

Anatole France, Oscar Wilde, and James Joyce A Queer Genealogy of “The Dead”

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Abstract This essay re-situates James Joyce’s story “The Dead” in the alternative intellectual genealogy of late-nineteenth-century European religious skepticism, its reexamination of the historical origins of Christianity, and its fresh reinterrogation of the epochal transition between the pre-Christian and the Christian worlds. Taking a cue from Richard Ellmann’s suggestion that it was Anatole France’s “The Procurator of Judea” that inspired “The Dead”, the essay argues that just as France had written a revisionist story about the disappearance of Jesus from the history, so did Joyce write a similar story, about a failed Annunciation and the death of God. Further, the essay identifies Oscar Wilde’s *Salome* as a twin text of France’s and triangulates it with France and Joyce, showing how Wilde’s play had excavated this same territory and provided a recent Irish precedent for restaging a New Testament dialogue, for redramatizing the contest between female pagan voice and prophetic Christian voice, and for reviving a sustained pagan rhetoric of “the dead”.

Keywords Anatole France. James Joyce. “The Dead”. Historical Criticism. Death of God. Failed Annunciation. Christian Origin Story. Atavism.

Summary 1 Introduction: Anatole France, “The Procurator of Judea”, and the Disappearance of Jesus. – 2 Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, and the Voices of the Dead. – 3 The Allegory of “The Dead”.



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1 Introduction: Anatole France, "The Procurator of Judea", and the Disappearance of Jesus

In a letter from Rome dated February 11, 1907, James Joyce wrote to his brother Stanislaus that the news of the Abbey Theatre riots and the debate over the debut of J.M. Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World* had so consumed him that it had "put [him] off" the story he was "going to write" - to wit, *The Dead*" (Joyce 1966, 148). In the next paragraph of the letter, he goes on to indicate what he has been reading lately and then notes that it was French writer Anatole France who had given him the idea, not only for "Ivy Day in the Committee Room", but also for "The Dead":

I am reading at present some of the old Italian story-tellers, such as Sermini, Doni etc and also Anatole France. I wonder how he got his name. Crainquebille, of course, is very fine and parts or rather phrases of his other books. However I mustn't complain since he suggested *Ivy Day in the Committee-Room*, and has now suggested another story *The Dead*. It is strange where you get ideas for stories. (Joyce 1966, 148; italics in original)

Joyce never indicates exactly which of France's works he has in mind, but Richard Ellmann has proposed that it was possibly France's story "The Procurator of Judea". Indeed, Ellmann has proposed this title at least twice, once in his edition of the *Selected Letters* and again in his monumental biography of Joyce. In the *Selected Letters*, in a footnote to the passage above, he speculates that Joyce was inspired "possibly by the story 'Le Procureur de Judée' in which also the focus of attention is upon the dead man who never appears" (Joyce 1966, 148). In his biography of Joyce, Ellmann reiterates both this suggestion and the attendant reasoning, Ellmann clearly driven by and now foregrounding this narrative device, at once a motif and a plot structure, of the dead man who does not appear:

What binds "Ivy Day" to "The Dead" is that in both stories the central agitation derives from a character who never appears, who is dead, absent. Joyce wrote Stanislaus that Anatole France had given him the idea for both stories. There may be other sources in France's works, but a possible one is "The Procurator of Judea". (Ellmann 1982, 252)

Here in the biography, however, Ellmann not only reiterates the point and the reasoning but also goes on to further explain it, summarizing France's story and then specifying what he had only implied before, namely that the dead man who never appears in Joyce's story is Michael Furey:

In ["The Procurator of Judea"] Pontius Pilate reminisces with a friend about the days when he was procurator in Judea, and describes the events of his time with Roman reason, calm, and elegance. Never once does he or his friend, mention the person we expect him to discuss, the founder of Christianity, until at the end the friend asks if Pilate happens to remember someone of the name of Jesus, from Nazareth, and the veteran administrator replies, "Jesus? Jesus of Nazareth? I cannot call him to mind". The story is overshadowed by the person whom Pilate does not recall; without him the story would not exist. Joyce uses a similar method in "Ivy Day" with Parnell and in "The Dead" with Michael Furey. (Ellmann 1982, 253)¹

While I think that Ellmann is probably right to pinpoint France's story "The Procurator of Judea" as the text that inspired Joyce's story "The Dead", I do not, however, think that it is for the specific reason that Ellmann gives, namely, that the two stories share the same pattern and plot structure of the dead man who never appears, or whose death motivates and overshadows the story. Indeed, there are a few problems with Ellmann's argument. First, he seems to have read Joyce's letter to Stanislaus a little hastily, assuming that it must have been the same France text that inspired both "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and "The Dead" and, moreover, inspired them in the same way. In fact, Joyce indicates only that "he", France, had suggested "Ivy Day" and that the same "he" had "now" suggested "The Dead", implying two discrete moments of inspiration. It is Ellmann's hasty double conflation of possibly two France texts into one and two moments of inspiration into one, that leads him to a structural comparison that must account for the similarity among all three stories, "The Procurator", "Ivy Day", and "The Dead".

But this is not necessarily or even likely the case. If it is the same France text, and it may well be, I suspect that it is inspiring these stories in two different ways and that, while the structuralist reading might work for "Ivy Day", it does not work for "The Dead". Second, Ellmann appears to have misread France's story in two ways, perhaps under the pressure to see the similarity among all three stories. First, he seems to mistake the edge of France's irony, when, after summarizing the story, he concludes, "The story is overshadowed by the person whom Pilate does not recall; without him the story would not exist". This is an iteration of an idea that he had stated

¹ Ellmann appears to be using Frederic Chapman's 1902 translation of France's story. France's original French text reads, "—Jésus? murmura-t-il, Jésus, de Nazareth! Je ne me rapelle pas" (France 1902, 39). For the last phrase, which Chapman renders as "I cannot call him to mind", I prefer "I do not recall" and use it below.

earlier and that seems to be a controlling assumption for his reading, the idea, that is, that "absence is the highest form of presence" (Ellmann 1982, 252). Thus, he reads the absence of Jesus as an indication of his presence for the story. Oddly, it almost sounds like a Christian reading: that in emphasizing Jesus's absence, France is calling attention to Jesus's significance. But France's irony actually cuts the other way.² What Ellmann does not note, and perhaps did not know, is that France, a life-long atheist, originally called his story "A Tale for Christmas Day" and first published it in *Le Temps* on Christmas Day, 1891, in a blatantly provocative gesture meant to evacuate the Christian commemoration of the birth of Jesus and the origin of Christianity with a story about the radical erasure of Jesus from the historical record.³

