Shadow Fathers and Surrogate Sons: Patrilineal Relationships

in Virgil's *Aeneid* and James Joyce's *Ulysses*

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ABSTRACT

Shadow Fathers and Surrogate Sons: Patrilineal Relationships
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While scholars traditionally look at the ways Joyce's classical allusions and source material can help readers make sense of his work, reading the works of Joyce in conversation with Virgil's *Aeneid* leads to a more nuanced reading of the work of Virgil as well. Looking at the *Aeneid*, *Ulysses,* and *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, this dissertation argues that fathers in both texts (and in their predecessor, Homer's *Odyssey*) fail to introduce their sons to adulthood, and discusses the fallout of paternal and filial failures for both the fathers and the sons. These failings call into question the definition of masculinity in both the context of the writers' worlds and our own. This dissertation examines, through a close reading of the Latin and English texts of the *Aeneid*, an examination of the changing characters of both Stephen and Simon Dedalus, and a consideration of the authors' contexts, the ways young men come to create their own identities in the absence of paternal guidance. Further, by examining both shadows (male figures who provided temporary guidance) and surrogates, this dissertation looks at the ways independent adult masculine identities are established and re-established in both works.

For my grandmother, Kathleen Coleman, and my uncle, Stephen Boyd, whose stories of Ireland and Joyce inspired me to read deeper.

For my parents, Tom and Laurie Coleman, who taught me to never leave home without a book.

For my sister, Kathleen Coleman, who listened (and listens) to my theories, questioned, supported, and commiserated.

For my husband, Ryan McKenna, without whom nothing would be possible.

For Claire, always.

Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.
Virgil, *Aeneid* 1. 203

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Introduction

Separated by two thousand years, Publius Vergilius Maro, more commonly known as Virgil, and James Augustus Joyce, known to his friends as "Sunny Jim," seem to have little in common. Although they both based their masterworks on the work of Homer, the similarities seem to end there. Joyce wrote poetry, but not epic poetry. His bread and butter were prose, writing stories and novels about the Dublin of his youth. Virgil, on the other hand, wrote exclusively in verse, and while the *Aeneid* was his last and greatest work it was not necessarily the work that earned him the most acclaim during his lifetime.

Yet by basing their *magna opi* on the work of Homer, Virgil and Joyce are inherently part of a larger tradition of epic and mythology. Further, a closer examination reveals numerous ways the two are connected, from the context of their writing, to their purpose, to the theme of fathers and sons that binds the two together.

One of the most arresting images in Virgil's *Aeneid* comes in Book II as Aeneas is recounting for Queen Dido the story of his escape from Troy. Aeneas tells Dido of his return to King Priam's court when:

> Suddenly,
>
> look, a son of Priam, Polites, just escaped
>
> from slaughter at Pyrrhus' hands, comes racing in
>
> through spears, through enemy fighters, fleeing down
>
> the long arcades and deserted hallways—badly wounded,
>
> Phyrrus hot on his heels, a weapon pointed for the kill,

about to seize him, about to run him through and pressing
home as Polites reaches his parents and collapses,
vomiting out his lifeblood before their eyes

(Fagles 2.652-659)

Priam, beset by grief over his son's death, demands that Phyrrus atone for the crime of killing his son in a sacred space. He chides Phyrrus, pointing out that the murderer's father, Achilles, showed mercy to an aged father by giving him his son, Hector, back to bury. Phyrrus retorts:

Well then,
down you go, a messenger to my father, Peleus' son!
Tell him about my vicious work, how Neoptolemus
degrades his father's name—don't you forget.
Now—die!

(Fagles 2.677-681)

Priam, the most powerful father in Troy, is unable to save his son's life. To add insult to injury, he is even unable to find justice for that death. As a father he has failed his son; as a leader he has failed his people, ushering in the Greek soldiers who would lead to his people's demise.

James Joyce's *Ulysses* has a moment of fatherly failure, just as heartrending though certainly less violent, this time told through the eyes of the son. Paddy Dignam's son, "Master Patrick Aloysius Dignam" (250), remembers his last vision of his father: "The last night pa was boosed he was standing on the landing there bawling out for his boots to go out to Tunney's for to boose more and he looked butty and short in his shirt.

Never see him again. Death, that is. Pa is dead. My father is dead" (251). Dignam's failure as a father is far less dramatic than Priam's. This difference is in line with the style of the texts: while Virgil is writing a heroic epic, Joyce is writing a modern one. The failure is no less significant.

Like their urtext, Homer's *Odyssey*, *Ulysses* and the *Aeneid* are rife with fathers who fail their sons, leading their sons on often disastrous journeys to fill the void left by their fathers. This dissertation will look at the treatment of fathers and sons in Virgil's *Aeneid* (19 BCE) and James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922). This dissertation argues that in both texts fathers and sons use each other to define themselves. In the absence of this paternal dynamic, male characters often struggle to assert their own masculine identity.

Most scholars that place Joyce in a Classical context focus on the novelist's relationship to Homer. An important text connecting the work of Joyce and the work of Virgil is R.J. Schork's 1997 book *Latin and Roman Culture in Joyce*. Written as a companion volume to his book *Greek and Hellenic Culture in Joyce*, Schork's book is notable in its chapter connecting Joyce and Virgil. Schork does not make an argument about the connection between the two; instead, he chronicles the references, both direct and indirect, to Virgil's poem in Joyce's work. Schork's work is exhaustive and while he does speculate on the reason for the myriad Virgilian reference in Joyce's *oeuvre*, stating "line-by-line scrutiny brought to bear on his works in secondary-school classrooms . . . contributes to the frequency of allusion to the Aeneid in the literature of that period," he does not examine the larger implications of these references in understanding either Joyce's work or Virgil's (Schork 121). While this makes Schork's work invaluable to any

scholar looking to more fully understand the Classical underpinnings of Joyce's work, it does not provide a compelling argument of its own.

Of the little that has been written connecting *Ulysses* and the *Aeneid*, Randall Pogorzelski's book *Virgil and Joyce: Nationalism and Imperialism in the Aeneid and Ulysses* (2016) is particularly noteworthy. Pogorzelski's argument centers around the way both texts can be viewed as "patriotic" and the similarities between the way both authors discuss national and imperial identity. He states, "[*Ulysses'*] relationship to Irish nationalism is rooted in classical literature" and therefore can be best interpreted through that lens (11). Chapter four, connecting Bloom's dead son Rudy with the dead Marcellus in Book 4 of the *Aeneid,* is particularly strong. Pogorzelski states, "The link between political and familial continuity interrupted by the death of Marcellus is what Joyce activates when he repeats the death of Marcellus in the death of Rudy" (111). Pogorzelski focuses on the intertextuality between the two texts and asserts that understanding *Ulysses* through the lens of the *Aeneid* provides a more complete understanding of Joyce's novel. Maybe most importantly, Pogorzelski correctly notes, "The importance of the classical tradition lies not only in the influence of the Aeneid but also in the question of how *Ulysses* can illuminate the continuing relevance of the *Aeneid*" (16).

This introduction will first illustrate the ways the two texts are connected, and second determine the significance of masculine identity in the context of the two works.

Climate of Change, Upending Expectations, and Thematic Threads

Virgil and Joyce both wrote during times of political and social upheaval. This climate informed both men's work, as both used their writing to make sense of, and to help their audience make sense of, the changing world around them.

During Virgil's lifetime, Rome underwent perhaps the most seismic change in its history: the Roman Republic, vaunted for its egalitarian ideals, became the Roman Empire, what would become one of the most powerful, and least egalitarian, empires the world has ever seen. Caesar Augustus' rise to power "constitutes a potent and enduring turning point in the course of Roman history and indeed of Western civilization" (Gurval 168). For many Romans, including Virgil, this change in the Roman power structure and dynamic served to create a tension between action and duty, self, and state, one that would recur again and again in Virgil's works.

Virgil had the unique perspective of being alive during both the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire. In his introduction to the Robert Fagles' 2005 translation of the *Aeneid*, Bernard Knox notes, "When Publius Vergilius Maro—Virgil in common usage—was born in 70 B.C., the Roman Republic was in its last days" (1). Unsurprisingly, the shift from republic to empire did not happen overnight; nor did it happen peacefully. For nearly the entire first century BCE, Rome was plagued by civil wars and conflict. While Rome had always been a combative society this period of conflict was an unprecedented stretch of violence and unrest (Goldsworthy 8-9).

This undoubtedly impacted Virgil's writing and understanding of the world. His earlier works, the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, while not overtly political, evince a clear longing for a bucolic, peaceful life that would have escaped any Roman living in Italy in the years leading up to Augustus' declaration of himself as *princeps,* or emperor. In the

Aeneid Virgil had to bridge two worldviews: that of republican and that of imperial subject. This tension, evident throughout the *Aeneid*, created for Virgil the conflict that drives the poem. Aeneas, the poem's hero, is consistently put in a position where he must choose between his emotion and desire and his duty to his family, his faith, and his fate. Like Rome itself, Aeneas is caught between the realm of the status quo and the future.

Joyce, too, composed his derivation of the *Odyssey* during a time of political upheaval, both in his home nation of Ireland and in the larger global community. Born in 1882 in what was then the British colony of Ireland, Joyce's Irish Catholic upbringing certainly served to ground him in a larger tradition. As a young man, Joyce saw the rise and fall of Charles Parnell, advocate for Irish independence, the creation of Sinn Fein, and the establishment of an independent Irish Republic. However, Joyce lived much of his adult life away from the country of his birth, spending most of his years in France, Italy, and Switzerland. Although he later repudiated Catholicism, Joyce understood the ethos and pathos of the everyday Dubliner, and he strove to include that in his work:

> While writing *Dubliners* and the first draft of *A Portrait*, [Joyce] told [his brother] that he wanted to transubstantiate 'the bread of everyday life' into something immortal. As time went on, the quest for artistic permanence grew into the desire to write a novel in a language 'above all languages,' to speak beyond the Vocabulary that tradition handed him. The war [WWI] had given Joyce . . . the sense that everything was about to change, that the crackup of Europe and the fall of empires portended something truly revolutionary, and if a novel were skillful enough, it could advance all of civilization. (Birmingham 103)

The impact of World War I on Joyce, and on *Ulysses* in particular cannot be understated. Although Irish independence was in the air during his time on the Emerald Isle, the most violence Joyce saw as a young man was during bar brawls. Yet in 1914 at the outbreak of World War I (and when he began writing *Ulysses* in earnest), Joyce and his family were living in Trieste, Italy, at the center of conflict.

Although he did not fight (for one thing he was not a citizen of Italy; for another he had terrible eyesight that would have rendered him ineligible for service), Joyce could not help but be affected by the violence of the war. Birmingham notes, "James Joyce began writing *Ulysses* at the edge of a war that changed people's understanding of scale" (46). In *James Joyce's Ulysses and World War I*, Martin notes that the violence and scale of the war altered the accepted meaning of heroics (39). While Joyce himself may have cut his teeth on the grand epics of the Classical age, "Modern warfare forced its soldiers to positions of anonymity and passivity; no heroic fantasies could justify their presence in the midst of this mass carnage nor remove their sense of betrayal" (Martin 39). Joyce was always focused on the experiences of the everyday man: his devotion to Ibsen and his early work like *Dubliners* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* indicate this clearly. But Joyce, like many of his contemporaries, became even more concerned with recording the everyday experiences after witnessing the grand scale of the brutality of World War I. Unlike most of his contemporaries, however, he chose the grandest genre—epic—to convey those recordings.

The epic tradition has existed in literature for nearly five millennia. Characterized most simply as an extended narrative poem recounting heroic deeds, epic has been used for various purposes throughout history. While oral epics such as the *Odyssey* and the

Iliad served to memorialize a culture's belief system and *mores*, literary epics such as Milton's *Paradise Lost* used the scale of the genre to convey the scope and importance of their tale. Virgil and Joyce both endeavored to provide a contemporary interpretation on the genre and used the epic to define life in the era in which they lived.

In 29 BCE when Virgil began to write the *Aeneid*, Rome was undoubtedly enamored by Greek tradition. In his article "Roman Homer," Joseph Farrell explores the relationship between Rome and Homeric mythology. Farrell writes, "Homer was an important element of elite Roman ideology," whose presence could be felt in all facets of Roman life, not just Roman literary tradition (263). Virgil was tasked with writing the *Aeneid* by the first Roman emperor, Augustus, in an effort to link the new imperial family with the grander tradition of the founding of Rome (Raphael 310-311). If Virgil was going to connect Augustus and his family with the founding of Rome, the epic was the natural genre to use, and Homer could be the only model (Goldsworthy 311). As Knox states, the poem "gave Homeric luster to the story of Rome's origins and achievements" (2). The size and scale of the epic would allow Virgil to express the grandeur that Augustus and his reign would hopefully bring to Rome; the classic tradition of the epic would ground his tale of Augustus and his new form of government in the traditions Rome had long admired.

Like Homer's Odysseus and Achilles, Virgil's Aeneas is not a one-dimensional epic hero. In his introduction to Stanley Lombardo's 2005 translation of the *Aeneid*, W.R. Johnson notes that Aeneas has served as both a generic Everyman who has come to "incarnate the capacity of human beings to endure existence on the brink of ruin" and a representation of the might of the Roman Empire in its heyday (xvi-xvii). Although

Virgil did not model Aeneas after either Achilles, the epic hero of the *Iliad* or Odysseus, the *Odyssey*'s titular hero, he did write Aeneas to embody the complex and contradictory nature of both protagonists.

If Virgil's choice of epic to tell the story of Aeneas is an obvious one, Joyce's choice to tell the story of Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom using the same form is not. Yet in his biography of Joyce, Gordon Bowker notes that long before he had an outline of chapters or idea of the arc of his story Joyce had a title: *Ulysses* (160). Toshiaki Kuwahara asserts, "Joyce tried to present the myth of the twentieth century in the eternal phase by the application of Homeric myth to the structure of *Ulysses*" (26). The Homeric epic and its hero drew Joyce immediately, a natural consequence of his early life and education.

