Spanish Jesuit, Sebastián Izquierdo (1601-1681) published in 1665 a book, *Práctica de los Ejercicios*, which was printed 19 times in two centuries and was translated into Latin, German, French, Portuguese and Italian. In it the author with a very baroque style writes passages which remind very closely those of *A Portrait*; see for instance, Last judgement, eternity, fire of hell. Talking about the *Last judgement* Izquierdo writes:

En esta forma baxará azia la tierra el Rey de la Gloria, no como la primera vez hecho Niño, faxados sus braços con pobres faxas, sino hecho León de Judá, bibrando la espada de la justicia, con el brazo de la Omnipotencia. No como Pastor, buscando la oveja perdida, para llevarla sobre sus ombros, sino como Juez riguroso, para entregarla a los lobos infernales⁴.

Similarly Joyce writes:

And lo, the supreme judge is coming! No longer the lowly Lamb of God, no longer the meek Jesus of Nazareth, no longer the Man of Sorrows, no longer the Good Shepherd. He is seen now coming upon the clouds, in great power and majesty... (113-114).

When dealing with the *fire of hell* we also find parallel texts. Izquierdo writes:

O miserable pecador! Si acá no puedes sufrir por espacio de una Ave María la llama de un candil en un dedo; como sufrirás el estar de pies a cabeza cubierto, y penetrado con fuego tanto más cruel, para siempre y sin fin?⁵

In *Portrait* Joyce writes:

Place your finger for a moment in the flame of a candle and you will feel the pain of fire. But our earthly fire was created for the benefit of man ..., whereas the fire of hell is of another quality and was created by God to torture and punish the unrepentant sinner (121).

A similar coincidence is found in the subject of *eternity*. The classical example of a bird taking away a grain every thousand years is also assumed by Joyce:

Pongamos un montón de trigo, tan alto como la mas alta torre, en el qual, mientras as crecido, seria mayor su circunfeñcia: disponga Dios que de mil en mil años venga un pajarito, y se lleve un grano solo de trigo; quantos millares, o millones de años serian menester, para que este pajarito acabase con este grande montón, llevandose cada mil años un solo grano? Pues se acabaria este, y otros muchos montones, y la Eternidad aun estaria en su ser, y en su principio.

Joyce amplifies the comparison:

Eternity! O, dread and dire word. Eternity!... Now imagine a mountain of that sand, a million miles broad, extending to remotest space, and a million miles in thickness ...; and imagine that at the end of every million years a little bird came to that mountain and carried away in its beak a tiny grain of that sand. How many millions upon millions of centuries would pass before that bird had carried away even a square foot of that mountain, how many eons of ages before it had carried away all? Yet at the end of that immense stretch of time not even one instant of eternity could be said to be ended. At the end of those billions and trillions of years eternity would have scarcely begun... (131-133).

An outstanding disciple of Fr. Sebastián Izquierdo was the Italian Jesuit and also popular missionary Giovanni Pietro Pinamonti (1632-1703); who knew the work of the Spaniard. We also find some paragraphs which look almost like a literal transcription. Joyce writes on the *fire of hell* amplifying the text of Pinamonti:

And this terrible fire will not afflict the bodies of the damned only from without, but each lost soul will be a hell unto itself, the boundless fire raging in its very vitals. O, how terrible is the lot of those wretched beings! The blood seethes and boils in the veins, the brains

⁴ "Ejercicio del Juicio Universal", en *Práctica de los Ejercicios*, *op. cit.*

⁵ "Ejercicio del infierno", *op. cit.*

are boiling in the skull, the heart in the breast glowing and bursting, the bowels a red-hot mass of burning pulp, the tender eyes flaming like molten balls (121-122).

A wave of fire swept through his body: the first. Again a wave. His brain began to glow. Another. His brain was simmering and bubbling within the cracking tenement of the skull. Flames burst forth from his skull like a corolla shrieking like voices: Hell! Hell! Hell! Hell! Hell! (125).

The text by Pinamonti is obviously very similar, and it is reinforced with Biblical quotations.