Indeed, France's remarkable story is the culmination of two major strands of nineteenth-century European thought. The first is the rise of the so-called 'Historical Criticism' that originated in post-Enlightenment Germany in the late eighteenth century and spread through Germany and France in the nineteenth, which treated Jesus, not as divine figure, but as an historical figure, and which issued in major works like David Friedrich Strauss's *Life of Jesus* (1835) and Ludwig Feuerbach's *The Essence of Christianity* (1841) in Germany, and Ernst Renan's *Life of Jesus* (1863) in France, which itself was later parodied by Léo Taxil in his own *Life of Jesus* (1882), which Stephen Dedalus recalls a number of times in *Ulysses*.⁴ The second, no doubt informed by the first, is the increase in religious doubt over the course of the nineteenth century, which issued eventually in a growing conviction in the death of the Christian God, celebrated by the likes of Algernon Charles Swinburne in the mid-1860s in England, and famously pronounced by Friedrich Nietzsche in *The Gay Science* (1882) and *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1883), and later elaborated in *The Antichrist* (1895) – Swinburne and Nietzsche, the poet and the prophet, respectively, of Martello Tower, according to Ellmann himself (Ellmann 1982, 172).⁵ France's story, published on Christmas Day in 1891, culminates and punctuates these two strands of thought. His absencing of Jesus from history does not emphasize or intensify his presence, but rather emphasizes and intensifies precisely his *absence*.

Ellmann also misreads France's story, I think, when he elides all

² France was a well-known skeptic and a satirist.

³ According to Joseph Collins, France "displayed complete indifference to the teaching of religion and claimed perfect liberation from them" (Collins 1925).

⁴ It is a long-established assumption of France criticism that he was the intellectual child of Renan.

⁵ Nietzsche had of course used the trope of genealogy in *On the Genealogy of Morals*, which was concerned with many of the same ideas, one reason I use that trope to frame this essay. For an account of the idea of the death of God on Nietzsche, see Owen (2002).

of its Christian specificity in order to extract and abstract a plot structure or outline, such that for him the value of France's story for Joyce is not that it concerns a "dead or absent" *Jesus* who motivates the story but never appears, but merely a "dead or absent" *character* who does. This abstraction from the particular *Jesus* to the general 'character' permits him to plug in first Parnell for "Ivy Day" and then Michael Furey for "The Dead".

Still, I think that Ellmann was right to pinpoint France's "The Procurator of Judea" as the inspiration of "The Dead" in what was likely a flash of brilliant unconscious insight, which he was simply not able to render into conscious critical terms. Indeed, he seems to begin to glimpse that insight before fully swerving into the misreadings described above, when, in his summary of France's story, he writes of Pontius Pilate, "Never once does he or his friend, mention the person we expect him to discuss, the founder of Christianity". In identifying *Jesus* as "the founder of Christianity", Ellmann briefly registers the real significance of the story without actually recognizing it, which is its radical reimagining, in the wake of the nineteenth-century discoveries about the historicity of *Jesus* and the death of *God*, of the very foundation of Christianity and its re-envisioning of an alternative history without *Christ* or Christianity, as well perhaps, by implication, of such a future.

This is not only the significance of France's story in general but also the significance, I think, of France's story for Joyce and "The Dead" in particular. For just as France revisits the origin of Christianity in order to tell a revised story of a failed origination, so does Joyce. And just as France tells the story of the disappearance of *Jesus* from history, so does Joyce tell his own version of that story. Whereas France goes back in the historical record and intervenes at a point several years after the death of *Jesus* to imaginatively consider the counter-factual possibility of his having been forgotten from history, Joyce goes back a little further in the record and intervenes at a point before the birth of *Jesus* to imaginatively consider the possibility of his never having been conceived in the first place, Joyce settling on the different *figure* of *Gabriel* and the alternative *conceit* of the Annunciation, and reimagining *Gabriel's* overture as a failed overture and the speech-act that would redeem the world – second only perhaps to the speech-act that conceived of the world (Gen 1.3) – as a failed speech-act, and the conception of *Christ*, therefore, as a failed conception.⁶ Unlike France, who keeps his story in the first century AD and tells it in the mode of an ironic realism, Joyce, of course,

⁶ There had been, of course, nineteenth-century imaginative interest in the Annunciation scene, including *Gabriel Rossetti's* famous painting *Ecce Ancilla Domini* (1850) and *Oscar Wilde's* poem "Ave Maria Gratia Plena" (1881).

transposes his from the late first century BC, to the present time, and tells it in the mode of an ironic allegory.⁷ That is, he retells the antique Christian story of the Annunciation as a modern, failed story. Alternatively, we might say that he tells the antique story of the birth of God as the post-nineteenth-century and sharply modern story of the death of God.

While France's story is organized around the idea of a failed Jesus Christ, Joyce's is organized around the idea of a failed Gabriel, and while France's primary narrative device is a fairly straightforward conversation that culminates in a dramatic anticlimax, Joyce's narrative device is more complex and seems to be modeled on the classical-music structure of a 'theme and variations'. Joyce introduces the major theme of Gabriel's Annunciation to Mary in the opening scene of Gabriel's overture to Lily, and then presents three overt variations on it, of seemingly increasing importance: Gabriel's encounter with Molly Ivors; his encounter with Gretta on the stairs as she listens to "The Lass of Aughrim"; and the major scene of his assignation with Gretta at the Gresham Hotel, Joyce reworking the scene again and again in the recurring language and imagery of the Annunciation. In addition to these three more recognizable variations, I think we can read Gabriel's speech right in the middle of them as a more covert variation, indeed, as an *inverted* variation, in which Gabriel's speech is delivered in the distinctive (though ironized) *opposite* idiom of the Last Supper. Instead of delivering the speech-act that would lead to the conception and birth of Christ and the redemption of the world, Gabriel effectively 'jumps the gun' to impersonate Christ and Christ's speech, given on the eve of his own death. But just as Gabriel makes a poor Gabriel so does he make a poor Christ. Christ's speech at the Last Supper was marked by its simplicity and its brevity, as in the modest phrase "Do this in memory of me" (Luke 22:19), which was both the source phrase and the signature phrase of the Christian Mass. In radical contrast, Joyce has Gabriel finish his work of carving the goose, perhaps a reference to Dickens's *A Christmas Carol*, and say in a remarkable instance of antithesis "Kindly forget my existence". This occurs near the middle of the story and is as close as Joyce comes in the story to a nod to France and France's anticlimax: "Jesus of Nazareth, I do not recall".⁸ Of course, Gabriel goes on to give his big speech, which unlike Christ's simple, clear, and selfless speech, is contrived, opaque, and egotistical, as Gabriel himself later admits. Thus, the narrative structure of the story, based on the musical structure of a theme and variations, appears to be AABAA, where A is a more overt representation of the Annunciation and B is

⁷ France will later do this himself in his *The Revolt of the Angels* (1914).