Educated at traditional Jesuit boys' schools in Ireland at the end of the nineteenth century, Joyce was subject to a traditional education; at that time, this would have meant Joyce received a classical education. Declan Kiberd notes in his book *Ulysses and Us: The Art of Everyday Living*, "British pedagogy in the lead-up to World War I reduced many Greek and Roman classics to a cult of mere power as in empire-building, boy-scouting or mountain-climbing. That is the immediate context for Joyce's revision of Homer and for his redefinition of heroics" (23). Although Joyce did not study Greek in school, he was surely exposed to the stories of Achilles and Odysseus in translation. Bowker notes that Joyce would have been well-familiar with the story of Odysseus in particular by the time he was twelve, and that Homer and his wanderer continued to play an important role in Joyce's education (47). Birmingham points out that

> . . . to Joyce, [Ulysses] was [a hero]. Ulysses was the 'world-troubling seaman'

> and the most complete human being in all of literature. He was a father to Telemachus and a son to Laertes. He was a friend, a soldier, a lover and a husband. Joyce thought of him as Europe's first gentleman, but he was also a hero. (136)

It is clear, then, why Joyce would use the story of Odysseus, everyday soldier who becomes a hero, to chronicle the lives of Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom.

But while both Homer and Virgil consciously modelled their writing on that of Homer, they also both sought to reinvent the epic and upend the literary expectations placed upon them by their genre and their society.

Virgil was certainly not the first Roman poet to write in the epic genre, nor was he even the first to tell the story of Aeneas and his journey to Italy. Virgil's decision to center his story on Aeneas, while serving his practical purpose of linking the rule of Augustus to divinity and the Trojan War, serves to break in some ways from the epic tradition of Homer.

Although Achilles is the protagonist of the *Iliad*, its central hero is Hector, the Trojan prince who is slain by Achilles and whose body is dragged around the walls of Troy. Levi argues:

> [Virgil] was not deeply enough in sympathy with the *Iliad* of Homer, and did not understand the fundamental principle in Homer's world, that poetry belongs to the defeated and to the dead. Virgil's hero had to be a winner and the founder of a great dynasty and future race he could not like great Hector lie down in his greatness forgetting his mastery of horses. (Levi 129).

Yet Levi fails to consider that the *Iliad* is not the only poem from which Virgil drew inspiration. The hero of the *Odyssey* is all of those things Levi insists Virgil's hero must be: a winner, a king (if not a founder of a great dynasty), a hero in every sense of the word.

But Levi is also wrong when he considers that the *Aeneid* does not have an element of tragedy surrounding it. While Aeneas himself never plays the role of the vanquished foe, there is a character who does serve that purpose: Turnus, the Latin warrior Aeneas encounters and ultimately kills when he lands in Italy. Like Hector, Turnus becomes a pathetic figure by the poem's end, dying by Aeneas' blade as he begs the Trojan prince for mercy (much in the same way Hector and Priam beg for mercy in the *Iliad*).

What is notable, then, is Virgil's combination of the two epics into one. While the latter half of the poem has been criticized as underdeveloped compared to the first half (indeed, Levi himself is chief among its critics), this criticism misses the point. Virgil was not trying to recreate the *Odyssey* or the *Iliad*; he was making both poems Roman. While the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad* were passed down through oral tradition, the *Aeneid* was carefully crafted and structured. Aeneas is not a callous warrior like Achilles; he is not a tragic figure like Hector; he is not a wily wanderer like Odysseus. Instead he is more complicated than any of them, embodying all of those characteristics throughout the epic.

Rather than attempting to mimic Homer and his heroes, Virgil created a uniquely Roman hero. Aeneas is notable for his combination of ruthless commitment to his goals, his faith to his gods, and his devotion to his family. While these are all characteristics

Augustus would have wanted to embody, they are also pillars of Roman life in the first century BCE. In this way, Virgil breaks from Homer, showing not just a hero or a character but a model for Roman living.

Neither Stephen Dedalus nor Leopold Bloom could be considered a model for Irish living. Yet, like his contemporaries, Joyce sought to both modernize and Irishize both the form and the content of his mythological undertaking.

At the start of the twentieth century, some of Ireland's finest men of letters, like William Butler Yeats and John Millington Synge, were engaged in efforts to revive Irish culture and mythology. Through works like Yeats' *Cuchulain* series, these writers sought to establish Irish mythological and literary tradition in its own right, away from the influence of British imperial rule (Bowker 73).

But Joyce, well-versed in Classical and Irish mythology alike, did not share their desire for Ireland to become a new Rome or Greece. While he was interested in the use of the classical structure and tropes, he wanted to tell stories that were timely, not timeless (Bowker 73). Joyce wanted to explore "how the exceptional and the mundane—the artist and the ad man—could interact" (Birmingham 78). To accomplish this, Joyce chose the most modern form of literature, the novel, and combined it with one of the most timeless, the epic.

Joyce was interested in reinventing the novel, and to do this he needed the influence of another form. Kiberd points out, "Novels deal with already made societies and Ireland in 1904 was still a society in the making . . . If the epic is the genre of the ancient world and the novel of the bourgeoisie, then it is in the troubled transition period between these orders that the forms of art go into meltdown and a radical newness

becomes possible" (34). It was that newness that Joyce sought. Rather than stick to Homeric epic conventions or the conventions of the modern novel, Joyce combined them, as Virgil combined epics. Kiberd writes, "He [Joyce] acted on the brazen assumption that his book would not defer to the current taste of the public but serve to invent a new sort of reader, someone who after that experience might choose to live in a different way" (17). While the writers of the Irish Revival were concerned with popularizing traditional Irish mythology, Joyce was concerned with creating his own.

Further, *Ulysses*, unlike a traditional or typical epic, does not have an epic hero. While Aeneas may not fit the same mold as Achilles or Odysseus, he is undeniably the hero of his poem. Neither Stephen Dedalus nor Leopold Bloom can be said to be heroic in the traditional sense of the word. As Gilbert points out, the true "hero" of *Ulysses* is language (76). Joyce, in creating a new form of epic, eschews the epic hero for the vehicle he believes truly holds power in the twentieth century: language.

Aeneas is famous for his *pietas*, his ability to discern and act on the correct course of action. As Bernard Knox notes in his introduction to Robert Fagles' 2006 translation of the poem, "the words *pius* and *pietas* have in Latin a wider meaning. Perhaps the best English equivalent is something like 'dutiful,' 'mindful of one's duty'—not only to the gods but also to one's family and do one's country" (13). The idea of *pietas* both defines Aeneas and stifles him. Throughout the poem he vacillates between acting on his *pietas* and acting with *furor*—raw emotional response. At the poem's conclusion, as ever-rational Aeneas mercilessly stabs defenseless, pleading Turnus, it is unclear which side of the hero has won.

Yet throughout the epic Aeneas is consumed not only with *pietas* but with the rituals and sacrifices that go along with it. Similarly, although *Ulysses*' protagonists themselves are not particularly concerned with the "right thing," the idea of the *mores* of obligation to one's religious and moral code abound in Joyce's novel. The readers' first introduction to Stephen shows him and his compatriot Buck Mulligan engaging in a "black mass," a farce of the Catholic mass. Late in the novel's opening chapter, Joyce reveals that Stephen Dedalus has been ostracized by Mulligan's aunt because he would not kneel and pray at his dying mother's bedside, an anecdote lifted from Joyce's own life. Birmingham notes, "He had left the Catholic Church years ago . . . and everything he did was a part of the battle he waged against it" (32). Joyce's characters grapple with faith, superstition, and piety throughout the novel, just as Joyce did throughout his life.

Masculine Identity and Fathers and Sons

Both texts are full of father and son pairs, both biological and surrogate. The *Aeneid,* commissioned by the emperor Augustus to serve as a link between the burgeoning Roman empire and the glory of the mythic Troy and completed in 19 BCE, centers around Aeneas, Trojan prince, as he journeys from Troy to what will one day be Rome. Aeneas famously flees the burning city of Troy with his father on his back and his son's hand in his; he even sacrifices his wife to the flames as he protects his paternal line. Throughout the epic Aeneas' relationships with his father and son, as well as his relationships with the men he views as surrogate sons, shape his belief in himself and his confidence in his *pietas*, or ability to do the "right thing."

In *Ulysses*, Joyce's modernist novel chronicling a day in the life of Dublin in 1904, the central father-son relationship is the surrogate relationship between Leopold Bloom, an advertising salesman avoiding the certainty of his wife's infidelity, and Stephen Dedalus, a young man recently returned from Paris to sit at his mother's deathbed who struggles to find his identity as artist, son, and friend, as they largely circle around each other for most of the novel's duration. However, Bloom's relationships with his dead father and son and Stephen's relationship with his very-much-alive father shape both men's identities (and the emotional baggage they bring to their relationship).

As M. Owen Lee notes in his book *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid: Tum Genitor Natum*, none of the fathers in the poem is ever truly able to save his sons from death (7). It is this failure to save the son, both biological and surrogate, that shapes Aeneas' actions and his belief in his own worth. When Aeneas kills Turnus in an act that is surely not indicative of the *pietas* he purports to show throughout the epic, it is because of his failure to kill Pallas, one of his surrogate sons. In this case, the failure of the father to save the son leads to destruction of the father.

Similarly, Bloom is haunted by the suicide of his father and what he views as the "failure" of his stillborn son Rudy, while Stephen is confronted with his failure to save his father from himself. In *Ulysses*, the failure of the father to save the son (or the son to save the father), leads to a more constructive end: Bloom watches over Stephen and serves as an impromptu (and potentially short-lived) mentor.

It is worth examining the paternal-filial relationships in these two texts in conjunction as the different ways the authors treat the *denouement* of these relationships raises questions about the resolution of both texts. Aeneas has shown *pietas* throughout

the entire epic; even his relationships with his surrogate sons are an example of his adherence to duty. Why, then, does his failure to save his surrogate son lead to his final impious act? Stephen Dedalus rejects his filial duties throughout the novel and Leopold Bloom struggles to rid himself of the yolk of his father's suicide (and the shame of not being able to sire a son). Why then do both men gravitate towards each other instead of pulling away? The tension between the expected roles of fathers and sons runs through both works and makes them worth examining together.

In the *Odyssey,* the *Aeneid*, and *Ulysses*, male characters struggle to define themselves because of a lack of masculine presence in their lives. The necessity of male role models to determine the trajectory of a young man's life is echoed in the climates in which both Virgil and Joyce wrote.

The *Odyssey* opens with Telemachus, Odysseus' son, experiencing a crisis of identity. Odysseus has not been present for almost all of Telemachus' life. Without knowing Odysseus, Telemachus' identity is incomplete because his paternity cannot be truly determined. Without a present father there is no way for Telemachus to see genetic similarities between himself and his father. Even if he can fend off the suitors, Telemachus' claim on the Ithacan throne becomes tenuous at best. Further, Telemachus has no male figures to guide him from adolescence to adulthood. In the introduction to her 2018 translation Emily Wilson notes, "the poem traces the boy's developing cognitive maturity, as he begins to learn what adult masculinity might mean" (Wilson 48). To do this, Telemachus must travel to visit the soldiers who served with his father, not just to learn about his father's journey after the war but to learn about what it means to be a man. Along this journey, "each models for the boy, in significantly different ways

. . . an essential aspect of elite masculine adulthood" (Wilson 49). Telemachus needs these men not only to secure his and his mother's safety, but to fully develop his identity as an adult male in post-Trojan War Greek society.

While Virgil and his Roman contemporaries may have thought themselves significantly evolved from Homeric Greece, the role of fathers in creating male identity was no less powerful in Augustan Rome. In his biography of Augustus, Adrian Goldsworthy discusses the importance of fathers for young men in Rome; patriarchs served not only as the "breadwinners," but also as a young man's introduction to society, to the senate, and to the world:

> Alongside their formal education, senators' sons were supposed to learn by watching. From the age of seven they began to attend their father—or another male relative—as he went about his business, watching him receive and greet the clients who came to his house each day, and following him through the Forum to meetings of the Senate. (55)

Young men, like Augustus himself, who did not have fathers to initiate them into the world of adult men had to find other family members—surrogates—who would fulfill that role for them. Without an adult male to guide him out of adolescence, a young man in Virgil's Rome could not succeed any more than Telemachus could.

While the consequences for a fatherless young man in Joyce's Ireland may not have been as dire as those in Virgil's or Homer's societies, it was nonetheless important for a young man to have an older masculine figure in his life. In his biography of James Joyce, Gordon Bowker notes, "In a class-conscious society like British Ireland at the turn of the twentieth century, family origin was the main determinant of social status" (12). In

the absence of a strong patriarch, young men would have to anchor themselves to someone else in order to transition to adulthood. As Stephen himself says in *Ulysses*, "a father . . . is a necessary evil" (207).

Chapter 1: Failures of the Father

Although Odysseus is the titular "hero" of Homer's *Odyssey*, the action opens not with the long-lost father but with his son, Telemachus, who has been waiting nearly nineteen years for his father to arrive home from the Trojan War. When the poem opens, Telemachus is in a precarious position: as the man of the house he is responsible for maintaining his father's memory, yet he has no adult male to support him in this endeavor. Telemachus' life is at risk as he tries to stop his mother's suitors from eating him out of house, home, and inheritance. As Nestor's son, Pisistratus says of Telemachus:

> A son whose father is away will suffer
> intensely, if he has no man at home
> to help him. In the absence of his father,
> Telemachus has no one to protect him. (Wilson 4.165-168)

Without the protection and guidance of his father, Telemachus is a young man on the brink of adulthood without a guide.