Pones eos in clibanum ignis, Ps 20,10 dice il profeta. Sarà ogni dannato come un forno acceso che ha le sue vampe dentro di sè, dentro il suo seno, onde bollirà quel sangue inmondo nelle sue vene, il cervello dentro il suo cranio, il cuore dentro il petto, le viscere dentro quel corpo infelice, che circondato da un abisso di fuoco non avrà scampo. Quis Poterit habitare de vobis cum igne devorante? Is 33,14.⁶

The example for eternity became a classic. There was in Italy a good disciple of Izquierdo, the Italian Jesuit Pietro Pinamonte (1630-1703), also a popular missionary and preacher as Izquierdo. He wrote a book, *L'inferno aperto al cristiano: Perché non v'entry. Consederazione delle pene infernali proposte a meditarle per evitarle*, and its English translation is quoted by Joyce in *Finnegans Wake* (518). The retreat made by Stephen ending on the feast of St. Francis Xavier was certainly not a good reflection of the Ignatian model. The accomodation made by Izquierdo and his followers was intended for the popular missions in which the public was considered normally not to be well prepared to go to the summit, to "the contemplation to bring about love". It seems now obvious that the preaching of this type of retreat to a youth of 16 could contribute to create in him a traumatic experience which could induce later on an impulse to abandon the church at least in its external formalities. And that could be applied to Stephen Dedalus as well as to his creator James Joyce himself.

And yet not everything was negative in his Jesuit education. Stephen found good examples of Jesuits. The dean of studies was a "faithful serving-man of the knightly Loyola" (190). And Fr. Conmee (The same name as the Rector of Clongowes Wood College when Joyce was there, and Prefect of studies later on in Belvedere College when Joyce joined the College and finally Provincial), he is described in *A Portrait* and in *Ulysses* as "a humanist and a human priest of whom I was very fond". And Stephen with his fellow students agrees about Conmee, he was the most decent rector that was ever in Clongowes" (59) and (*Ulysses*, 520).

Another important aspect of the religious education given by the Jesuits was their insistence on the devotion to the Virgin Mary. In the witty discussion about happiness, love and motherly love between Cranly and Stephen we discover that Pascal would not suffer his mother to kiss him, he feared the contact of her sex, and Aloysius Gonzaga was of the same mind. Cranly called them pigs:

– Pascal, If I remember rightly, would not suffer his mother to kiss him as he feared the contact of her sex.

– Pascal was a pig, said Cranly.

⁶ G.P. Pinamonti., S.J., *L'inferno aperto al cristiano*, Novara 1853, pp. 19-20.

- Aloysius Gonzaga, I think, was of the same mind, Stephen said.
- And he was another pig then, said Cranly.
- The church calls him a saint, Stephen objected.
- I don't care a flaming damn what anyone calls him, Cranly said rudely and flatly. I call him a pig.
- Stephen, preparing the words neatly in his mind, continued:
- Jesus, too, seems to have treated his mother with scant courtesy in public but Suarez, a Jesuit theologian and Spanish gentleman, has apologized for him. (p. 242)

Another Jesuit theologian, besides Suarez, is quoted by Joyce talking about justice and rights of property as provisional, four pages later in *A Portrait*:

- And if you got nothing, would you rob?
- You wish me to say, Stephen answered, that the rights of property are provisional, and that in certain circumstances it is not unlawful to rob. Everyone would act in that belief. So I will not make you that answer. Apply to the Jesuit theologian; Juan Mariana de Talavera, who will also explain to you in what circumstances you may lawfully kill your king and whether you had better hand him his poison in a goblet or smear it for him upon his robe or his saddlebow. Ask me rather would I suffer others to rob me, or if they did, would I call down upon them what I believe is called the chastisement of the secular arm? (p. 246)

ULYSSES

The Ignatian theme is also very much present in *Ulysses*. In the first episode, Telemachus, the dominant theme is theology which serves to connect with one of the main topics in *A Portrait*. In *A Portrait* the Ignatian retreat introduces the young hero Stephen in the awareness of guilt and fear of sin. In *Ulysses*, on the contrary, Buck Mulligan advises Kinch to get rid of everything connected with Jesuit ideas: “Chuck Loyola, Kinch, and come on down” (15). And yet, Loyola comes once and again to the mind and to the world of Stephen Dedalus, Mr. Bloom, his wife and his friends.

In the fifth episode, the Lotus-Eaters, where the dominant symbol is the Eucharist, another famous Jesuit comes into scene, missionary also and patron of the missions among the blacks, Spanish also as Loyola and Xavier, St. Peter Claver. He will be introduced to the audience by the Reverend Father John Conmee, S. J.

Some notice on the door. Sermon by the very reverend John Conmee S. J. on saint Peter Claver and the African mission. Save China's millions... Buddha their god lying on his side in the museum. Taking it easy with hand in under his cheek. Josssticks burning. Not like Ecce Homo. Crown of thorns and cross. Clever idea Saint Patrick the shamrock Chopsticks? Conmee: Martin Cunningham knows him: distinguished looking. Sorry I didn't work him about getting. Molly into the choir instead of that Father Farley who looked a fool but wasn't. They're taught that. He's not going out in bluey specs with the sweat rolling off him to baptise blacks, is he? The glasses would take their fancy, flashing. Like to see them sitting round in a ring with blub lips, entranced, listening. Still life. Lap it up like milk, I suppose. (p. 81)

“Clever idea Saint Patrick the shamrock”. And Claver’s mission to the African blacks will bring the Joycean association of cannibalism with communion: “Corpus, body... Corpus D.N.J.C. custodiat animam tuam in vitam eternam”.