⁸ My translation. See note 1 above.

a covert inversion of it, with other secondary, contributing images strewn throughout, not least of which is the imagery of contraception, which carries in this ironic-allegorical context the implication of the contraception of Christ.⁹ If "The Dead" is based on a musical structure, it is perhaps also in answer to Dickens, Joyce giving us here something of a post-Darwinian, post-Nietzschean *Christmas Carol*.¹⁰

2 Oscar Wilde, *Salome*, and the Voices of the Dead

Before elaborating this argument any further, however, I would like to turn first, perhaps implausibly, to Oscar Wilde, in order to further fill out and complicate this 'queer' genealogy of "The Dead". In his later biography of Oscar Wilde, Ellmann tells a fascinating story of a gathering in Paris in late 1891 that brought France together with Wilde at around the time when France was working on "The Procurator of Judea" and Wilde had just begun to conceptualize his next project, *Salome*:

One evening Wilde went to the house of Jean Lorrain, with Marcel Schwob, Anatole France, Henry Bauer, and Gomez Carillo as fellow guests. He asked to see the bust of a decapitated woman he had heard about. As he examined the bloodstains painted on the neck above the place where the sword had cut, he cried "It is Salome's head, Salome who has had herself beheaded out of despair. It is John the Baptist's revenge". (Ellmann 1987, 343)

Within a few months, by the end of 1891, France had finished writing "The Procurator of Judea" and Wilde had finished writing *Salome*. We might think of these two texts, then, as something like 'twin' texts, if not identical, then certainly fraternal twins. Written and completed at exactly the same time, both texts are set around the time of Christ: France's, as we have just seen, a few years after the death of Christ, and Wilde's, a few years before, at the time of John the Baptist's death around 30 AD. While France's takes place in a just post-Christian world from which Christ has been absented, Wilde's takes

⁹ This motif is introduced obliquely in "The Dead" in the discussion of the "goloshes", rubber prophylaxes that protect against wetness. It is introduced obliquely in *Dubliners* in the very first story, "The Sisters", through the phrase "umbrellas recovered here", slang for "condoms sold here". Joyce's Freddy Malins plot (of a premature ejaculation) also participates in the bigger theme, especially insofar as it is an allusion to Chaucer's "The Miller's Tale", a very early ironic allegory and parody of the Annunciation story.

¹⁰ It is likely overdetermined by a number of factors, including Joyce's interest in the "Ave Maria", which was not only a prayer but also a hymn. Notably, Dickens divided *A Christmas Carol* into five "staves", which is to say, five musical staves.

place in a just pre-Christian world in the margins of which Jesus has only recently begun his three-year ministry. While France's is set at the Neapolitan palace of Pontius Pilate, Wilde's is set at the Judean palace of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Judea, two figures who play similar, antagonistic roles in the Christian origin story. And both texts engage in the received representational practices of the nineteenth-century 'historical criticism', which is to say the practices of a radical *historicism*.

While both are radically historicist, both treating Christianity fundamentally as a function of history, they do, however, have different sets of concerns. Whereas France is concerned with the immediate 'posteriority' of Christ, Wilde is concerned with the immediate 'anteriority', and a large part of his project is not only to describe the diverse religious landscape into which John and Christ entered, but also to give voice to its ideas and expression to its discourses. Wilde essentially goes back just before Christ in order to excavate an alternate set of religious views and practices which he puts side by side and into conversation, not only with each other, but also with the new voices of Christianity itself, often with ironic and comic effect, Wilde ironizing all religions equally, from the pagan belief in the materiality and visibility of their gods to the Jewish conviction in the immateriality and invisibility of their God. He even seems to ironize, if not satirize, the over-the-top prophetic babble of John the Baptist heralding his God. Wilde's *Salome* might be thought of as an early exercise in comparative religion, not unlike those of his important contemporary Sir James Frazer at Cambridge, who had published the first edition of *The Golden Bough* just the year before in 1890 and would continue expanding and revising it for another thirty years, and his equally important contemporary William James in America, who would publish his *Varieties of Religious Experience* in 1902.

Wilde puts various religions alongside of each other in a level historical landscape treating the multiplicity of religions equally, not only concerned to describe the varieties of religious experience, but also intent on marking the *historicity* and the *contingency* of religions. Whereas France imagines the historicity and contingency of Christianity and the counterfactual possibility that Christianity might easily never have been born, Wilde, however, makes note of the contingency of the Cappadocian's pagan religion, pointing to an established fact of history, that paganism was about to be driven out or to die off. Wilde has the Nubian describe his religion, ironically and comically, I think, and then has the Cappadocian pithily sum up the state of his own religion:

THE NUBIAN

The gods of my country are very fond of blood. Twice in the year we sacrifice to them young men and maidens; fifty young men

and a hundred maidens. But it seems we never give them quite enough, for they are very harsh to us.

THE CAPPADOCIAN

In my country there are no gods left. The Romans have driven them out. There are some who say that they have hidden themselves in the mountains, but I do not believe it. Three nights I have been on the mountains seeking them everywhere. I did not find them. And at last I called them by their names, and they did not come. I think they are dead. (Wilde 2003, 584)

Whereas France represents the disappearance of Christ and Christianity into history and suggests the death of the Christian God, Wilde describes the disappearance of these pagan gods into history and actually has the Cappadocian explicitly postulate the death of the pagan gods.