When Odysseus arrives on the scene in Book 5, he is being held on the island of Calypso, a beautiful goddess. When Zeus sends word that Calypso must release Odysseus and allow him to go home, she approaches him with the news. Calypso's approach implies that while Odysseus is now keen to return to his homeland this attitude may not be consistent with his previous feelings. She says:

> "Odysseus,
> son of Laertes, blessed by Zeus—your plans

are always changing. Do you really want

to go back to that home you love so much?" (Wilson 5. 202-205)

Odysseus, Calypso implies, has not always been so eager to return to Ithaca. While it is possible that wily Odysseus lied to Calypso to appease her and thus keep himself and his men safe, the implication is there. Further, while Odysseus expresses his desire to return to Ithaca, he specifically mentions his wife, not his son. Odysseus longs to see Penelope, but mentions nothing of Telemachus. While Odysseus may be eager to return home and regain his rightful place as King of Ithaca, he is concerned with his own needs, not the needs of his son and heir.

Ultimately the failures of the fathers in both the *Aeneid* and *Ulysses* mirror the central failure of fatherhood in the text on which both are based. Anchises, Aeneas' father, Simon Dedalus, Stephen Dedalus' father, and Odysseus all fail their sons by looking after their own interests instead of those of their sons. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus fails to consider Telemachus' need for a father figure, instead thinking of his own aspirations for adventure and glory and his desire to return home to his wife. In the *Aeneid*, this failure takes the form of Anchises usurping Aeneas' rightful role as leader of men. In *Ulysses*, it is Simon projecting his own desires onto Stephen and then rejecting him when Stephen is not his father's "consubstantial" son. By forcing their sons into their shadows, rather than allowing them to develop their individual agency and identities, fathers prevent their sons from coming into their own and therefore hinder the development of their identities as independent men in their respective societies.

The most prominent father figure in the *Aeneid* is Anchises, Aeneas' father. An initial reading of Anchises shows a father who serves as role model and mentor for his

son as Aeneas takes on his newly-minted role as leader of the Trojans. A closer analysis, however, reveals that Anchises repeatedly fails Aeneas by not letting him become an individual and a leader in his own right.

Anchises' first failure of fatherhood comes as the Greeks are sacking the city of Troy. After landing in Carthage in Book 1, Aeneas recounts the story of the sack of Troy to Dido in Book 2. This narrative framework allows Virgil to illustrate Aeneas' motivations and thoughts as he acted and to clearly identify the ways in which Anchises' actions (or lack of actions) as a father have impacted Aeneas' decisions and his character. In retelling the story of the sack of Troy to Dido and the Carthaginians, Aeneas explains not only the actions he and his men took as they journeyed from Troy but also the emotional underpinnings of those decisions.

Initially, Aeneas tells Dido, he was driven by bloodlust to roam the city of Troy searching for Greeks to attack. It is on this quest that he witnesses the death of Priam at the hand of Pyrrhus (also called Neoptolemus), Achilles' son. As Aeneas watches the scene with horror, he is suddenly reminded of his own elderly father and young son, both at home with no warrior to protect them. Aeneas sees in Priam his own father. Recounting the event for the Carthaginian court he tells Dido:

> "I froze.
> The thought of my own dear father filled my mind
> when I saw the old king gasping out his life
> with that raw wound—both men were the same age." (Fagles 2.693-696)

M. Owen Lee notes, "It is this terrible scene, the slaughter of son and father before the very altar of sanctuary, that finally ends Aeneas' battle-lust and brings him back to his

sense" (40). Here Aeneas' *pietas,* his devotion to his father and his family, drives his actions—he knows he is responsible for his father and he races, like a good son, to spirit his family out of the city.

Aeneas' catalyst to action during the sack of Troy is also notable because it mirrors an important moment of paternal piety from the *Iliad*, one of Virgil's mentor texts. Just as Priam pleaded with Achilles to return the body of his dead son Hector, so the Trojan king now pleads with Achilles' son to spare the life of his younger son. This echo to the *Iliad* primes Virgil's reader, who would surely have been familiar with the emotional climax of Homer's poem, to view both Priam and Aeneas as tragic father figures. In his book *Dreams of the Burning Child*, David Lee Miller discusses the trope of sacrificial fathers and sons in literature, religion, and mythology. Miller notes ,"Aeneas responds to Priam's death as if it were indeed a 'primal scene' reading his own family into its patterns" (60). As Book II continues, however, Aeneas' position vacillates from father to son and back again.

Upon returning home, Aeneas' "first concern was to find the man [Anchises], my first wish / to spirit him off, into the high mountain range" (Fagles 2.786-787). However, Anchises refuses to leave Aeneas, saying:

> "Myself,
> if the gods on high had wished me to live on,
> they would have saved my palace for me here.
> . . .Come say your parting salutes and leave my body so.
> I will find my own death, sword in hand." (Fagles 2.792-794, 797-799)

Aeneas is distraught, incredulous that his father would abandon his own duty to his family like this. Here Virgil's narrative structure betrays Aeneas' postmortem feelings about his father. Aeneas tells Dido that he begged his father to change his mind, admonishing him, "How could such an outrage slip from a father's lips?" (Fagles 2.816). Anchises stubbornly refuses Aeneas' wishes, instead insisting that he will stay and die in Troy. Priam, too, attempted to defend his house, yet was dissuaded by his wife to abandon his arms and remain with his family. Yet initially Anchises refuses, ignoring his son's assurance that Pyrrhus will soon be banging down *their* doors, murdering *them* in blood the same way he did Priam. Aeneas makes a pathetic appeal to Anchises, telling him, "Pyrrhus will soon be here, bathed in Priam's blood, / Pyrrhus who butchers sons in their fathers' faces, / slaughters fathers at the altar" (Fagles 2.822-824). While Anchises will make progress difficult for Aeneas throughout his journey, this first impediment is one of the most glaring and is representative of the kinds of trouble Anchises will continue to make for Aeneas as they endeavor to found a second Troy.

This roadblock is perhaps the most important of Anchises' paternal failures because it illustrates the ways Anchises sees Aeneas throughout Aeneas' recounting of the road that led him and his men to Carthage. Aeneas, a seasoned combat veteran, has been out in the city of Troy while Anchises, an old man, has not. Aeneas, who has witnessed firsthand the murder and destruction of his and his father's peers, is urging a course of action. Yet Anchises ignores him, preferring instead to be the one to dictate his, and therefore the family's, course of action.

Anchises knows that the bonds of filial piety will force Aeneas to remain if his father will not leave. Throughout the *Aeneid*, Virgil repeatedly describes Aeneas as

"*Aeneas pietas,"* ultimately the hero's most enduring epithet throughout the poem. *Pietas*, often translated as piety or faithfulness, is a far more complicated construct for Virgil, as M. Owen Lee discusses. Lee states, "*Pietas*, at least from the generation before [Virgil's] own, had come to mean three-fold devotion to family, country, and gods" (18). Anchises would have expected Aeneas to act on his *pietas* because he has raised his son to have those kinds of values. Yet Anchises knowingly here blocks Aeneas' ability to act in concordance with that sense of *pietas*. Aeneas has already shown reluctance to leave Troy; he will surely not leave without his father.

By blocking Aeneas' escape from Troy, Anchises essentially dooms him (and his wife Creusa and son Ascanius) to death, sacrificing his offspring for his own sense of power. Miller argues, "In general . . . to be a father in the literary tradition is to bear witness to the destruction of the son and to see in his death at once the essence of and the destruction of fatherhood itself" (6). In order to assert his own identity as father (and therefore as patriarch and decision-maker in the family), Anchises willingly sacrifices his son, grandson, and filial line. Anchises' failure as a father in Troy's final moments would have repercussions far beyond Anchises' own house. Anchises knows that Aeneas' destiny is to found a great race. By preventing his son from leaving, Anchises is sacrificing not only the lives of his son and grandson but his unseen and unknown ancestors as well.

Importantly, while Anchises does eventually capitulate to Aeneas it is not because of anything Aeneas himself does. Instead, Anchises is persuaded when Ascanius, Aeneas' son, appears with a flame over his head. In this moment, Virgil first reveals the

depth of Anchises' *pietas* and his unwavering belief in the signs and portends presented by the gods. Anchises asks for a sign to confirm what he has seen of Ascanius, praying:

> "Almighty Jove! If any prayer can persuade you now,
> look down on us—that is all I ask—if our devotion
> has earned it, grant us another omen, Father,
> seal this first clear sign." No sooner said
> than an instant peal of thunder crashes on the left
> and down from the sky a shooting star comes gliding,
> trailing a flaming torch to irradiate the night
> as it comes sweeping down. (Fagles 2.857-864)

Anchises demands not one but two divine omens before he believes his son and agrees to leave the city. This revelation of Anchises' intense *pietas*, which will be a recurring trait of father as well as son throughout the poem, makes his obstruction of Aeneas' attempted escape all the more puzzling.

Anchises announces that he is ready to follow Aeneas out of the burning city. Virgil writes that Anchises, having been convinced by this sign, "rises to his full height / and prays to the gods and reveres that holy star" (Fagles 2.870-871). Fagles' translation here is notable. Allen Mandelbaum, in his 1961 translation, interprets this phrase as "my father rises, to greet the gods, to adore the sacred star" (Mandelbaum 2.947-948). The Latin reads "*se tollit ad auras adisturque deos et sanctum sidus adorate*" (2. 699-700), which translates literally to "he arises and addresses the gods and worships the seat" (my own translation).

Fagles' translation paints an Anchises that is still physically imposing, still a vibrant man. In this reading, Anchises has been deceiving Aeneas the whole time, capable of much more than he has let on. Moreover, it implies that Anchises is still capable of being a leader of men, so his actions later in the poem as assumed leader of the Trojans (when in fact it is Aeneas who is their designated leader) seems less out of place. But the literal translation does not support that interpretation. Anchises is not a vibrant male specimen; he is an old decrepit man who rises to his full height to show Aeneas who is going to be the alpha male as they leave the burning city of Troy. Lee notes that "Aeneas escapes from the flaming city with his father on his shoulders. The father, in turn, carries in his arms the images of his ancestral gods . . . one [acts] as commander of the fleet, the other as prophet and patriarch" (17). Anchises is no longer the leader of the Trojans, but he will continue to act as though he is.

Anchises' failure to allow Aeneas to be the leader as Troy falls is the first of Anchises' failures that Virgil presents in the *Aeneid*. Notably, Anchises has already died in this point in the narration. Anchises' death adds a level of complication to Aeneas' story: although he is clearly frustrated by some of Anchises' actions as the night of the sack of Troy progresses, Aeneas' criticism of his now-dead father is measured.

An analysis of this remove reveals Aeneas' current (in the Carthaginian-present) attitudes toward Anchises, his own role as patriarch, and his fatherly duty toward both his own son and his men. Aeneas' *pietas* is his most prominent feature. After Book II, "it is *pius* Aeneas, *pater* Anchises, and *puer* Ascanius who will establish the various relationships that constitute this virtue. A man is *pius* in relation to his father and his son, the gods he bears and the civilization he serves" (Lee 45). Virgil places *pietas* at the

center of the relationship between Aeneas and his father and his son. As Aeneas recounts the sack of Troy to Dido and her court, his own *pietas* will not allow him to openly voice his frustrations with his father. Yet as he continues his narration, Aeneas' displeasure becomes more palpable.

Anchises' inability to take Aeneas' direction recurs again and again as they leave Troy. The elder takes control, retaining the role of patriarch and leader even as Aeneas struggles to found a new country for his people. Aeneas' relationship with his father continues to be characterized by an imbalanced power dynamic; it is hierarchical with Anchises playing the role of decision maker and Aeneas playing the role of dutiful follower. In fact, as they continue on their journey Aeneas often seeks his father's opinion and guidance rather than deciding on a course of action for his own men. Aeneas has been so long conditioned to view himself as subordinate to his father that he seems unable to make decisions on his own, even when he knows his father's choices are misguided.

After fleeing Troy, the Trojan wanderers first find themselves in Thrace, hoping to find a place to regroup before continuing their journey. As Aeneas prepares his men's sacrifice he discovers that the Thracians have murdered Polydorus, son of King Priam who had been sent there for protection during the war. Aeneas immediately seeks the counsel of his father, who insists on giving Polydorus a proper Trojan burial and departing Thrace as quickly as possible.

Polydorus' death represents a parallel of the ways Anchises will fail Aeneas. As the Trojan war reached a frenzy, King Priam dispatched his youngest son, Polydorus, to Thrace for protection, sending with him gold that would help Polydorus to continue

Priam's legacy if the Greeks were victorious. When Troy was sacked, the Thracians murdered Polydorus, taking the gold for themselves. Polydorus' fate would probably have been the same if he had remained in Troy—given the violent end of Priam's other sons, it is nearly impossible to imagine that Polydorus would have escaped the end of the war unharmed. But his particularly brutal death and ignominious burial could have been avoided if Priam had not sent him away. In his article "Death *Ante Ora Parentum* in Virgil's *Aeneid*," Timothy M. O'Sullivan notes that a death before the eyes of the father, fighting for the fatherland, is heroic, while a death away from the eyes of the father, while more tragic, is less desirable (449). It is unclear how old Polydorus is in the *Aeneid* (in the *Iliad* he is one of the rivals of Achilles although his father will not permit him to fight); based on the language he uses to plead with Aeneas and his men that he must have at least been a young man when he was sent away. Priam's desire to protect his son is his failure; he does not let Polydorus fight in the war like a young man, instead sending him away like a child. By refusing to see Polydorus as a man he seals his fate. Again and again Anchises will commit the same mistake: he will fail to relinquish the role of decision-maker to Aeneas, leading the Trojans off their course.

After the failed attempt to find refuge in Thrace, Aeneas and his men set sail for Delos to consult the oracle of Apollo there. When the Trojans land they are greeted by King Anius, who approaches Anchises as "a long-lost friend" (Fagles 3.98). As the leader of the Trojans, Aeneas should be the one who is greeted by the King and explain their business in Delos. Instead, Anchises again usurps the role of leader from his son.