In episode 9, centered in the Library, the method of meditation in the Ignatioan spiritual exercises is mentioned in connection with Shakespeare’s plays. To start a meditation Ignatius recommends: “Composition of place”: Looking at the place, listening to the words, touching, smelling, using all the senses. Here Joyce: “Composition of place. Ignatius Loyola, make haste to help me!”

– Shakespeare has left the huguenot’s house in Silver street and walks by the swanmews along the riverbank. But he does not stay to feed the pen chivying her game of cygnets towards the rushes. The swan of Avon has other thoughts. Composition of place. Ignatius Loyola, make haste to help me!

- The play begins. A player comes on under the shadow, made up (p.188).

Episode 10, the Wandering Rocks in the streets of Dublin, opens with Fr. John Conmee, S.J. as the main character during six full pages, and Brother Swan, and the missions, and Fr. Bernard Vaughan with his cockney accent, and the three little school boys of Belvedere. The streets, shops, churches, people in the city of Dublin are presented to us through the open personality of Fr. Conmee. In the tram Mr. Eugene Stratton with his thick nigger-lips reminded again to Fr. Conmee of St. Peter Claver and his blacks.

From the hoardings Mr Eugene Stratton grinned with thick nigger-lips at Father Conmee. Father Conmee thought of the souls of black and brown and yellow men and of his sermon of saint Peter Claver S. J. and the African mission and of the propagation of the faith and of the millions of black and brown and yellow souls that had not received the baptism of water when their last hour came like a thief in the night. That book by the Belgian Jesuit, *Le Nombre des Élus*, seemed to Father Conmee a reasonable plea. Those were millions of human souls created by God in His Own likeness to whom the faith had not (D. V.) been brought. But they were God’s souls created by God. It seemed to Father Conmee a pity that they should all be lost, a waste, if one might say (p. 222).

In episode 12 in the Tavern in the mocked Mass at the sound of the “sacring bell” in the endless parade of abbots, priors, monks and friars we can see again “Ignatius his children”, “and the three patrons of holy youth S. Aloysius Gonzaga and S. Stanislaus Kostka and S. John Berchmans” (337).

Finally, episode 17, Joyce’s favourite. Ithaca island and home country of Odysseus. The home return undertaken by Bloom and Stephen after navigating as mariners or shooting stars the streets of Dublin. The duumvirate has been deliberating about many different topics, from music to women, from Ireland to the influence of gaslight. One of the topics was “Jesuit education” (586). And once they managed to enter the house without the keys they take a seat by the hearthstone and Stephen thinks of his best “apparitions” or memories of persons of the past: Brother Michael in the infirmary, the morning of the feast of Saint Francis-Xavier 1898, and the dean of studies, Father Butt ...”

Of what similar apparitions did Stephen think?

Of others elsewhere in other times who, kneeling on one knee or on two, had kindled fires for him, of Brother Michael in the infirmary of the college of the Society of Jesus at Clongowes Wood, Sallins, in the country of Kildare: of his father, Simon Dedalus, in an

unfurnished room of his first residence in Dublin, number thirteen Fitzgibbon street: of his godmother Miss Kate Morkan in the house of her dying sister Miss Julia Morkan at 15 Usher's Island: of his mother Mary, wife of Dedalus, in the kitchen of number twelve North Richmond street on the morning of the feast of Saint Francis-Xavier 1898: of the dean of studie, Father Butt, in the physics' theatre of university College, 16 Stephen's green, north: of his sister Dilly (Delia) in his father's house in Cabra (p.590).

Certainly and contrary to the advice given by Mulligan to Kinch, Stephen Dedalus has not chunked Loyola off his life. Nor has Joyce along the most famous of his novels *Ulysses*.

FINNEGANS WAKE

The first time we find the name of Ignatius Loyola in *Finnegans Wake* is in chapter 7, Book I, the book of the parents, where Shem, "the penman", the writer in exile interprets in an ironic and mocking key his own life as an artist, and clearly not any longer as "a young man": "and arklast ...