It is difficult to read this speech and not hear an echo of Swinburne's "Hymn to Proserpine", one of the most significant poems in *Poems and Ballads* published in 1866. In that poem Swinburne describes this very chasing away of the pagan gods, although he fixes on a later more momentous time in the transition from paganism to Christianity, in the fourth century AD, when the former finally capitulated to the latter dispensation. For Swinburne, writing from his own late-nineteenth-century perspective of radical religious dissent (heresy even), this capitulation was lamentable, and he lends his nineteenth-century perspective and his conviction in the historicity and contingency of religion to his fourth-century speaker, presumably the Emperor Julian, whom he has predict the eventual death of the Christian God(s) deep in the future:

Ye are Gods, and behold, ye shall die, and the waves be upon you
at last.
In the darkness of time, in the deeps of the years, in the changes
of things,
Ye shall sleep as a slain man sleeps, and the world shall forget
you for kings.
Though the feet of thine high priests tread where thy lords and
our forefathers trod,
Though these that were Gods are dead, and thou being dead art
a God,
Though before thee the throned Cytherean be fallen, and hidden
her head,
Yet thy kingdom shall pass, Galilean, thy dead shall go down to
thee dead.

(Swinburne 58)

Swinburne nicely articulates the notion of the interchangeability or fungibility of religions, and he, like many others in the *fin-de-siècle* and at the turn of the nineteenth century to the twentieth, saw the driving out of Christianity as an opportunity for the return of the old pagan gods, who might, after all, not have died but merely been in hiding, as Walter Pater suggested, though it might have been a 'slow' return, as Ezra Pound observed some fifty years later in his poem "The Return" in 1914.

Swinburne not only articulates the idea of the fungibility of religion and the idea of the death of the gods, pagan and Christian alike, but also deploys what I think is a distinctive, rhythmic, and perhaps even idiomatic rhetoric of the 'dead'. In the intellectual-historical context that I have been trying to reconstruct here of the late-nineteenth-century's increasing conviction in the death of God, the word 'dead' acquired a new and special value, for the idea of the death of the Christian God meant necessarily a radical reconsideration of what it meant to be dead and, for the most part, a return to, and of, a pre-Christian, pagan understanding and language of the dead. For in the Christian vision, not only did Jesus Christ "rise from the dead", but also promised its followers "the resurrection of the body and life everlasting", as it was concisely put in the Catholic version of the Apostles' Creed. The failure of the Christian vision and therefore of the promise of the resurrection must necessarily have meant a return to "the dead". The phrase "the dead" was the signature discursive marker, even within Christian discourse, of the pre-Christian and very possibly of the post-Christian dispensation.

Although Wilde held on to some version of Christianity throughout his life, more so than any of the other figures I have mentioned here, he, like Swinburne, was deeply attracted to and interested in the pagan classical world, and is concerned in *Salome* to give voice to its various discourses and rhetorics, including, in addition to the specific discourse cited above regarding the death of the gods, a more general rhetoric of the 'dead'. Indeed, the play begins with something like an invocation of the goddess of the dead, the dialogue moving back and forth between the figure of the moon and the figure of Salome, effectively conflating the two. Wilde begins the play,

THE YOUNG SYRIAN

How beautiful is the Princess Salome to-night!

THE PAGE OF HERODIAS

Look at the moon! How strange the moon seems! She is like a woman rising from a tomb. She is like a dead woman. You would fancy she was looking for dead things.

THE YOUNG SYRIAN

She has a strange look. She is like a little princess who wears a yellow veil, and whose feet are of silver. She is like a princess who has little white doves for feet. You would fancy she was dancing.

THE PAGE OF HERODIAS

She is like a woman who is dead. She moves very slowly. He advances this same rhetoric throughout the play, before introducing another, almost frantic rhetoric around Herod's fear of Jesus's raising of the dead closer to the end:

HEROD

He raises the dead?

FIRST NAZARENE

Yea, sire, He raiseth the dead.

HEROD

I do not wish Him to do that. I forbid Him to do that. I allow no man to raise the dead. This Man must be found and told that I forbid Him to raise the dead. Where is this Man at present?

In addition to giving voice to such pagan rhetorics of the dead, Wilde is also keen of course to pull the figure of Salome out from under the constraining context of the Christian gospel, and to give her a pagan voice, so that she can speak her pagan piece, as it were, and speak it over and against the voice of the new Christian voice of John the Baptist. Salome's speech is sensuous, materialist, and decadent, put into polemical dialogue and starkly contrasted with John's speech, which is ascetic, spiritualizing, and moralizing. And, in a way, her voice triumphs over his, insofar as it is her voice that, in demanding his head, puts a definitive end to his speech. Wilde not only gives Salome a voice, but also has her pagan female voice call for the cutting off of male prophetic Christian voice.

While Joyce derived from France directly the main idea for "The Dead", which I have taken to be the idea of the disappearance of Jesus and the death of God, he seems to have inherited from Wilde, either directly or indirectly, in the curious ways in which intellectual or cultural inheritance operates, a set of associated and complementary ideas, tropes, and rhetorics.¹¹ Like Wilde, Joyce goes back to an ear-

11 It is not clear when Joyce first read *Salome*, which was first published in French in 1893 and in English in 1894. It is notable, however, that Joyce wrote his only essay on Wilde on the occasion of an Italian production of Richard Strauss's adaptation of Wilde's play, less than two years after the completion of "The Dead". Further, in the title of that essay, Joyce identifies Wilde as "The Poet of Salome". As Daniel Schwarz has ob-

lier moment in the Christian origin story, about thirty years earlier still than Wilde, to the scene of the Annunciation;¹² like Wilde, he is intent to reimagine an early Christian scene in order to reexplore the threshold and reinterrogate the transition between the pagan/classical and the Christian dispensations; like Wilde, he is concerned with the closely associated idea and the rhetoric of 'the dead' and a radical reconsideration of what it means to be dead in a pre- or a post-Christian dispensation; like Wilde, he is concerned to redramatize and modernize the dialogue of a New Testament couple; like Wilde, he is concerned with both dissenting feminist female voice and failing male prophetic voice; and like Wilde, he is interested in the power of the speech-act itself, the potency of the female speech-act and the impotence of the male, both stories culminating in a kind of triumph of pagan female voice and a correlative castration and silencing of Christian voice.¹³

France and Wilde, then, provide us with an immediate 'queer' genealogical context in which to locate and through which to understand Joyce's story. I use the word 'queer' here to indicate three things: first, that this is an unusual or alternative intellectual line of descent in which to locate Joyce's story, the criticism having tended to emphasize other authors and contexts;¹⁴ second, that this line of descent is actually a strong line of nineteenth-century religious dissent, non-conformity, or radical skepticism concerning the disappearance and the death of God; and third, that that line of descent/dissent is to some extent a line of gender and sexual descent/dissent, here a kind of gender and sexual dissidence, as marked by figures like Swinburne and Wilde, perhaps both of whom, and Wilde especially, function something like the 'queer avuncular' in this particular genealogical model.¹⁵ Proceeding from this genealogy, I would now like to adumbrate a reading of "The Dead" in slightly more detail, noting, however, that a full reading would require much more space than I have here.

served, Joyce acknowledges Wilde, along with Yeats, as an artistic father in the "Circe" episode of *Ulysses*. (Schwarz 1994, 6)

12 As noted above, Wilde did write a poem called "Ave Maria Gratia Plena" in which he contrasts a classical divine conception scene with the Christian.