When the Trojans encounter the actual oracle, the advice they receive is, unsurprisingly, cryptic. The oracle says, "Sons of Dardanus, hardy souls, your fathers'

land / that gave you birth will take you back again" (Fagles 3.114-115). Anchises, unsurprisingly taking the lead, jumps to interpret the oracle's message, telling his son to head to Crete: "From there—if I recall what I heard—our first father, / Teucer sailed to Troy" (Fagles 3.129-130). Anchises is not certain that Crete should be their destination—he admits himself that he may not correctly recall the story of Troy's founding—yet he tells his son to "follow the gods' commands that lead us on" (Fagles 3. 138). He does not give Aeneas an opportunity to interpret the prophecy on his own or to consult with another of the Trojan captains.

Again Anchises' belief in his own certainty leads the Trojans in the wrong direction. Upon their arrival in Crete the Trojans are beginning to build a city

> when suddenly, no warning,
> out of some foul polluted quarter of the skies
> a plague struck now, a heartrending scourge
> attacking our bodies, rotting trees and crops,
> one whole year of death. (Fagles 3.167-171)

Anchises urges Aeneas to return to Delos to seek the oracle again, sure that there must be more information to be had. But that night, as Aeneas sleeps, he receives a message from the gods, telling him "Apollo of Delos . . . never commanded you / to settle here on Crete" (Fagles 3.198-200). Instead, the Trojans are meant for Italy (also called Hesperia), birthplace of another Trojan founder Dardanus. The gods tell Aeneas, "relay our message, certain / beyond all doubt, to your father full of years" (Fagles 3. 207-208). The gods themselves tell Aeneas to take control and command his men rather than consult Anchises for guidance.

Like most foundation myths, the story of the founding of Troy is multi-faceted. Perhaps Anchises could be forgiven for confusing the two Trojan founders, Teucer and Dardanus, and misleading Aeneas and his men. However, upon closer examination of the language of the oracle, the mistake is less forgivable. The oracle clearly addresses the Trojans as "*Dardanidae duri*," hardy Dardanians. The oracle directly *told* the Trojans which founder's homeland they should go to by using the word *Dardanidae*. For an oracle, that is as clear a message as they come. Yet Anchises misinterprets it and Aeneas listens to him. Lee notes that "Anchises becomes ever more important to [Aeneas], as a kind of holy man" (46). Anchises is, by his own admission, unsure of the Trojan origin story, yet he must act as the leader of the men rather than let his son lead. Anchises' inability to let Aeneas lead (or at the very least consult other sources of information) lead to the death of Aeneas' men and a further delay in their journey. Moreover, because he has been conditioned to view his father as leader, Aeneas himself is unable to override his father's decisions.

When Aeneas relays the gods' words to his father, Anchises suddenly remembers that the doomed Cassandra "revealed our destination, / Hesperia: time and again repeating it by name, / repeating the name of Italy" (Fagles 3.223-225). But Anchises' story rings false; if Cassandra told him time and again, wouldn't he have remembered it? Anchises writes off the mistake, pointing out that he was not the only one who did not believe Cassandra's prophecies in Troy. He takes no blame and gives no apology for the misinterpretation. Instead, he dons again the mantle of leader, telling the men to follow this new interpretation of the oracle's message.

It is important at this point in the poem to remember Virgil's use of the frame narrative at this point and that Aeneas is the narrator of the story at this point, telling Dido and the Carthaginian court the story of how they landed on her shores. After he tells Dido of his father's decree, Aeneas says:

> "So Anchises urges
> and all are overjoyed to follow his command.
> Leaving a few behind, we launch out from Crete,
> deserting another home, and set our sails again,
> scudding on buoyant hulls through wastes of ocean." Fagles 3.229-233)

The men are overjoyed to follow Anchises' command, not Aeneas'. Aeneas' bitter tone is evident when he says they deserted "another" home, sailing through "wastes of ocean." Their detour to Crete was entirely Anchises' fault. It cost the Trojans time and lives, and yet Anchises does not take responsibility for the decision nor does he yield command to his son. Instead, he continues to lead and the men continue to follow. Although Aeneas does lean on his father, his tone in this passage is clearly frustrated. In trying to help Aeneas and the Trojans, Anchises is actually stunting his son's development as a leader, and Aeneas is only now, after his father's death, aware of his father's impact.

After this detour, Aeneas' account of Anchises' involvement in their journey begins to wane. As Aeneas tells Dido of the next parts of the Trojans' journey—encounters with the Harpies and Helenus and Andromache—Anchises is conspicuously absent. Aeneas never comes out and blames Anchises for the Trojans' misnavigation; his sense of *pietas* would never have allowed him to do that, even after Anchises' death. Yet

after Anchises leads the Trojans to the wrong island it is clear that Aeneas takes more control over the leadership of the Trojans. When the Harpies begin to attack it is Aeneas who commands the men to pick up arms and defend the fleet. When the Trojans reach Actium, it is Aeneas who is greeted joyfully by Andromache, much in the same way Anchises was greeted by King Anius in Thrace.

Anchises' failure to correctly interpret Apollo's message is a watershed moment in his relationship with his son. While Anchises does not begin to treat Aeneas as an adult leader (and he will never treat Aeneas this way, even after his death and their encounter in the Underworld), Aeneas begins to see himself as the leader, leaning less on his father for guidance.

The Trojans receive another prophecy while they are with Helenus and Andromache in Actium. Helenus tells Aeneas of the next steps of their journey and how to avoid dangers ahead. While Helenus is speaking, Anchises gives the Trojans command to set sail while the winds are favorable. Helenus chastises Anchises for acting without all of the information, giving him a shortened version of the instructions and sending the Trojans on their way. Just as he did after Thrace, Anchises took leadership over the Trojan men, leading them instead of letting Aeneas take control. This time, however, he is stopped before he can steer the Trojans in the wrong direction.

The sojourn in Actium marks a turning point in Aeneas' relationship with Anchises. Although Anchises continues to play a role in Aeneas' story, Aeneas himself becomes a more prominent figure. Anchises becomes "Father Anchises," and Aeneas seems to revert to treating him like the troublesome old man who would not leave Troy.

As Aeneas finishes telling Dido the details of the journey that brought the Trojans to Carthage's shores, he recounts with little detail the death of his father. He tells Dido "after all the blows / of sea and storm I lost my father, my mainstay / in every danger and defeat" (Fagles 3.818-819). By the time Aeneas recounts his father's death to Dido his attitude has once again become that of loving, devoted son; Lee points out that although Anchises began to "preempt himself to the privileges of leadership" by the time of his death Aeneas again speaks lovingly of him to Dido (48). The question, however, is how much of that filial admiration comes from Aeneas' sense of *pietas* and how much of it comes from a genuine affection for his father? Does Aeneas leave Dido and his Carthaginian and Trojan audience with the vision of Anchises as "best of fathers" because he truly believes that or because he knows he has an obligation to do so?

Developing an individual identity looks very different in Joyce's Dublin than in Aeneas' Troy. In order to develop as a man in Troy, Aeneas must become a leader of men. While Stephen Dedalus' journey to male adulthood is not defined by "leadership," it is about developing his own identity as a man. Like Virgil's fathers, Joyce's fathers preclude their sons from becoming "men" by asserting their paternal identity over their sons' filial ones. In his book *Joyce and the Law of the Father*, Francis L. Restuccia posits that fathers in Joyce's *oeuvre* emasculate their sons by punishing them for both real and imagined crimes, often as a form of "punishment" for their own missteps. For Stephen Dedalus, this process actually begins in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Throughout Joyce's first novel, Simon Dedalus fails his son Stephen by not allowing him to learn how to be a man either by emulation or instruction and instead expecting Stephen to be a peer rather than a son. Like Anchises, Simon Dedalus'

assertion of his own masculine paternal identity leads to his son's inability to form his own identity away from his father's shadow.

In the opening chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Joyce establishes Simon Dedalus as a figure who looms over Stephen's consciousness. The novel begins with one of Stephen's earliest memories—a story that his father tells him as a small child. Later Nasty Roche, one of the boys at Clongowes, the school Stephen attends, confronts Stephen by asking him, "What is your father" (2). When Stephen overhears his father and his aunt, Dante, discussing politics that he does not understand, "It pained him that he did not know well what politics meant and that he did not know where the universe ended. He felt small and weak" (9). Joyce establishes clearly at the outset of *Portrait* that, for Stephen, being an adult male will involve understanding and being a part of the conversations that his father has and the life his father leads. Where Simon fails is in helping Stephen to become a part of this conversation. Rather than teaching him how to participate, Simon expects that Stephen will simply know how, and expects his son will be able to participate as a peer.

At Clongowes, Stephen's father, and the fathers of the other boys, become important factors in defining the characters of the boys. Stephen knows that his father is "not a magistrate like the other boys' fathers" and wonders "why he was sent to that place with them?" (15). Even at a young age, Stephen understands that Simon Dedalus is concerned about the power dynamic between the Dedalus family and those around them and the way that that power dynamic impacts the identity of both Simon the father and Stephen the son.

In a prominent scene in the first chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Stephen recalls a Christmas dinner that ends with a fight between Simon and Dante, Stephen's aunt. As the dinner begins, Simon tells an anecdote about an encounter with a hotel clerk. As Simon tells the anecdote, which Stephen is too young to understand, Joyce writes, "Stephen, seeing and hearing the hotel keeper through his father's face and voice, laughed. Mr. Dedalus put up his eyeglass and, staring down at him, said quietly and kindly: —What are you laughing at, you little puppy you?" (17). Like so many children, Stephen laughs when his father laughs, even without quite understanding what he is laughing at. Stephen is mimicking his father's behavior, taking his social cues from Simon; there is an element of admiration here that Simon clearly enjoys, ribbing his son's laughter in a way that is tender and kind.

While Simon is proud of his son's participation at the "grown up table," he also shuts down his attempt at growing into a man. Stephen is trying to participate in the conversation even though he does not quite understand what is going on. Although he does not put him down for this, Simon also does not encourage him or explain the anecdote more fully to him. Instead, Simon's comment makes it clear that Stephen does not understand what is happening, delineating Stephen as a "lesser than" member of the conversation than his father. This instance is not a failure on Simon's part. This is a moment that has happened throughout history between fathers and sons. Stephen should not be expected to understand the joke, but his reaction to it is to be expected. Simon's gentle ribbing is kind and well-intentioned and establishes Stephen as someone who does not necessarily know how to be an adult but who can and is willing to learn by mimicking his father.

Yet Simon's relationship with Stephen is not hierarchical. Later, as he argues with Dante about the death of Charles Parnell and the role of the Church in Irish politics, Simon has to be reminded that Stephen, still a child, is in the room. While earlier in the dinner Simon clearly acknowledged Stephen's age and inability to participate in adult conversation, at this point his son is no more than another adult at the table witnessing a tense exchange. At the first reminder of Stephen's presence, Simon tones down his anti-Catholic rhetoric, changing the subject to the pieces of turkey left on the plate. When the argument is reignited, Simon's mother and Dante both scold Simon for speaking against the Church and for using vulgar language in front of Stephen. Rather than stop, Simon doubles down on his language, continuing to rail against the Church and its leaders. Simon no longer acts like Stephen is a child who cannot understand; instead he *wants* Stephen to be exposed to, hear, and understand what he's saying. At the beginning of the Christmas dinner Simon makes it clear that Stephen is a child; by the end he no longer views him as someone who cannot understand but someone who should both understand and remember.

This, however, is a heavy burden to place on Stephen's shoulders and certainly influences Stephen's later relationship with the Church and his politics. Wanting to include Stephen in the conversation is not necessarily a failure. However, the way that Simon includes Stephen is. While helping Stephen to understand the disagreement about Parnell may not be appropriate for a child Stephen's age, that explanation would, at the very least, help Stephen to grapple with the complex concepts that he is already hearing about. But instead of honoring Stephen's identity as a child Simon forces him to adopt

the perspective of an adult. Simon does not put Stephen's needs ahead of his own, does not read his discomfort. Instead, Simon uses Stephen for his own purposes.

This comradery is the primary way that Simon fails his son. While many parents hope to befriend their children at some point in their children's lives, Simon pushes the "friendship" too early. He does not give Stephen a chance to grow up; instead he treats him like an equal when he should be treating him like a father.

Simon continues to treat Stephen as a contemporary rather than a child throughout the novel. As the second chapter opens, Simon has suffered a loss of status and Stephen has been forced to withdraw from Clongowes School. Literally, Simon's change in professional identity has changed Stephen's identity: he is no longer a student as a prestigious private school, instead becoming an autodidact.

More importantly, Simon's collegial attitude toward Stephen continues, even intensifies during these times of hardship. On the day much of the Dedalus' furniture is repossessed, Stephen is once again witness to a conversation that is probably not appropriate for a child his age to hear. Joyce writes, "Stephen sat on a footstool beside his father listening to a long and incoherent monologue. He understood little or nothing of it at first but he had become slowly aware that his father had enemies and that some fight was going to take place" (44). Unlike the Christmas conversation, however, Stephen is not only a witness this time; Stephen instead "felt, too, that he was being enlisted for the fight, that some duty was being laid upon his shoulders" (44). Later, Simon tells him, "We're not dead yet, sonny. No, by the Lord Jesus (God forgive me) not half dead" (44). Here Simon uses the first-person plural, including Stephen in both the trials that have befallen the Dedalus family and the struggle they will need to endure

to overcome those trials. Simon continues to treat Stephen not like a son but like a companion—a brother in arms.