And the dal dabal dab aldanabal! So perhaps, agglaggagglo-meratively asaspensing, after all and arklast fore arklst on his last public missappearance, circling the square, for the deathfête of Saint Ignaceous Poisonivy, of the Fickle Crowd (hupon the sixth day of Hogsobor, killim our king, layum low!) (p. 186).

Poisonivy, the plant, or perhaps Poison and "Ivy". Ivy-day, 6th of October anniversary of Charles Stewart's (Parnell) death (1891), the Irish nationalist. But "arklast" and "arklyst" in Lituianian mean the plough and the horse, and so "putting the cart before the horse" and circling the square, we find here Saint Ignatius (Ignaceous, the ignescent, the man of fire) associated with the leader of an independent Ireland.

The next episode in which the Ignatian imprint can be found is Book II, chapter 1. The book of the Sons; the Children's hour. the sons of the tavern keeper are playing in front of the girls to complit for their sympathy. Glubb, formerly Shem, is the loser and decides in his heart to go into combat. As with Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait* "silence, exile and cunning" will be the only way to find his fate; here Glugg will follow "pagoda permettant, crookolevante (weather permitting, and Deo volente-God willing), the bruce, the coriolano and the ignatio).

He take skiff come first dagrene day overwide tumbler, rough and dark, till when bow of the shower show of the bower with three shirts and a wind, pagoda permettant, crookolevante, the bruce, the coriolano and the ignacio. (p. 228).

Robert Bruce (+1329) King of Scotland: *silence*, Coriolanus the noble Roman: *exile*, and Ignacio (the original Spanish name of Ignatius): *cunning*, as the word "Jesuit" goes with a pejorative meaning.

In chapter 2 of the same Book II, the Study period for the Trivium and Quatrivium, the name of Ignatius Loyola appears again disguised as "Ignotus Loquor" (263). "Ignotus" in Latin means "unknown" and "loquor" "I speak". The theme is "gnosis of precreate determination and *agnosis* of postcreate determinism". No doubt, James Joyce remembered

the first meditation in the Ignatian spiritual exercises, "Principle and Fundament": "Man is created to praise God and so to save his soul, and the rest of things on earth are created to help man to get the objective he is created for". "Loquor" = Loyola, but probably Joyce remembered the Introit of the Mass in honour of Francis Xavier, the companion of Ignatius. In it we find the words of Ps. 118, 46: *Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum et non confundebar*".

Joyce writes on the margin of the text: "Ignotum per ignotius". "Explaining the unknown by means of the more unknown?" Also in the same Study period, as an indication that the work of the students has begun we find the words "Ad maturing daily gloriaims" (282), a distorted version of the Jesuit motto A.M.D.G. It was normally used by the students of the Jesuit institutions at the head of their papers, as also another motto was used for the end of the papers: "Laus Deo semper" (L.D.S.) which appears in a footnote of the same *Ulysses* page as "Lawdy Dawdy Simpser" (282, note 2).

Finally in the same Book II, chapter 3 the motto is again found in a text which remembers the battle of Clontarf, A.D.1014, in which the Norsemen were defeated by the Irish, for the greater glory of God:

Will any persen bereaved to be passent bring-back or rumpart to the Hoved politymester.
Clontarf, one love, one fear. Ellers for the greater glossary of code, callen hom: Finucane - Lee,
Finucane - Law ... Song: " Funiculi, funicula" *Am. Dg.* (p. 324)

And also a few lines below the second motto in a new version:

Is. De. (Laus Deo) (p. 325). Or pounds, shillings, and pence.

In Book III, the Book of the people, chapter 1 we find again the Jesuit motto A.M.D.G. interlocked with the other "Laus Deo Semper", transformed by the magical sound of the Italian lira: "But Conte Carme makes the melody that mints the money. Ad majorem l.s.d.! Divi gloriam".

Flunkey Footle furloughed foul, writing off his phoney, but Conte Carme makes the melody that mints the money. *Ad majorem l.s.d.! Divi gloriam.* A darkener of the threshold, Haru? (p. 418)

Instead of "Dei" "l.s.d." was added, the second motto, but with the order of the letters changed : l.s.d. = laus semper Deo, or "Pounds, shillings, and pence". To the greater glory of God Money: pounds, shillings and pence. "Conte" besides "canta = sings" end "conta = counta" means also Earl, Count, and so a reference to the pontifical title which was awarded for his song or "Carme" to the Irish tenor singer John McCormack.

But certainly, the most elaborate Ignatian text in *Finnegans Wake* is given in Book III, chapter 2. Disguised as a priest, Shaun is preparing to say Mass in front of the 29 little girls of S. Bride's Academy. He checks the "epact" of the day, the instructions for the day's liturgical celebration: the saint of the day, the colour of the vestments, the prayers to be said from the common of confessors, martyrs or virgins.