13 I explain Gretta's "paganism" at the end of the essay.

14 Like Thomas Moore's *Irish Melodies*, for instance, or Ibsen's *When We Dead Awaken*, when his *Emperor and Galilean* might actually be more relevant.

15 I also have in mind Buck Mulligan's "The Ballad of Joking Jesus", which begins "I'm the queerest young fellow that ever you heard", and which belongs to this same spirit of religious skepticism and parody. (Joyce 1986, 16)

3 The Allegory of "The Dead"

Joyce had already completed the fourteen stories that he had planned for *Dubliners*, when he conceived of "The Dead" as an additional, fifteenth story, and, in at least three of those original fourteen stories, he had already experimented in the mode of ironic Christian allegory. In "Two Gallants", he had thoroughly ironized the plot and conventions of medieval Christian romance; in "Clay" he had ironized and parodied the main events in the life of the Virgin, in the inverse order of their occurrence; and in "Grace" he had ironized the whole plot of the Ecclesiastical Economy of Salvation. Notably, in October 1904, he had conceived of a story called "Christmas Eve" and written a few pages of it before reconceiving it as a story called "Hallow Eve", which became the working title of "Clay", and reserving the Christmas setting for later, eventually taking it up, of course, in "The Dead", though he changes it there from the more specific Christmas Eve to the more general "Christmas time", for reasons I will explain shortly. In "Clay", Joyce signals the allegorical mode primarily through the received convention of symbolical naming, not only giving his protagonist just the one name of 'Maria' and no last name, like the mononymous Virgin Mary, but also using that name a remarkable forty-two times in the short space of about five pages. So in "The Dead", does Joyce use the same convention of symbolic naming, using the name 'Gabriel', largely singly, an astonishing one-hundred-and-fifty-eight times, a much larger number than the forty-two times he mentions Maria, though a lower overall rate, "The Dead" being a much longer story. It is difficult not to read the name 'Gabriel', iterated so many times in a story set at Christmas time, as symbolic and suggesting the operation of some sort of Christian allegory. Of course the early critics most poised to see this were Christian critics who were inclined to look for straightforward allegory and orthodox Christian readings, rather than the ironic allegory and heterodox reading I am suggesting here, and it is understandable how their efforts might have been resisted or dismissed by an increasingly skeptical criticism.¹⁶

Joyce not only deploys the convention of symbolic naming, however, but also self-consciously and self-referentially thematizes the very practice of symbolic naming when he has Gabriel withdraw from his cousin Mary Jane's piano performance to consider a photograph of his mother. Here we learn that it was his mother, Ellen, who had named her children 'Constantine' and 'Gabriel': "It was she who had chosen the name of her sons for she was very sensible of the digni-

¹⁶ Florence Walzl, for example, saw the conceit of the Annunciation operating in the story but missed Joyce's ironizing of it. (Walzl 1966, 30).

ty of family life" (Joyce 2006, 162). Clearly, she has named her children after two important figures in the early history of Christianity, Gabriel of course, whose announcement to Mary of her conception of Christ was the speech-act that initiated Christianity, and Constantine, whose conversion to Christianity in the fourth century established Christianity as the official state religion. And we might note as well that Joyce himself has given Ellen a variant of the name 'Helena', the name of the mother of Constantine. If earlier in this same paragraph Joyce references the balcony scene in *Romeo and Juliet*, it is likely to reinforce this significance of naming ("wherefore art thou Romeo") and if he references the tower scene in *Richard III*, where the two princes await their deaths, it is perhaps to suggest the looming 'deaths' of these two princely brothers, Gabriel and Constantine, in the ironic allegorical register and the revisionist history in which Gabriel's Annunciation is a failed Annunciation and the birth of Christ and Christianity therefore precluded.

Unlike Maria in "Clay", Gabriel does have a last name, 'Conroy,' which, while it grounds the story in a realistic register, does not detract any more from the symbolic /allegorical function of his name than the name 'Leopold Bloom' detracts from his symbolical/allegorical function. Further, the full name 'Gabriel Conroy' may well be participating in Joyce's more oblique system of signification, for, if it is a reference to American writer Bret Harte, as the criticism has suggested, it is perhaps a reference to his parodic and burlesque mode of writing, which included a parody of Dickens's *A Christmas Carol*.¹⁷ Indeed, Joyce had already written "Clay" in the burlesque mode of Léo Taxil, whose own *Life of Jesus* begins with a thorough lampooning of Gabriel's Annunciation to Mary (Davis 2021, 252-90).

Let us consider now how Joyce redramatizes Gabriel's overture to Mary as a modern story and indeed as a failed story, at once parodic and tragic. As suggested above, Joyce seems to have organized the story on the musical structure of a theme and variations, introducing the main theme, or 'motif', in the musical sense of the word, in the opening scene of Gabriel's arrival and overture to Lily and then replaying it four more times in that AABAA structure indicated above, where the 'A' scenes are clearly visible variations on the theme and include the encounter with Molly Ivors and the two major scenes with Gretta, while the 'B' scene is the inverted variation of Gabriel's central speech delivered largely in the idiom of the Last Supper, about which Joyce had once proposed to write a separate story (Ellmann 1982, 229-30). Just as the name 'Gabriel' signifies symbolically and points to the biblical Gabriel, so do the names 'Lily', 'Molly', and 'Gretta', Gabriel's three interlocutors in the 'A' scenes,

17 "The Haunted Man".