Joyce first indicates that Stephen is unhappy with his father's treatment when Stephen is a student at Belvedere College. After performing in the school's Pentecostal play, Stephen wants to "outrun" his father, "without waiting for his father's questions" (60). Earlier, in an exchange with two of his classmates, Stephen bristles as they tease him about his "girl," Emma, asking Simon questions about him. Stephen's classmates, Wallis and Heron, tease Stephen, saying "I think the old man has found you out too" (53). If Stephen saw his father as a friend and contemporary, this knowledge about the girl he liked would not rankle him the way it clearly does. Instead, "A shaft of momentary anger flew through Stephen's mind at these indelicate allusions in the hearing of a stranger. For him there was nothing amusing in a girl's interest and regard" (53). This is not the reaction of a teenager who looks up to his father or who sees his father as a contemporary; instead it is the reaction of a teenager who is embarrassed by his father. That embarrassment alone is not enough to constitute a paternal failing, but subsequent interactions between father and son reveal the depth of the rift.

Simon's collegial attitude toward Stephen is on full display on a visit to Cork, where Simon has taken Stephen to auction off some of his property. This trip becomes a turning point in Stephen's relationship with his father, and is the chief example of the way Simon fails his son by forcing Stephen to be submissive to his identity. As Joseph Valente writes in his article "Stephen's 'Allwombing Tomb': Mourning, Paternity, and the Incorporation of the Mother in *Ulysses*," "After this journey, the voices of male authority, 'father and masters,' grow increasingly 'hollowsounding in his ears' (*Portrait*

73), and Stephen will identify with the paternal . . . only in its mythic, Greek register" (14). The trip could have served as an opportunity for Simon to show Stephen his childhood home and to help his son gain more insight into his father's life before children; instead Simon further alienates Stephen by forcing him to relive his father's life.

As the two begin their journey to Cork, Simon points out landmarks along their way and tells Stephen stories of his youth. Joyce writes that Stephen "listened without sympathy to . . . a tale broken by sighs or draughts from [Simon's] pocket flask whenever the image of some dead friend appeared in it or whenever the evoker remembered suddenly the purpose of his actual visit. Stephen heard but could feel no pity" (61). Simon's "evocation of Cork and of scenes of his youth" are a natural response to a father taking his oldest son to see where his father grew up; but Simon's drinking during the journey place Stephen in the category of colleague, not friend. It is not the drinking that marks the interaction inappropriate but the way it is effecting Stephen and the moments at which it occurs. Simon's maudlin remembrances of his youth do nothing to illustrate his father's upbringing or character to his son. Simon is treating Stephen like a peer, indulging in rambling reminiscence punctuated by drinking.

The next day, as they settle into their hotel in Cork, Stephen's embarrassment with his father grows more acute. At breakfast, Simon peppers the waiter with questions about Cork, a city he has not lived in for at least as long as Stephen has been alive. Unsurprisingly, much has changed in Simon's absence. When the waiter does not know many of the people is asking about, Simon responds, "Well, I hope they haven't moved the Queen's College anyhow . . . for I want to show it to this youngster of mine" (63). This is, of course, an exchange that any child who has visited his or her parent's

hometown has experienced: the proud father wanting to show off his son (and show off to his son). But where it becomes a failure is in Simon's vacillating attitude toward Stephen. If Simon continued to play the proud papa throughout the whole trip to Cork, his attitude would undoubtedly annoy adolescent Stephen, but it certainly would not serve as a paternal failing. However, because Simon abruptly shifts between peer to patriarch and back again, Stephen cannot know how to navigate his relationship with his father. Moreover, Stephen is not given a chance to develop his own attitude toward the world around him because he is too busy trying to navigate his father's.

This usurpation of identity formation is clear as the Dedalus men continue their visit to Cork. Upon arriving at Queen's College, Simon tells Stephen he is looking for the desk on which he carved his initials when he was a student. As Simon searches, "Stephen remained in the background, depressed more than ever by the darkness and silence of the theatre and by the air it wore of jaded and formal study" (63). When Simon does find his initials and show them to Stephen, Joyce describes them as "his father's initials" (64). Even in this Simon's identity takes precedence over Stephen's: Simon and Stephen have the same initials. At the very least, describing them as "his" initials leaves ambiguity. Simon could have presented them as "their" initials. But the fact that they are "his father's" initials shows the trip for what it really was: Simon's desire to take a trip down memory lane with his friend rather than a father's desire to show his roots to his son (or even to show his son a potential future for himself).

Simon outlines his parenting philosophy to Stephen during their time in Cork, and in his explanation he clearly demonstrates the ways he fails Stephen as a father. Simon, following in his own father's model, tells Stephen, "I'm talking to you as a friend,

Stephen. I don't believe a son should be afraid of his father. No, I treat you as your grandfather treated me when I was a young chap. We were more like brothers than father and son" (64). This is precisely Simon's failing as a father. Simon's father treated him like a brother instead of a son, a dynamic that led to a close relationship that Simon enjoyed. Of course it is natural for Simon to use that relationship as a model for his relationship with his oldest son. But that relationship is clearly not working for Stephen; rather than acknowledge this failure Simon continues to enact that dynamic because it is the one he prefers.

Simon's attitude toward Stephen on the night he sells the property he came to Cork to sell illustrates clearly illustrates both Simon's paternal failings and the fallout of those failings for Stephen. Stephen follows his father from bar to bar, listening to him talk about people he used to know and places he used to frequent. In one exchange, one of Simon's compatriots asks Stephen to say:

> Which were prettier, the Dublin girls or the Cork girls.
>
> —He's not that way build, said Mr. Dedalus. Leave him alone. He's a level-headed thinking boy who doesn't bother his head about that kind of nonsense.
>
> —Then he's not his father's son, said the little old man. (67)

Simon acknowledges in that exchange that he knows Stephen is not like him, and yet he continues to act as if he and Stephen are the same. This acknowledgement compounds Simon's failure. If Simon was unaware that Stephen was unlike himself, he could be blamed for being an inattentive father but not a failure. But because Simon clearly knows that Stephen is not the brother he has been treating him as, the failure is intentional.

Late in this exchange, Joyce clearly demonstrates Stephen's reaction to his father's attitude, a reaction that will drive the rest of their relationship in both *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses*. As Simon's exchange in the bar continues, Stephen's discomfort continues to grow. He starts by simply "look[ing] down and stud[ying] the tiled floor of the bar into which they had drifted" (*Portrait* 67). Then, Simon says,

> "By God, I don't feel more than eighteen myself. There's that son of mine there [Stephen] not half my age and I'm a better man than he is any day of the week . . . I'll sing a tenor song against him or I'll vault a five-barred gate against him or I'll run him after the hounds across the country as I did thirty years along with the Kerry Boy and the best man for it." (68)

There on full display is Simon's failure toward his son. He does not view him as a son, but rather as a peer and rival. After this outburst, Joyce writes:

> "His mind seemed older than theirs: it shone coldly on their strifes and happiness and regrets like a moon upon a younger earth. No life or youth stirred in him as it had stirred in them. He had known neither the pleasure of companionship with others nor the vigour of rude male health nor filial piety. Nothing stirred within his soul but a cold and cruel and loveless lust. His childhood was dead or lost and with it his soul capable of simple joys." (68)

This is the fallout of Simon's treatment of Stephen. Rather than introducing Stephen to his ideas of masculinity and maturity, Simon has alienated his son by treating him as a peer. Their relationship never recovers.

In the final chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist*, Stephen and his father are at odds over Stephen's newfound identity as college student. Simon advocates for Stephen to go to university when mother does not want him to, but when Stephen enters college Simon is unhappy with the ways his son has changed. Simon wanted Stephen to become a college student like he was in Cork: a student who scratched his initials into the desk and enjoyed himself at the local pubs. Stephen, however, is a serious student (often superciliously so), engaged with modern ideas and philosophies. He has not followed in his father's footsteps, has not taken on his father's identity. Rather than understand and accept that (especially because Stephen is following his father's wishes as he does so), Simon rejects his son, calling him a "lazy bitch" (135).

The repercussions of Simon's failure are on full display when Stephen interacts with the dean of the college. As Stephen and the dean discuss fire, light, and aesthetics, Stephen uses the word "tundish" and the dean does not understand him, saying the word must be Irish (147). Simon has pushed his son to become part of this academic, "gentleman's" world, but Stephen is not prepared for it. While his academic discourse is more sophisticated than the dean's, it is clear that Stephen does not belong in the world of the dean, and Stephen feels it, too. Joyce writes:

> The language in which we are speaking is his before it is mine. How different are the words HOME, CHRIST, ALE, MASTER, on his lips and on mine! . . . His language, so familiar and so foreign, will always be for me an acquired speech. I have not made or accepted its words. My voice holds them at bay. (148)

This is, of course, a failure of the imperial system that Stephen, Simon, and Ireland are a part of, but it is also Simon's failure. Throughout his son's childhood and adolescence,

Simon tried to make Stephen is friend and compatriot. At the same time, he tried to push him into a different, higher level of society. Like Anchises, Simon's failure was in not putting his son's interests ahead of his own. If Simon had been as committed to his son's future as he claimed, as opposed to committed to his own interests, he would have held a job, made sure Stephen could stay in one school. The consistent Clongowes or Belvedere education would have allowed Stephen to more easily assimilate into the society he was expected to be a part of when he entered college. Instead, Stephen finds himself half country Irish and half college-bound; because of this he fits in nowhere.

The paternal failures of both Anchises and Simon Dedalus will lead their respective sons to seek out surrogate relationships to help them fill the void left by their fathers. In both cases the sons' identities are irreparably altered by their fathers' self-centered parenting. Aeneas finds himself unable to make decisions on his own, even after his father's death, while Stephen, so averse to being like his father, will become unmoored, constantly looking for validation for who *he* is.

At the time of his father's death, Aeneas has developed into a leader, yet he still leans on others to guide him, residue from his time as Anchises' son and not his own man. When they arrive at Carthage, Aeneas needs Achates, one of his men, to give him guidance about how to proceed. It is Achates who urges Aeneas to reveal himself to Dido; without this guidance, Aeneas may have stayed hidden from view forever.[1]

As his time in Carthage continues, Aeneas' inexperience as a leader becomes clear. Having never been given a chance to develop his leadership style and to practice his leadership abilities, Aeneas proves a forgetful leader as he adapts to life in Queen

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[1] For further discussion of Achates' paternal influence on Aeneas, see Chapter 3: Shadows.

Dido's palace in Carthage. Without his father's guidance for the first time, Aeneas neglects his role as leader, following his desires instead and starting a relationship with Dido. Aeneas is so wrapped up in his relationship that he forgets to hold funeral games for his father. In fact, Aeneas almost abdicates his role as Trojan ruler all together until Mercury comes to remind him of his duty and his fate.

Even once he has regained control of his men and left Carthage, Aeneas is not yet ready to be his own leader. After holding long-delayed funeral games for his father and the men lost on their journey, Aeneas still does not go on his way. Instead, he once more seeks Anchises' advice, braving a journey to the Underworld to seek out his father's guidance. Even after his father's death, Aeneas still feels the need to look to his father for leadership guidance.

When Stephen Dedalus makes his debut in *Ulysses*, there is almost no mention of his father. The first episode of the novel (often called "Telemachus" although Joyce himself did not name his chapters) introduces Stephen and his roommate Malachi "Buck" Mulligan. While it is clear that Stephen and Mulligan are working through several conflicts, one of the central involves the death of Stephen's mother. However, while Stephen's father is not directly mentioned in this chapter, the idea of paternity and identity is.

In "Telemachus," Joyce first introduces a theme that will recur throughout the text, both for Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom. Mulligan tells Haines, the Englishman who is staying with them, that Stephen is working on a theory about *Hamlet* that proves that "Hamlet's grandson is Shakespeare's grandfather and that he himself is

the ghost of his own father" (18). At this point in his narration, Stephen *is* the ghost of his father, but that is an identity that he is trying to escape.

Stephen's father first appears in *Ulysses* in the third chapter ("Proteus"). After he has left work, Stephen is trying to decide whether or not to visit his aunt; while it's not the only reason he may want to avoid a visit to family, dread at seeing his father, or even talking about his father, is at the forefront of his mind. As he walks along the beach, Stephen thinks about children and his own parentage. He thinks,

> "I was too, made not begotten. By them, the man with my voice and my eyes and a ghostwoman with ashes on her breath. They clasped and sundered, did the coupler's will. From before the ages He willed me and now may not will me away or ever." (38)

Joyce here conflates Stephen's thinking about divine fatherhood ("He") with human fatherhood. Although it is the divine that cannot will Stephen away, Simon, too, cannot escape his paternal role. By describing Simon as "the man with my voice and my eyes," Joyce makes it clear that Stephen understands the ways in which he is like his father. Stephen then asks, "Is that then the divine substance wherein Father and Son are consubstantial?" referring to the Catholic belief that God the Father and God the Son are made of the same substance (38). Stephen wonders if he and his father, too, are made of the same stuff, and what that might mean for his identity.

Joyce then makes Stephen's current attitudes about his father and his father's attitude toward him clear. Stephen imagines his "consubstantial father's voice" asking his other children about the state of his prodigal son: "Did you see anything of your artist brother Stephen lately? No? Sure he's not down in Strasburg with his aunt Sally?

Couldn't he fly a bit higher than that, eh?" (38). Clearly Simon's acridness toward his son, illustrated first at the end of *Portrait of the Artist* is still the predominant tone in their relationship. Moreover, Stephen dreads going to visit his aunt and uncle for fear that they will ask him about his father. Far from the son who wanted to laugh at his father's jokes at Christmas, Stephen is now so estranged from his father he does not even want to speak about him.

Yet Stephen cannot escape being associate with his father. As he walks Stephen remembers an exchange with a friend in Paris, Kevin Egan. Egan told Stephen, "You're your father's son. I know the voice" (41). Even in Paris, Stephen cannot escape the fact that he is Simon's son, made and molded in his image.

This is, ultimately, the fallout of Simon's failure as a father. Aeneas is unable to become a leader initially because of his father's failure, but Stephen seems unable to become an individual at all. He has spent time in Paris and now holds a job he does not want, living with a friend he does not trust, unable to even visit his own family for fear of his father's intrusion into his world.