"grapce. Economy of movement, axe why said . I've a hopesome's choice if I chouse of all the sinks in the colander. From the common for ignitious Purpalume to the proper of Francisco Ultramare, last of scorchers, third of snows, in terrorgammons howdydos. Here she's, is a bell, that's wares in heaven, virginwhite, Undetrigesima, vikissy manonna. Doremon's! The same or similar to be kindly observed within the affianced dietcess of Gay

O'Toole and Gloamy Gwenn du Lake (Danish spoken!) from Manducare Monday up till farrier's siesta in china dominos. Words taken in triumph, my sweet assistance, from the sufferant pen of our jocosus inkerman militant of the reed behind the ear". (p. 432-33).

And so the Mass will be taken from the common for "ignituous Purpalume" and "francisco Ultramare". "Ignitius" in Latin is the comparative form of "ignitus" meaning "set on fire". It is a clear reference to the name Ignatius, but also to a sentence Ignatius used to repeat to his companions: The world is cold in the love of God, go and set it on fire, ignite it", an echo in its turn of the Gospel message: "I have come to bring fire to the earth, and how I wish it were blazing already!" (Lc. 12,49). "Purpalume" is the colour of purple, the liturgical red colour, but obviously it is a reference to "Pamplona" which is not the birthplace of Ignatius Loyola, as Roland McHugh mistakenly states in his *Annotations to Finnegans Wake* (p.89), but the place where Ignatius was wounded while defending the city against the French and becoming lame for the rest of his life. This was an episode which changed his life. In his enforced retreat for recovery in his noble house of Loyola he decided to start a new type of life and a new military service. He got the idea of the Society of Jesus. The first to join was "Francisco Ultramare". This was the man from Pamplona, that is to say, from another ancient and noble house in Javier, Xavier, near Pamplona. "Ultramare" refers first of all to the fact that he went to spread the Gospel in "ultramare", overseas", to the lands of India, Japan, China. But it is also a clear reference to the fact that he was declared by Pious XI patron of the foreign missions in "ultramare", for the Propagation of Faith and the Roman Congregation De Propaganda Fide. The feast of Saint Ignatius Loyola is July the 31rst. ("last of scorchers"), and the 3rd. of December ("third of snows") the feast of Saint Francis Xavier.

The sentence "from Manducare Monday up till farrier's siesta in china dominos" offers a good number of references in several languages. "Manducare" in Latin means "to eat", Monday of eating. But "Maundy Thursday" in English is the day of the Last Supper, which in Latin is "Coena Domini". And "feria sexta in Coena Domini" is the Saturday of the Holy Week, in which the vigil of resurrection is celebrated. But "farrear" in Spanish means also "to celebrate". Then "he celebrates the siesta in china dominos". But "china dominos" (Coena Domini) is also the "China dominions". "Celebrate the siesta in the territories of China". Simply, Francisco Ultramare, Xavier, in the territories of China, the little island of Sancian, took a siesta, that is to say, "dormivit in Domino" (he rested in the Lord), aged 46, facing the Chinese mainland.

There is still another veiled reference to Ignatius, "ignitio" during the sermon by Jaun in the liturgical celebration:

"We'll circumcivizise all Dublin country. Let us, the real US, all ignite in our prepurgatoryaposcals" (p. 446).

And also near the end of the celebration an appeal or perhaps an invocation to the three young saint patrons of youth; Kostka; Berchmans and Gonzaga. In the context we also find the waiters saying:

"Give us another cup of your scald. Santos Mozos!" (p. 455).

The final reference to the Ignatian theme in *Finnegans Wake* takes us back again to the meditation of Hell in *A Portrait* by mentioning the title of Fr. Pinamonti's book, quoted as "Hull hopen for christmians" in the sentence:

- Yet this war has meed peace? In voina viritas. Ab chaos lex, neat wehr?
 – O bella! O pia! O pura! Amem. Handwalled amokst us. Thanksbeer to Balbus!
 All the same you sound it would clang houlish like Hull hopen for christmians? (p. 518).

CONCLUSION

The Ignatian theme is the tip of the iceberg in the wider theme of religion as a component in the literary works of James Joyce. Religion and the Jesuit theme in particular appear with great frequency in his narrative as we have seen. Both the religious and the Jesuit themes are presented in different keys, sometimes in an ironic or even sarcastic one, sometimes in a humorous mood, or in a social and cultural or even national context. But it is clear that in order to understand, to interpret and to enjoy James Joyce the religious component has an important role to play, since it has without any doubt an outstanding and specific weight in the structure of his narrative.

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