signify symbolically, though more obliquely to be sure, and point to Mary, two of them specifically to the Annunciation. The lily is a well-known attribute of Mary, particularly of the Annunciation scene, and is a typical feature of the iconography of that scene, usually pictured in Gabriel's hand but sometimes pictured between Gabriel and Mary and seeming to symbolize the purity of the overture and the virginal conception of Christ. 'Molly' is a common diminutive of 'Mary', while her last name 'Ivors' suggests the Catholic epithet for Mary, 'Tower of Ivory', discussed in the first chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. And 'Gretta', I would suggest, is a variation on the word 'gratia', which is one of the keywords in Gabriel's opening remark to Mary, "*Ave Maria gratia plena*" - the hallmark phrase of the Annunciation and also a common feature of the iconography of the scene, appearing often as a speech ribbon or a caption in visual representations - and whose English equivalent 'grace' is the title Joyce gave to the once final and now penultimate story in *Dubliners*, occurring just before "The Dead".¹⁸

Joyce's story begins with Gabriel's overture to Lily and the first thing to note is that he is late: "it was long after ten o'clock and yet there was no sign of Gabriel and his wife" (Joyce 2006, 153). He is 'late', as the Mad Hatter puts it in *Alice in Wonderland*, "for a very important date", and he is late in several ways. He is late not only in the realistic register, for the party, but also in the symbolic/allegorical register and in a number of ways. First, he is late in liturgical time for the Annunciation, which is celebrated on March 25, nine months before Christmas, which of course commemorates the birth of Christ; he is even late for Christmas, the party taking place somewhere between January 1, when Freddy Malins took the pledge, and January 6, the feast of the Epiphany and the end of 'Christmas-time'. He is also late in historical time by over 1900 years. Moreover, his lateness inspires a palpable lingering anxiety among the Morkans; even after he has arrived at the party and the supper, marked above as a 'last supper', is about to begin, Joyce has Aunt Kate cry, "Where is Gabriel?"... "Where on earth is Gabriel?" (Joyce 2006, 170), which functions as nice diacritical marker for his belatedness, or his "failure to appear", to recall Ellmann's gloss of France, though Ellmann mistakenly re-assigns that failure from France's Jesus of Nazareth to Joyce's Michael Furey.

When Gabriel does finally arrive at the party, his first encounter is with Lily, the caretaker's daughter, and this opening scene intro-

¹⁸ Joyce also constructs a Christian context for Gretta through the reference to "Christy Minstrels", which in the allegorical register is a reference to medieval Christian mystery plays. In his notes at Cornell, Joyce indicates the York Cycle in particular. I also think "guttapercha" is offered as a medieval-style corruption of "gratia plena". Notably, the story of the Magi included the theme of race, facilitating a connection to the contemporary Christy Minstrels.

duces the major motif of the story, of a mock, parodic, and failed Annunciation, of a salutation, overture, and speech-act gone awry and gone wrong. To begin, Lily is quite literally a *threshold* figure, going back and forth at the threshold of the story itself and, to some extent, the threshold of the household, as the one person on the first floor receiving the male guests and of course the person to receive Gabriel, and helping the men remove their outer garments. But she also stands on the threshold of, and in the liminal space between, the pagan and the Christian. While, as indicated above, her first and only name, 'Lily', associates her with Mary of the Annunciation, Joyce's recurring Homeric epithet for her, the 'caretaker's daughter', marks her, by way of *Ulysses* - where 'the caretaker' is the 'symbol' of episode six - as a daughter of Hades. She is, like Michael Furey and Stephen Dedalus, a hybrid figure, of the Christian and the pagan. And, as such, she is an echo and a kind of embodiment of Swinburne's dichotomy of the Christian 'goddess' Mary and the pagan Proserpine in the "Hymn" cited above. While the story of course takes place in modern realistic Dublin, these devices help to establish its allegorical and historical parallel and to indicate how Joyce is addressing the same big issues concerning the contingency and fungibility of religion addressed by the late-nineteenth-century, reimagining and reinterrogating the relation between the pre-Christian and the Christian worlds. Of course, if Gabriel fails in his overture to land a successful speech-act (and ersatz sex act), and Christ and Christianity are never born, then she will slide back onto the pagan side of that threshold.

And so Gabriel's Annunciation does fail and fails spectacularly, for a number of reasons, all of which are plain inversions or reversals of the biblical scene. As we saw above, Gabriel is late for his date, and, as a result, it is not he who initiates the scene but rather Lily, a clear comment on the way in which gender roles and relations have shifted from antiquity to modernity. Whereas in the biblical scene, Gabriel is the primary actor and his primary action is to speak while Mary is his passive interlocutor and the acquiescent receiver of the action, here in "The Dead" Joyce foregrounds Lily as the primary actor, the protagonist even, and gives her the primary action of running back and forth, while he has Gabriel, who, like Stephen Dedalus, is 'not a hero', dither elsewhere. Moreover, in giving Lily that primary action of running back and forth and shuttling men into a back room in order to undress them, Joyce frankly sexualizes her. Most importantly, however, he has Gabriel blunder in and deliver a botched speech-act that sexualizes her, calling attention to her romantic or erotic life, and he has Lily in turn - in stark contrast to the reticent Virgin Mary, who quietly receives Gabriel's overture with the phrase "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word" (Luke 1:38) - give a sharp retort. In Joyce's modern version of the scene, men blather and women speak up on their own behalf, much as Wil-

de's Salome does. A rebuffed Gabriel throws money at her in order to bolster his own psycho-social authority and in order to degrade hers, putting her in the position of a prostitute, much perhaps as Wilde's John does with Salome.

Joyce follows up this first failed Annunciation scene with a second one that is a close variation on the first, sounded, to sustain the musical metaphor, in a slightly different key. This is the encounter between Gabriel and now Molly Ivors. The name 'Molly Ivors' appears to be a variant of the "Blessed Virgin", "*Tower of Ivory*", that Joyce discusses in *Portrait* and we might cite a few lines from that scene to characterize what is going on here in this scene in "The Dead": "Eileen had long white hands. One evening when playing tig she had put her hands over his eyes: long and white and thin and cold and soft. That was ivory: a cold white thing. That was the meaning of *Tower of Ivory*" (Joyce 1968, 35). While Lily was sexualized and had some erotic value for Gabriel, Molly Ivors is a "cold white thing".¹⁹ While Lily was sexualized, Molly is merely politicized, as we can see in her efforts to flirt in the idiom of Irish-nationalist identity politics. She is older than Lily, better educated, and, in many ways, Gabriel's social equal, and these enable her to actually control the scene and the dialogue, as Salome controls the dialogue with John, but without any of Salome's passion or eroticism. She stifles Gabriel's speech, muting his potentially prophetic speech with her parochial political speech. Further, she exits the house hastily in the familiar feminist fashion of an Ibsen heroine, depriving Gabriel of his second chance at getting a word in, or, in this case, landing a retaliatory insult. While Gabriel has crafted that insult especially for Molly Ivors's ear (how far we have come from the biblical Gabriel's "*Ave Maria gratia plena*"), he must deliver it broadly to the general remaining crowd.