On the surface, Simon Dedalus seems fully estranged from his son when he first enters the scene in *Ulysses*. When Leopold Bloom points out Stephen in the street as the funeral procession proceeds through Dublin, Simon sneers at the company Stephen has been keeping, asking if Stephen's "*fidus Achates*," Buck Mulligan, is with him (210). But although it is clear the Simon and Stephen have not recently spoken, Simon is still interested in Stephen's good name, threatening to write to Mulligan's aunt to tell her that "Mulligan is a contaminated bloody doubledyed ruffian by all accounts" (210). Simon is clearly concerned about his son's well-being, yet cannot move beyond

his own pride to actually reach out to Stephen. Further, even if he did reach out to Stephen, it is unlikely that Stephen would be receptive to paternal interference. Simon's early failures of fatherhood have left their relationship severed in a way that seems beyond repair.

Chapter 2: Failure of the Son

In his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid tells the story of Daedalus, the Athenian craftsman, and his son Icarus. Daedalus, known for his skills as an inventor and a creator, is tasked with creating a labyrinth in which King Minos of Crete can hide the Minotaur, a mythical half-bull, half-man. When King Minos imprisons Daedalus and Icarus, the inventor, inspired by the flight of birds, builds wings so that he and his son can fly away from Crete.

As they prepare for their flight, Daedalus warns Icarus not to fly to close to the sun, for fear the wax might melt that is holding the wings together, nor too close to the sea, so the wings don't get wet and heavy. Like so many fathers before and after he urges, "Take me as your guide and follow me!" (Innes 184). But Icarus does not heed his father's advice. Instead, drunk with his newfound freedom and skills:

> Icarus . . . came too close to the blazing sun, and it softened the sweet smelling wax that bound his wings together. The wax melted. Icarus moved his bare arms up and down, but without their feathers they had no purchase on the air. Even as his lips were crying his father's name, they were swallowed up in the deep blue waters. (Innes 185)

Daedalus, grief-stricken, spends the rest of his life mourning the death of his sons at the hands of his father's invention.

There are two ways to interpret the myth of Daedalus and Icarus. The first is as a tale of a father who fails to protect his son, ignoring the limitations of his son's age. Of course Icarus fails to listen to Daedalus; he is a young boy enamored with the idea of flight, free from the confines of his captivity for the first time in years. In this

interpretation, Daedalus is a fool for believing that Icarus would follow his father's careful path and for not anticipating his son's need to explore the world on his own. In this interpretation, Daedalus is a father who has failed to protect his son.

But an alternate interpretation is that Icarus is at fault, not Daedalus. While Daedalus has provided an escape for his son and carefully explained how to use the wings he has built, Icarus has failed to pay attention, his youth making him believe he can transcend his father's guidance. In this interpretation, it is the son who has failed his father.

While Homer's *Odyssey* contains multiple pairs of sons, few sons spend enough time in their father's company to truly fail them. But the increased contact time in both *Ulysses* and the *Aeneid* allows the sons in both works to fail their fathers by fruitlessly going against their wishes. While their rebellion could be chalked up to youthful experimentation, it is the consequences of the sons' actions that marks them as failures. The sons in both *Ulysses* and the *Aeneid* deliberately choose to act in opposition to their father's guidance. Although in some instances they are reacting to the oppressive expectations of their fathers, their choices further alienate them from the patrilineal relationship they will need to form their identities as independent men.

Stephen's primary failing is, in some ways, the opposite of Icarus'. Like Icarus, Stephen sees a way out of his current situation (and in many ways the labyrinth of Dublin life is not completely unlike the Minotaur's maze that led to the entrapment of Daedalus and Icarus). However while Icarus flies too close to the sun, thinking too grandly, Stephen is caught in the paralysis of life in Dublin and cannot achieve his potential. Although he breaks with his father (and his whole family), Stephen's chief failure is that

that break is for naught; he has not become the soaring artist he had hoped to be at the end of *Portrait of the Artist*. Instead he has fallen ignominiously back to earth.

At the end of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,* Stephen says he is "go[ing] to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race" (199). But he does not achieve this lofty goal, or even make any discernible progress toward it. Instead he has fallen back to earth, landing in the maze in which his father is still trapped. His rebellion against his father's wishes, expectation, and identity have been for nothing.

When Stephen is introduced in *Ulysses*, he has declared himself an artist and is living a bohemian lifestyle in Martello Tower. Repeatedly called the "bard" by Malachi "Buck" Mulligan, his roommate and sometimes friend, Stephen clearly views himself as a poet, a writer, and an intellectual. After a tense back and forth exchange with Mulligan, Stephen thinks, "He fears the lancet of my art as I fear his" (7). Stephen, who is in theory a writer, feels superior to Mulligan, who is studying medicine. Yet there is no evidence in the opening episode of the novel that Stephen has produced any art worthy of note. Further, there is no evidence that Mulligan actually does fear the "lancet of Stephen's art"; while Stephen criticizes Mulligan mightily in his inner monologue he does little to actually challenge his friend's authority over his decisions and his life, and Mulligan seems to be squarely in charge in their relationship. Even when Mulligan "lunged" at Stephen, mimicking physical violence, Stephen does nothing. He allows Mulligan to take his money and the key to their shared home even though it is clear from Stephen's thoughts that he would rather not do so. Although Stephen wishes to think of himself as

independent and high-minded, the opening episode of *Ulysses* does little to actually show this persona in action.

Stephen's inability to actually write or engage in meaningful intellectual work is not lost on Mulligan or on Haines, the Englishman who temporarily (or so Mulligan says) shares a home with Stephen and Mulligan. In a later episode, Mulligan and Haines, discussing Stephen's future, joke, "He'll write in ten years" (249). In *Ulysses and Us* Declan Kiberd notes, "Stephen's intellectual activity . . . is so great as to immobilise him" (338). Stephen's intellectual potential is never in doubt; his ability to do something with that potential is. Stephen, for all of his bravado and posturing, is not taken seriously in his role as writer or intellectual by even his closest friends.

Stephen's cerebral posturing is on full display during the "Proteus" episode of *Ulysses*. As Stephen wanders along Sandymount Strand, his thoughts move from topic to topic, and Joyce interpolates various texts, references, and allusions. It is an episode designed to put the reader in Stephen's stream of consciousness, and one many readers find difficult to tackle. Of the often-incomprehensible prose in this episode Kiberd writes, "the truth is that Joyce is laughing at the pitiful pretentiousness of the youth he once was. *Nobody* could understand all that Stephen says or thinks. *Nobody* could take all of his ideas with utter seriousness" (65). The episode serves to show Stephen's potential as an intellectual at the same time it illustrates how incomprehensible this potential is at the moment, making his inability to actually live the life he postures in his mind more of a failure.

One reason for this lack of intellectual legitimacy is Stephen's current profession. Stephen is employed at the novel's start as a teacher, and not a very good one. The

novel's second episode, "Nestor," opens with Stephen asking his students rapid fire recall questions about historical events, a subject which he has little interest in as he checks the students' answers against the textbook. Stephen himself is uncomfortable in the role; when a student makes a joke about Pyrrhus he thinks, "In a moment they will laugh more loudly, aware of my lack of rule and of the fees their papas pay" (24). Stephen delivers a riddle to the class in an effort to engage them; the riddle falls flat when the students do not understand the labyrinthine punchline. By the end of the chapter it is clear that Stephen has been working as a teacher to pay for his rent, but that even that is no longer enough to entice him to continue this monotonous work.

There is, of course, nothing inherently anti-intellectual about being a teacher. In fact, teaching can be some of the most intellectually engaging and rewarding work a man like Stephen could undertake. It is the way in which he engages in this work that is anti-intellectual. Throughout *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Stephen encountered teachers who were doing nothing to give him individual agency and "conspiring to rob him of his freedom and self-respect" (Kiberd 54). Yet, rather than become the kind of teacher he would have liked to have as a young man, Stephen engages in the same closed pedagogy of the teachers he encountered in his youth. Stephen's thoughts in the "Proteus" episode clearly show him intellectually engaging with the material, yet he does nothing to bring that engagement to his students. He is participating in a cycle of miseducation instead of breaking it.

But even when Stephen is engaged in actual intellectual pursuit he is unsuccessful; his theories are fanciful and hardly taken seriously by his contemporaries. In the "Scylla and Charybdis" episode, Stephen, speaking to a group of intellectuals and

students on the steps of the National Library, makes an argument that "Hamlet's grandson is Shakespeare's grandfather and that he himself is the ghost of his own father" (*Ulysses* 18).

As Stephen continues his monologue, he edits and revises as he speaks. For Stephen, this holding forth is a performance, not an opportunity for intellectual conversation. Stephen is interested in espousing his ideas only insofar as they will get him attention and praise; he does not want to parry back and forth debating his conclusions. In his lecture at the Library, Stephen is not interested in being an intellectual; he is interested in seeming like an intellectual.

Stephen's posturing is no more clearly illustrated than when John Eglinton asks Stephen if he believes his half-cocked theory. Stephen immediately answers, "No" (214). In his book *James Joyce and The Making of Ulysses*, Frank Budgen writes that at this point in the chapter, "Something has gone wrong with the atmosphere. He came expecting, probably, to get a commission for an article . . . and now he sees there's no chance at all. . . Stephen is dull, washed out, tired" (115). As he struggles with his argument Stephen seems to war with himself:

> What the hell are you driving at?
>
> I know. Shut up. Blast you! I have reasons.
>
> *Amplius. Adhuc. Iterum. Postea.*
>
> Are you condemned to do this? (207)

Stephen sees himself putting on a show, singing for his supper. Later, Stephen encourages himself, thinking, "They mock to try you. Act. Be acted on. . . . I am tired of my voice, the voice of Esau. My kingdom for a drink" (211). Stephen may have, at one

point, had a cogent argument around Shakespeare and paternity. Now, though, that argument has become a confused diatribe that even Stephen himself does not fully believe.

Stephen's inability to capitalize on his potential is not lost to him. In the "Proteus" episode, Stephen reflects on his grand ambitions as a writer. He remembers "Reading two pages apiece of seven books every night, eh? I was young. You bowed to yourself in the mirror, stepping forward to applause earnestly, striking face. Hurray for the Goddamned idiot! Hray!" (40). Remembering his former intellectual drive with derision, Stephen knows that these ambitions were childish folly, yet he is unable to make them the ambitions of an adult man either. Stephen remembers how in Paris he was consumed with his "Latin quarter hat. God, we simply must dress the character. I want puce gloves. You were a student, weren't you? Of what in the other devil's name?" (41). While child Stephen worked to improve his intellect, adult Stephen is more concerned with looking the part of an intellectual than in studying or learning anything meaningful.

The filial failings in the *Aeneid* also stem from sons' preoccupation with appearance and images. As in *Ulysses*, the sons in the *Aeneid* seek to create a persona of themselves that is the opposite of that of their often over-bearing fathers. There are several filial failings in the *Aeneid*. Aeneas and his son serve as two sides of the same coin in the *Aeneid*. In the first half of the epic Aeneas, who has been failed by his father just as Stephen has, fails as a son. In the second it is Ascanius who fails his father, leaving Aeneas with no male figures on whom he can base his identity.

While Virgil presents Aeneas as a model Roman, he is not a model son. Like Stephen, Aeneas' failure as a son stems from the way his father tried to guide the

direction of his life. Aeneas, known by many as "Anchises' son" long after the death of his father, presents a portrait of a model son, dedicated to his father's memories and values. However his actions do not always match his stated intentions, and it is this disparity between attitude and action that marks his failing as a son.

Aeneas' first spoken words in the poem are ones of filial piety. As a storm, created by Juno, rages around his ships, Aeneas despairs that he and his men might lose their lives ignominiously on the sea rather than in battle. He laments, "Three, four times blest, my comrades / lucky to die beneath the soaring walls of Troy— / before their parents' eyes!" (Fagles 1.112-114). When his ships land safely in Carthage, Aeneas immediately performs the necessary ablutions and sacrifices as his father has taught him. Throughout Book One, he seems to be a model son, following in his father's footsteps.

Yet Aeneas' frustration with his father is palpable as he describes the trials that have led the Trojans to Queen Dido's shores. In his article "*Discolor Aura:* Reflections on the Golden Bough," Robert A. Brooks points out:

> [Aeneas'] father's panic loses him Creusa [his first Trojan wife]; his father's misreading of the oracle leads him to the false home in Crete. In all this the son of course says nothing of blame, or, more important, of love; he merely follows and suffers. It is Vergil's (*sic*) presentation of the relationship which creates tension, and quietly corrodes the traditional formalities of *pietas*[2]. (265)

This frustration with his father's failing is natural and does not in itself mark a filial shortcoming. Rather, it is Aeneas' inability to acknowledge his frustration, and his

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[2] For further discussion of the concept of *pietas*, see Introduction page 13.

outward, insistent demonstration of *pietas* and loyalty to Anchises and his memory that is Aeneas' failing as a son. As Lee notes, "*Pietas* . . . is concerned with inner vision, not with the appearances of circumstances" (22). After Anchises' death Aeneas is consistently outwardly a model of *pietas*, yet his actions and motivations undermine his claim of filial piety.[3]

Aeneas' credibility as a pious, infallible son is further damaged by his actions in Carthage. Aeneas knows, as does Virgil's reader, that from the moment Troy falls Aeneas takes on a larger task: to make his way to Italy and found the city that will eventually become Rome. Repeatedly in the first four books of the *Aeneid,* Aeneas references this destiny; it is the source of all of his forward motion until he lands on the shores of Carthage. He turns away safety time and again, sacrificing his men as he goes, in the name of that quest.