Gabriel's big speech is the central action of the story, and it appears to be inverted variation on the Annunciation scene, rendered in the opposite imagery of the Last Supper. While Gabriel's speech-act in the Annunciation (and ersatz sex act) is private, is delivered only to Mary, and announces the conception of Christ, Jesus's speech-act at the Last Supper, some thirty-three years later, is more public, directed at a gathering of the apostles and a few others, and announces his own imminent death. Joyce suggests the Last Supper in a number of subtle ways.

First, having used the word 'supper' only four times in the previous fourteen stories, he uses it a total of fourteen times in this story alone, most of those concentrated in this scene. He uses the word 'dinner' only once in "The Dead" and not in connection with this occasion

¹⁹ As Irish playwright Frank McGuinness recently put it, "Joyce must have hated Molly Ivors" (Wilde-Joyce conference, Trinity College, Dublin, May 2022).

but with Mrs Malins' recollection of her son-in-law. He does use it in *A Portrait of the Artist* to refer to the Christmas dinner scene in that novel, one reason perhaps that the criticism has often erroneously referred to Gabriel's speech as a 'dinner speech' rather than a 'supper speech'. The word 'supper' makes sense not only in the realistic register, for a meal served well after 10:00 pm, but also in the religious allegorical register. Second, Joyce stages the scene in an 'upper room' just as the Last Supper was, Jesus having instructed two of his apostles to find an 'upper room' for the Passover meal (Luke 22:12 KJV). Third, he mimics the social situation of a man presiding over the supper and a small gathering of guests. Fourth, he mimics the rhetorical situation of a man speaking to such a group. Fifth and finally, he alludes to Jesus's famous speech-act "do this in memory of me" with Gabriel's inverted "kindly forget my existence", which, as I suggested above, reads like a nod to Anatole France. Of course, unlike Jesus's terse and selfless speech, in which he announces his own self-sacrifice, Gabriel who seems to be impersonating Jesus here (having twice failed at Annunciation) and impersonating him badly, gives a bloated selfish speech in which he takes his indirect jab at the absent Molly Ivors. Notably, Gabriel expresses that jab in the classical pagan rhetoric and imagery of 'The Three Graces', having thus far failed to initiate the Christian world, 'The Three Graces' perhaps substituting for the three Magi, the classical dispensation preempting the Christian revelation.

While there is much more to be said here, I will limit myself to Joyce's masterstroke of dramatic irony in which, after having Gabriel complete his speech and the crowd sing "For he's a jolly gay fellow", he isolates the double refrain "Unless he tells a lie, / Unless he tells a lie" (Joyce 2006, 179). Gabriel has lied not only by impersonating Christ and misrepresenting his aunts, but also by perpetuating the fictions of Irish cultural ideology, those ideas that masquerade as truth.²⁰ More than this, however, he has effectively 'lied' about having announced the conception of Christ and the redemption of the world, hence the consequent "lie of the risen Jesus", in Nietzsche's fine phrase in section forty-two of *The Antichrist*. In the Christmas dinner scene in *Portrait*, in many ways a parallel scene, Joyce expresses a parallel connection between Christmas and the disappearance of God, when he has Mr Casey punctuate the dinner table argument about politics and religion reiterating his earlier remark: "—No God for Ireland! he cried. We have had too much God in Ireland. Away with God!" (Joyce 1968, 39).

²⁰ Vincent Pecora puts the point more extremely: "Like 'Hairy Jaysus,' Gabriel might be one of the bloodiest impostors of all, caught within the whole structure of a heroism that 'is, and always was, a damned lie"—the heroism derived from the life of Christ" (Pecora 1986, 237)

Following this inverted variation in the dead center of the story, Joyce resumes his more straightforward variations on the Annunciation theme, turning to the first of two scenes involving Gabriel and Gretta: the one in which Gabriel watches Gretta as she listens on the staircase to Bartel D'Arcy's singing of *The Lass of Aughrim*. In this variation, Joyce seems concerned with the tradition of the visual representation of the Annunciation scene, particularly in painting, and with a different aspect of the scene than he had been concerned with in the first two variations.²¹ First, in another self-reflexive, meta-narrative moment in the story, Joyce or Joyce's narrator, almost too didactically, likens the scene to a painting: "If he were a painter he would paint her in that attitude. Her blue felt hat would show off the bronze of her hair against the darkness and the dark panels of her skirt would show off the light ones. *Distant Music* he would call the picture if he were a painter" (Joyce 2006, 182). Indeed, Joyce himself seems to have arranged the scene like a painting, imitating the conventional compositional structure of Annunciation paintings, and here we might recall that Joyce first conceived of "The Dead" while he was living in Rome, where there was no shortage of such paintings. In having Gretta stand on the landing of the staircase, and Gabriel admire her from below, he is imitating that conventional composition structure, in which Gabriel is usually depicted entering or having entered on the left, reverently hailing a Mary waiting on the right, the two usually separated by some interior architectural feature, sometimes a column, sometimes an arch, and sometimes a balustrade.

More importantly, in having Bartel D'Arcy's disembodied voice originate outside of the scene and travel into it and into Gretta's ear, he is imitating the painter's convention of representing the inspiration of God (the Holy Spirit) travelling along a diagonal trajectory from outside the scene into it and directly into Mary's ear, in keeping with the medieval notion that God must have 'inseminated' the Virgin through the ear or, alternatively, that she conceived of Christ through the ear. Of course, in imitating this feature, Joyce is calling attention to and playing with an essential, structural cuckoldry in the scene, in which Gabriel and Joseph both might be said to have been cuckolded by God. Here in the present scene, Gabriel Conroy is cuckolded by Bartel D'Arcy (the figure of some rival archangel, as the last name 'D'Arcy' suggests), who successfully lands a speech-act that functions like a sex act, here a song, in Gretta's ear, while Gabriel, who has been displaced from the scene, can only watch from afar, silently. If Gabriel thinks to call the painterly scene "Distant

21 Joyce restages this scene in the "Penelope" episode of *Ulysses*, when he has Marion 'Molly' Bloom recall "Bartel Darcy" kissing her on the choir stairs after and she sang, not "The Lass of Aughrim", but in fact Gounod's *Ave Maria* (Joyce 1986, 614)

Music", it is perhaps in part to register the great, epochal distance of nearly two millennia.

Joyce also seems to be imitating another feature of Annunciation paintings in his treatment of Bartel D'Arcy's song, *The Lass of Aughrim*, namely the practice of depicting an 'inset' scene, usually on the left, representing the sin of Adam and Eve, as in Fra Angelico's *Annunciation* altarpiece now at the Prado, as a theological explanation of the whole Economy of Salvation. Joyce's inserting of *The Lass of Aughrim* serves a similar function. It opens up a vista onto an earlier, paradigmatic, primal scene, and perhaps "original sin", the scene of a woman carrying her "babe" in the rain to her lover and asking for recognition and refuge. That scene within the scene operates in a number of complex ways. It seems to refer to and reconfigure Adam and Eve in the garden, Mary and Joseph at the Inn, while also both refiguring and prefiguring the scene in Gretta's past that we later learn about, in which, the genders now reversed, the ailing Michael Furey comes to Gretta's door in the rain. I do not have the space here to fully discuss these complexities, but I would like to settle on the one image that Joyce seems to want us to settle on, when, just as he had earlier done with "For he's a jolly gay fellow", he isolates some lyrics. He quotes three lines from the song and ends with the phrase "my babe lies cold...", significantly cutting off the remaining words in this line, "in my arms". So Joyce leaves us with the image of a baby that is, at best, moribund, and at worst, dead. Within this variation on the Annunciation scene, which is supposed to announce the birth of Christ and herald the baby of the nativity that would redeem the world from its original sin, Joyce gives us instead in the 'inset' the opposite image of a dying or dead baby.

The last variation on the Annunciation scene is the final scene between Gabriel and Gretta at the Gresham hotel and this is in many ways a virtuoso culmination of all the others. Here Gabriel's last attempt at a speech/sex act is preempted by Gretta, whose name is an echo of the "*Ave Maria, gratia plena*", and who claims complete control (more than Lily or Molly) of the dialogue. It is not Gabriel who makes a big announcement, but Gretta who does. Again, I would like to focus on just a few major points. Of course, her announcement is that she had an earlier relationship with a prior 'lover', that somebody else got to her long before Gabriel did, and lodged himself in her romantic imagination at least, a seventeen-year-old boy (the half-life of Jesus), symbolically named 'Michael Furey'. Just as the name 'Stephen Dedalus' is a hybrid name, so is the name 'Michael Furey', each joining a Christian given name to a classical surname. In this case, 'Michael' is the name of the most powerful archangel, who led the war in heaven and drove Satan into hell, described at length in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, a point that will become important for us at the end, while the 'Furies' are classical goddesses of revenge who

reside in the underworld. In this final Annunciation, then, Gabriel is doubly done in or doubly undone, cuckolded by the hybrid figure of, not only (another) rival archangel, but also now a rival religion in what would seem to be Joyce's version of Swinburne's fantasy of the classical revenge upon the Christian world view in which the classical furies avenge Gabriel's false oath, the false oath of the Christian promise of redemption and resurrection.

Notably, Joyce describes Michael Furey's relation with Gretta in some ostensibly Christian terms. He has Gretta say both that she "was great with him", an echo of the Lucan infancy narrative where Mary is said to be "great with child" (Luke 2:5) and that she thinks "he died for [her]", Jesus having died for all men. This suggests, however, a *prior*, *proto*-Christian annunciation, well before the appointed one and is perhaps an indirect reference to Sir James Frazer's revelation in *The Golden Bough*, or some similar contemporaneous revelation, one of the momentous discoveries of the late-nineteenth-century historicist and anthropological investigation into religion: that many if not most of the tropes and plots found in Christianity actually *predated* Christianity and were actually borrowed or appropriated by Christianity (Frazer 1963, 105-21; 308-29; 389-95).

Gabriel's disillusionment, therefore, is not merely personal but also and moreover philosophical and existential, as he realizes that he is too late and that he has failed in his God-given mission to announce the birth of Christ and the redemption of the world. Indeed, if the story does lead towards an Epiphany, set as it is somewhere between January 1 and January 6, it is not the Christian Epiphany which commemorates the revelation of the Christ-child to the Magi and hence the rest of the world, but rather the radical negative Epiphany, registered by the late-nineteenth century, of the revelation of the death of the Christian God.

Of course, this leaves the allegorical Gabriel to fall away from the Christian vision, and Joyce marks this fall in two ways. First, Gabriel slides back, atavistically, into the classical dispensation on the other side of the threshold, into the world of "shades" and, indeed, the world of "the (unresurrected) dead", embracing the unmistakable classical heroic ideal: "One by one they were all becoming shades. Better pass boldly into that other world, in the full glory of some passion, than fade and wither dismally with age" (Joyce 2006, 194). And as he travels westward, as only archangels can, over Ireland, perhaps taking note of the outline of Ireland, long recognized as the outline of a fetus ("my babe lies cold"), and reaches the west coast and the graveyard, with its clear allusions to Calvary, as Ellmann observes, it is less a Christian graveyard than it is the graveyard and final rest-

ing place of Christianity itself.²² Second, he falls just as that other archangel, Lucifer, fell, that "mutinous" archangel, away from God and Heaven, upon the "plain" below, in this post Romantic and post-Nietzschean version of a *Paradise Lost*, where the paradise lost is not Eden, however, but rather heaven, and its promise of everlasting life.²³ But it is perhaps something of a "happy fall", Joyce's inverted variation on the Christian notion of *felix culpa*, not unlike Stephen's fall from religion in *Portrait*: "He would fall. He had not yet fallen but he would fall silently, in an instant. Not to fall was too hard, too hard; and he felt the silent lapse of his soul, as it would be at some instant to come, falling, falling, but not yet fallen, still unfallen, but about to fall" (Joyce 1968, 162).

²² "[...] through Gabriel's mind runs the imagery of Calvary" (Ellmann 1982, 249). Interestingly, a 1902 illustrated copy of France's "Le Procureur de Judée" also ends with an image of the crucifixion on Calvary (France 1902, 39) This may well be the edition that Joyce read as he was living in Paris in 1902-03.

²³ France's *Revolt of the Angels*, which Joseph Collins described as "a survey of the history of religion, of the antagonism and struggle between God and Satan, of the dissatisfaction of the angels, and of their ulterior revolt", was published in 1914, the same year as *Dubliners* and of course "The Dead" (*VQR* Spring 1925).

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