Even when he first gets to Carthage Aeneas knows that this city is not his destiny. In one of the most famous metaphors of the poem, Virgil compares the burgeoning city of Troy and the citizens who industriously build its walls for Queen Dido as "bees in early summer" (Fagles 1.520). When Aeneas sees the city for the first time he reacts with longing: "How lucky they are," / Aeneas cries, gazing up at the city's heights, / "their walls are rising now!" (Fagles 1.528-530). When he first arrives in Carthage, Aeneas wishes for a city of his own, envious of the Carthaginians whose city is already forming. But once he has spent time in Carthage Aeneas seems to forget his duty, preferring instead to remain with Queen Dido in the safety and comfort of her city.

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[3] For further discussion of the failings of Anchises and Aeneas' frustration with them, see Chapter One, pages 31-33.

Again this decision in isolation does not mark a failing on the part of Aeneas. It would be understandable for any man to choose comfort, safety, and security over the uncertain future of chasing a prophecy, particularly after the death of his father. But the hypocrisy of Aeneas' outward profession of *pietas*, both to his father and to his gods (and therefore to the prophecies his gods have given) is what makes Aeneas' stay in Carthage a filial failing. In his article "Dido, Aeneas, and the Concept of *Pietas*," Kenneth MacLeish notes that the first three books set Aeneas up as a paragon of *pietas*, a model of the kind of devotion to family and faith to which Romans aspired (129). Aeneas claims to be a pious son, listening to his father, yet he ignores both Anchises' living directions and posthumous visits. When Aeneas has finally decided to leave Carthage (persuaded, importantly, not by his duty to his father or his prophecy but by an appeal to consider what he is taking away from his son Ascanius by remaining and not continuing to the city that will house his descendants), Aeneas tells Dido:

> "My father Anchises, whenever the darkness shrouds
> the earth in its dank shadows, whenever the stars
> go flaming up the sky, my father's anxious ghost
> warns me in dreams and fills my heart with fear." (Fagles 4.438-441)

If Anchises has been reminding Aeneas every night in his dreams of his duty to leave Carthage and continue to Italy, why has Aeneas, the model son, not heeded his father's direction? While Aeneas has been presenting himself as a model son, dedicated to his father's memory, he has been ignoring this tangible reminder of his father's intentions and hopes.

After the Trojans leave Carthage, Aeneas' role in the epic shifts notably from the primary son to the primary father. Still, he fails as a son one more time in Book Five, during the funeral games for Anchises. Again, Aeneas professes his dedication to his father, his father's memory, and his father's rituals and customs. As he and his men are about to land on Sicily, Aeneas announces that he would like to hold funeral games, an important part of the Trojan death and dying ritual, for his father Anchises, who died the previous year, before the Trojans' episode in Carthage. Aeneas calls his father's bones "godlike" (Fagles 5.57) and says:

> "Were I passing the hours,
> an exile lost in the swirling sands of Carthage
> or caught in Greek seas, imprisoned in Mycenae,
> I would still perform my anniversary bows,
> carry out our processions grand and grave
> and heap the altars high with fitting gifts." (Fagles 6.64-66)

Yet although Aeneas claims that he would hold these elaborate, lengthy ceremonies for Anchises wherever he was and under whatever duress he found himself in, his actions in Carthage, or more appropriately his lack of actions in Carthage, negate this claim. Aeneas ignored his father's wishes in Carthage and stayed, even though he knew his father wanted him to continue to Italy. Further, his father's nightly appeals to his son to heed his advice was not enough of a catalyst for Aeneas to act; it was not until Mercury, at Venus' behest, appealed to Aeneas as a father that the Trojan prince was moved.

Aeneas once again asserts his wish to use his *pietas* to honor his father's memory a few lines later when he swears he will continue to observe the anniversary of his father's death yearly once he gets to Italy, saying, "And may it please my father, / once my city is built with temples in his name, / that I offer him these rites year in, year out" (Fagles 5.72-74). Once again, in his last moments in the epic as the primary son of the narrative Aeneas plays lip service to filial piety but with no evidence in his past actions that he will fulfill his promises. Aeneas declares his desire to pay homage to his father for years to come, but he has not done so in the years since Anchises' death, providing no evidence that his pronouncement is one on which the Trojan prince will follow through.

The central son of the second half of the epic is not Aeneas but Ascanius, sometimes called Iulus. In her book *Virgil's Ascanius: Imagining the Future in the Aeneid*, Anne Rogerson notes that the Ascanius presented in the *Aeneid* is a uniquely Virgilian creation. While all iterations of the story of Aeneas' journey from Troy to Italy involve at least one son, "the son he has in the *Aeneid* is Virgil's creation, molded in particular by the specific concerns of his epic, and a figure who allows us to reflect on those anxieties" (Rogerson 9). In the *Aeneid* Ascanius becomes a force of his own. His failing is his inability to embrace his role as son, instead striving to be too much like his father, too much a man. Like his father, Ascanius strives to create his own identity outside of the role he is placed in, rather than assume the identity assigned to him by his father and society. Unlike Aeneas, however, Ascanius is a child, and his actions often have violent, fatal consequences for his people.

Ascanius first appears in the *Aeneid* when Virgil and his men arrive at the court of Queen Dido in Carthage in Book One. Virgil does not mention Ascanius until after

Aeneas has determined that he and his men will be safe in Carthage and introduced himself to Dido. Once this safe haven has been secured:

> Aeneas—a father's love would give the man no rest—
> quickly sends Achates down to the ships to take
> the news to Ascanius, bring him back to Carthage.
> All paternal care is focused on his son. (Fagles 1.766-769)

When Ascanius arrives in Carthage it is clear why Aeneas would leave his son behind as he sought more information about the kingdom in which he and his men have now found themselves: Ascanius is a child, small enough to spend almost the entirety of Aeneas' first night in Carthage sitting on the queen's lap (although this role is actually played by Cupid who has taken Ascanius' form). Rogerson notes that Ascanius' youth plays an important role in these early scenes (4). Aeneas is depicted as a heroic and dutiful father because he must rescue his young son from the falling ruins of Troy; part of the reason Dido falls in love with Aeneas is the spell cast by her desire to be mother to this small child. Yet Ascanius does not take part at all in the major action of the epic until Book Five, where he plays an important role in the funeral games for Anchises.

The depiction of Ascanius during the funeral games for his dead grandfather is important for two reasons. First, it establishes Ascanius not as a man, but as a boy, whose only role in these proceedings is for show. The funeral games feature several young men, adolescents by modern standards, engaging in sports from which Ascanius is conspicuously absent. Most notable are Euryalus, "famed for the bloom of youth," and Nisus, known for "for the pure love he devoted to the boy [Euryalus]" (Fagles 5.329)

who participate in the foot race[4]. Yet Ascanius takes no part in the actual games, instead leading a group of young boys in a ceremonial procession at the games' conclusion.

As the games wind down, Aeneas instructs Ascanius to begin a procession with the other young Trojans. Virgil describes them as "trim in their ranks before their parents' eyes, / mounted on bridled steeds and glittering in the light" (Fagles 5.608-609). Ascanius leads the young troops as they parade past their parents who are "delighted / to see in their looks their own lost parents' faces" (Fagles 5.632-33) as the boys are "acting out a mock display of war" (Fagles 5.644)[5].

This moment is crucial to understanding Ascanius' future failing. In leading the "troops" of boys he is following his father's orders and it is important to note that he is playing at being an adult, not actually an adult. The costumes and procedures provide a verisimilitude to their actions but Ascanius and the other boys have not participated in the adult portion of Anchises' funeral games. Instead they are participating in the part specifically designated for them, the portion of the program that reminds their parents of former glory but does not reflect current reality. This scene not only sets up Ascanius age, as someone not adult enough to participate in the games themselves, it also sets up the expectations placed on him by Aeneas. For Aeneas, Ascanius is a child who should be seen but not heard. Aeneas expects his son to participate in "governance" ceremoniously but does not ask him to take part in any other functions. This sets up

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[4] Later, these young soldiers will die while on a mission from Ascanius to alert Aeneas to Turnus' attack in Latium while Aeneas visits Evander's kingdom. See further discussion in Chapter 4, pages 107-108.

[5] It is important to note, as Miller does in *Dreams of the Burning Child,* that the "parents" gathered to watch the boys in their parade are actually all fathers, watching their sons act out the same military procession they themselves once participated in in Troy. This distinction between fathers and parents places further emphasis on paternal expectations not just for Ascanius but for all of the young Trojan sons accompanying Aeneas on his journey (Miller 71).

Aeneas' expectations for Ascanius, which he will fail to meet for the remainder of the epic.

Although Ascanius and his future destiny are mentioned many times throughout Book Six, Ascanius himself does not play a major part in the narrative again until Book Seven when the Trojans land on the shores of Italy.

As they arrive, finally, on Italian shores, Virgil writes, "Now Aeneas, his ranking chiefs and handsome Iulus / stretch out on the grass below the bough of a tall tree" (Fagles 7.118-119), marking a clear distinction once again between Aeneas' chiefs, those who occupy the adult sphere, and Iulus, who is handsome but not politically important to his father. Starving and desperate for the solace of dry land, Aeneas and his men begin to eat, spreading food on "wheaten cakes" (Fagles 7.120). As they eat, Ascanius exclaims, "What, we're even eating our platters now?" (Fagles 7.127-128). Rogerson notes that Virgil's use here of "*heus*" "casts [Ascanius'] words as a joke, an impression strengthened by Virgil's description of his short speech as 'playing around' (*alludends*)" (180). Although the Trojans are temporarily enjoying a respite from their journey their safety is far from guaranteed at this point in the narrative. They have not yet been welcomed by the King of the land and based on their previous experiences they may not even be in the right place. But Ascanius, unmindful of this, jokes in a tone that does not seem to understand the potential danger of the Trojans' situation. Virgil emphasizes once again Ascanius' immaturity, particularly in contrast with the maturity of the grown men around him.

Later in Book Seven, Ascanius' childish actions will hurt the Trojan travelers, this time with mortal consequences. After Aeneas has sent emissaries to King Latinus and

assured the Trojans' temporary respite, Ascanius' actions break the truce between the Trojans and their Italian hosts. King Latinus has, up to now, resisted the entreaties of his wife and confidante Turnus, both of whom, spurred by Juno, have begged him to send the Trojans away as interlopers. However, as his father is beginning to build the settlement that will house the Trojans Iulus, hunting, "fired / with a love of glory" (Fagles 7.579-580), killing a stag that was sacred to King Latinus. After the negotiating his father has done, this simple, thoughtless act by Ascanius brings the Trojans to war once again as King Latinus is forced to rescind his offer of peace and sanctuary in the face of Ascanius' actions.

In isolation Ascanius' actions may not be interpreted as a filial failing. He acted rashly, yes, but does that mean he has truly failed his father? It does when examined in the context of the rest of the book. Rogerson points out:

> At the same time that the second half of the *Aeneid* traces the frustrations of Ascanius' attempts to attain adulthood, it also reasserts his role as his father's successor . . . His role as a child is foregrounded once more, and to the end of the *Aeneid* he is depicted as immature, playful and in need of education. (168)

Here again Virgil's description of the Trojans disembarking their ships becomes important. Although Virgil is clear to separate Ascanius from the other Trojan chiefs, he does put them on the same plane as the first Trojans to land on Latin shores and to establish the Trojan camp there. Ascanius is not an adult, true, but he is someone who still has responsibility to his father's legacy and to act as his father's son. However, Ascanius does not take that responsibility seriously, instead acting only in the interest of

his own glory. As the son of Aeneas, Ascanius' behavior should be beyond reproach. His inability to think beyond his own motives is what marks his failing as a son.

Ascanius' failure is compounded in Book Nine as his inability to recognize his role as Aeneas' successor and not the leader of the Trojans himself causes the deaths of more than one Trojan warrior. In Book Eight Aeneas leaves his men, safe in their enclave of ships and behind the walls of their temporary settlement, to secure the support of local King Evander in his fight against Turnus, a local prince, for the hand of Lavinia and the right to be the successor to the kingdom of Latium. In his wake he tells Ascanius to do nothing but wait for his return. In the interim, however, the Trojans are attacked by Turnus and his men. Although Turnus and the Rutulians attack viciously, the Trojans are safe behind the walls of their enclave. Nevertheless two young warriors, Nisus and Euryalus, approach Ascanius with a plan to sneak past enemy lines in the middle of the night and alert Aeneas to the Rutulians' attack.

Ascanius has no reason to encourage Nisus and Euryalus' plan. The Trojans are safe where they are and Aeneas will soon and inevitably return. Nisus and Euryalus are, themselves, young men, barely older than Ascanius—they certainly do not have the military experience to make such an endeavor successful. Yet Ascanius not only approves their plan but spurs them on, promising them:

> "If, in fact we capture
> Italy, seize the scepter in triumph, allot the plunder . . .
> You've seen the stallion Turnus rides, the armor he sports,
> all gold—that mound, the shield, the blood-red plumes,
> . . . Your trophies . . now." (Fagles 9.315-319)

It is a promise no young man could resist, particularly not young men already bent on glory, which Nisus and Euryalus are based on their competition during Anchises' funeral games.

But again Ascanius has overstepped his bounds. First, he does not have the authority to allow Nisus and Euryalus to disobey Aeneas' orders and leave the compound. By allowing them to go, Ascanius directly disobeys his father's orders. Second, he does not have the authority to give away Turnus' horse and armor, spoils that would certainly belong to a more experienced warrior if not to Aeneas himself. Once again Ascanius has disobeyed his father and has tried to act in the manner of a more powerful, older man. Once again he has failed his father.

This failure might be forgivable if Nisus and Euryalus were successful in their mission and Aeneas returned swiftly to rout Turnus and the Rutulians and win the war in an instant. But the young soldiers, inexperienced, get separated and are killed violently in one of the most arresting scenes in the poem.

It would be natural for a son of a prince to take leadership responsibilities in his father's absence. But Ascanius' failure is not only in his decisions; it is in the way he reacts once his decisions have gone wrong. Virgil describes Ascanius as "beyond his years, / filled with a man's courage, a man's concerns as well" (Fagles 9.360-361), yet, he does not act like a man when news of the soldiers' fate reaches the Trojans' camp. When new of Nisus' and Euryalus' deaths reach the Trojan camps, Euryalus' mother immediately and predictably breaks down. She has seen her son safely from the fall of Troy to the destined Italian shores only for him to die a pointless, avoidable death. Yet although he has promised Euryalus "Your mother will be mine in all but the name"

(Fagles 9.346), Ascanius does not go to comfort Euryalus' mother and instead orders other men to console her.

Here again is a marker of Ascanius' failing as a son. Ascanius believed he knew better than Aeneas when he gave Nisus and Euryalus permission to leave the Trojan camp. If he had successfully taken over the decision-making while Aeneas was gone he would still have been going against his father's wishes but in a way that all adolescents have at some point in their lives. Even if the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus had still occurred but Ascanius reacted to their deaths appropriately as a leader in the same way Aeneas would his actions could be forgivable. No leader is infallible and Ascanius, an inexperienced leader at best, should not be held to a higher standard than others. Rather the filial failure lies in his inability to take responsibility for the consequences of his decisions. Nisus and Euryalus are dead, the Rutulians are invigorated in their fight against the Trojans, and Euryalus' mother is devastated. Ascanius takes responsibility for none of this, failing his father.

Ascanius once again disobeys his father in Book Nine when he enters the fighting despite his father's wishes and despite any evidence that he is capable of doing so successfully. In his combat with Numanus Remulus, a Rutulian fighter who taunts Ascanius and the Trojans, Ascanius once again fails his father; in this instance, however, the failure is not entirely his fault.

Ascanius successfully kills Numanus Remulus, which could be an important moment that shifts his character from adolescence to adulthood. However, as Ascanius prepares to enter the battle again, Apollo intervenes, coming to Ascanius in the form of Butes, a contemporary of Anchises, Ascanius' grandfather, and telling Ascanius to leave

the fighting before he gets hurt. Importantly, it is not Ascanius who heeds Apollo's advice but the other Trojan fighters who, recognizing a god in their midst, hold Ascanius back and send him back to the Trojan camp despite the fact that Ascanius has every intention of continuing to fight. Here Apollo's actions serve to keep him safely segregated from the adult world of the battlefield (Rogerson 7). While Ascanius is not necessarily culpable for failing to "come of age" in this moment, it is nevertheless a moment in which he has failed, both by disobeying his father and by not immediately heeding the Apollo's caution to escape the battlefield. Even if the advice came from a human and not a divine source, Ascanius' failure to listen to it would count as a failing of his father and the way his father has raised him.

Moreover, Virgil provides no evidence that Ascanius is a warrior capable of holding his own in battle beyond one lucky encounter. Virgil describes Ascanius as beautiful youth, not as a fighter. The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive for Virgil, but what is notable is that Virgil does not describe Ascanius' abilities to fight at all. Indeed, in both his killing of the stag in Book Seven and his killing of Numanus Ascanius in Book Nine, Ascanius has divine intervention (from Alecto and Jupiter respectively). Further, Ascanius' reaction to killing Numanus is not that of a seasoned fighter ready to do battle; Ascanius taunts the dead man rather than preparing to face his next challenger. Miller notes that "Ascanius, who gains manhood by smiting Numanus, is himself smitten with honor, infatuated with the heroic ideal" (82). This infatuation leads him to continue to engage in a risky battle with men far better trained and more experienced than he. In a longer battle sequence this kind of response surely would have led to an injury if not death, destroying Aeneas' ability to fulfill the prophecy that his

son's descendants would one day found the Roman Empire. Ascanius does not think about the prophecy as he acts, nor does he think about the consequences of his actions. Ascanius' immaturity is on full display in Book Nine, and his inability to move past that immaturity, both because of his own failing and the divine intervention of Apollo, is a clear filial failing for the son of Aeneas.

Virgil underscores Ascanius' inexperience and lack of military prowess by keeping Aeneas' son largely out of the rest of the battle. In his article "The Child and the Hero: Coming of Age in Virgil and Catullus," Mark Petrini notes, "Tradition gives Ascanius a much greater role than Vergil does in the Latin war and in the establishment of the Trojan settlement; in the *Aeneid* he is brought to the edge of adulthood" but never actually crosses that threshold (88). After his battle with Numanus Remulus, Ascanius participates very little in the war against the Latins. When he does participate, again he is removed from the fighting prematurely, this time by Venus. Ascanius does little actual fighting for the land that will one day belong to his descendants, further emphasizing the fact that he is not yet an adult and should not act like one and that in doing so he has failed his father.

Ascanius reappears in Book Twelve, the final book of the poem, when Aeneas marches to meet Turnus in what both sides expect will be the final battle of the war. What is notable here is the expectations set on both fighters going into this battle: this is to be a two man fight, not a battle between armies. As Aeneas goes to face his Trojan foe, he has "at his side, his son, Ascanius, second hope of Rome's / imposing power" (Fagles 12.200-201). Although Ascanius appears with Aeneas, he is not marching with his father into battle. Instead he is serving in his official capacity as

Aeneas' son, not his second. When the truce is broken and a battle does break out, Ascanius is once again conspicuously absent from the action.

As the battle erupts, Aeneas is wounded, and Ascanius helps Achates, Aeneas' faithful companion, bring him back to the camp. Even in this moment, though, Ascanius is considered secondary to the "adults" handling the situation. Virgil writes, "Mnesthus and trusty Achates, Ascanius at their side, / are setting Aeneas down in camp" (Fagles 12.453-453). Later, Ascanius is described as "grieving sorely" (Fagles 12.470) but he does little to actually help his father in his time of need. Instead, Aeneas and Achates, the adults in the situation, call upon Iapyx, a Trojan warrior, to save Aeneas' life.[6]

As Aeneas prepares to return to the fray of battle, he emphasizes once again Ascanius' youth. He urges Ascanius, "Soon as you ripen into manhood, / reaching back for the models of your kin, remember—/ father Aeneas and uncle Hector fire your heart!" (Fagles 12.516-519). Aeneas' exhortation is important for several reasons. First, Aeneas refers to himself as *pater Aeneas*, establishing a hierarchy and squarely placing himself as the adult in the relationship and thus Ascanius as the child. Second, Aeneas specifically states that Ascanius has not yet become an adult. While that transition might be imminent it has not yet happened. If there was doubt lingering as to Aeneas' expectations of his son, his final speech to Ascanius solidifies their relationship clearly: Aeneas views Ascanius as a child still, and expects him to act as such. By trying, throughout the latter half of the poem, to act as an adult rather than a child, Ascanius has failed his father.

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[6] Notably, Iapyx is an example of a son who has not failed his father. When Apollo offered Iapyx any gift he wanted, Iapyx chose the gift of healing, "desperate to slow the death of his dying father" (Fagles 12.4677).

All three of these filial failure contains two commonalities. First, the sons have been defined in the image of their fathers. It is this definition that leads to their failings. Second, the failings have outcomes that extend beyond their own lives and into the lives of others.

What makes Stephen's failure the failure of a son is the fact that he eschewed his father and his father's life only to continually repeat the mistakes and failings of his own father. Yes, Simon did push his son to follow in his footsteps, in a direction that Stephen did not want to take. But without the follow through to create an independent life for himself, Stephen's reluctance to follow in his father's footsteps seems no more than adolescent rebellion. Kiberd points out:

> [Stephen's] father . . . tried to impose his own image on his son with the pressure of a set of expectations that removed his freedom, leaving the boy at once 'indulged and disesteemed' (29). Aware of the shadow that has descended on him, Stephen isn't making progress—despite his claim to be 'getting on nicely in the dark' (45). He is in despair. (317)

Instead of living a life of his own choosing, Stephen is unable to get out of his father's shadow, unwittingly following in his father's footsteps rather than forging his own path.

Stephen's resentment toward his father is palpable. In the "Proteus" episode Stephen remarks, "He [Simon] willed me and now may not will me away ever" (38). But just as his father may not will him away, Stephen too cannot escape Simon. Stephen is tied to his father and his father is tied to him. Yet even from the opening chapter Stephen is repeating the actions of his father. Like his father's, Stephen's life is, in many ways, defined by his lack of money. Stephen lives in Martello Tower with Mulligan and Haines

because he cannot afford to live on his own. Stephen criticizes the woman who delivers milk in the morning, describing her as "a wandering crone, lowly form of an immortal serving her conqueror and her gay betrayer, their common cuckquean, a messenger from the secret morning. To serve or to upbraid, whether he could not tell: but scorned to be her favor" (14). Yet like the milk woman, with her quick tally of what Stephen and company owe her, Stephen is able to quickly account to Deasy how much he owes and to whom. Like both the milk woman and his father, Stephen is consumed by debt: how much he owes and how much he has. Further, Stephen rejects openly the provincial Irish values his father repeated for him; he insists that he will not degrade himself by acting like Wilde and providing Haines with "Irish-isms." Like a petulant teenager, Stephen seems intent on rejecting everything his father has tried to impart as valuable.

In his diatribe at the National Library, Stephen repeatedly refers to the idea of Hamlet (and Shakespeare) being their own fathers. This idea of a father-less ness repeats for Stephen again and again, largely because of his fractured relationship with Simon. In her article "Family Romance and Hero Myth: A Psychoanalytic Context for the Paternity Theme in *Ulysses,*" Jean Kimball writes, "This self-begging—psychologically impossible, but physically essential—is a central motive for the hero of the myth, and it defines the quest of Stephen Dedalus" (169-170). Stephen is engaged in the effort to separate from his father, and his failure to gain any purchase in doing so is where his failure as a son lies. As Kimball points out, the urge to separate from the father is a natural, necessary one for someone trying to become their own man.

Yet Stephen continues repeating his father's patterns in the maternity hospital during the "Oxen of the Sun" episode. Reunited with many of the same students he had

hoped to dazzle with his theories about Shakespeare, Stephen is now spending his time getting drunk. Moreover, Stephen is repeating his father's mistakes, albeit in a bourgeois, intellectual way:

> Simon Dedalus steals matches from Dublin pubs but fritters away pounds on drink, while his eldest son nicks slips of paper from the Library but buys drinks for people whom he privately despises. The mole on a human body remains the same, even as its constituent molecules change utterly over the years, much as the paradigms of epic repeat themselves with each retelling. (Kiberd 149)

For as much as Stephen fought against his father's influence, estranging himself from both his father and his family, his actions belie his intentions.

Throughout *Ulysses*, Stephen still sees himself as trapped—by Ireland, by the church, by his family, even though he has struggled to free himself of those confines. He has tried to leave the church behind him, going so far as to refuse to pray at his dying mother's bedside. Yet Stephen ends up engaging in the same behavior as the clergy he eschews. During the "Wandering Rocks" episode Stephen refuses his sister's plea for help in the same way Father Conmee, a passing clergyman, refuses to give alms to the sailor begging on the street. Joyce depicts Stephen's sisters as practically destitute, trying to sell books to gain money for food. When Stephen meets his sister Dilly in the street, his immediate concern is for his books rather than his sisters' well-being. Even seeing Dilly carrying a French book in an effort to learn, is not enough to sway him to compassion. He thinks, "She is drowning. Agenbite. Save her. Agenbite. All against us. She will drown me with her, eyes and hair" (243). Here Stephen's failure extends beyond the reach of his own life and into the lives of his sisters'. His failure is not only

that of a son; it is that of a brother. His sisters' futures are the collateral damage in the war between Simon Dedalus' desires for his son and Stephen Dedalus' desire for independence.

Unlike Stephen, Aeneas claims to follow in his father's footsteps, calling himself Anchises' son and seemingly continuing to use his father's memory and advice as guides for the rest of the poem. But while Aeneas claims to be a dutiful son, adhering to the value of *pietas*, his actions do not support this assertion. This lack of true *pietas* is a failing in itself, although not necessarily to a modern reader. In many ways this less devout Aeneas is a more interesting character than the rigidly pious Anchises or the paragon of virtue Aeneas claims and is often depicted to be. The filial failing in any context, however, is Aeneas' disingenuous attitude toward his relationship with his father.

There are human consequences to Aeneas' filial failing in Carthage. Dido, distraught by Aeneas' deception, kills herself. Before she does, she asks Juno, who has promised to protect her and her people no matter the cost, to curse the Trojans and their descendants, promising eternal war between Carthage and Rome. Further, Aeneas' actions further anger Juno, already bitter that Aeneas and his Trojans have escaped the downfall of Troy. Spurred on by Dido's death, Juno will continue to wreak havoc for the Trojans for the rest of the poem, leading to countless deaths, both Trojan and Latin.

Ascanius' failure, too, stems from the way he is presented in the image of his father. Rogerson correctly asserts that most scholarship about Ascanius focuses on his relationship to Aeneas and the ways Ascanius' character can help to illuminate Aeneas. She notes:

> It is true that Ascanius' youth is a significant element of his presentation throughout the Aeneid, where he is often described as a child, and is called 'little' (*parvus*) on four other occasions during the fall of Troy in Book Two. However, while this may necessarily limit the practical contribution he can make to an epic narrative in which adult masculinity is an essential and defining element of the genre, it by no means renders him insignificant. Indeed, the fact that Virgil's Ascanius is never a man, but wants to be one, is one reason that his representation is so important in the *Aeneid*. (4)

Ascanius' failure as a son, then, is not in spite of his youth but because of it. Just as both Aeneas' and Stephen's identities are wrapped up in those of their fathers, Ascanius' role comes with a certain set of expectations. Those expectations are placed on him because of his age not in spite of it.

Ascanius' failure is a filial one, too, because of the impact of his actions on his father. When the Trojans land on the shores of Italy Aeneas knows that his journey is almost over. He has been tasked with the tremendous responsibility of safely bearing his people, his customs, and his faith to a new place. He has faced trials and tribulations, seen people he loves die, and stands on the brink, finally of peace. When Ascanius' arrow ends all of that, leading to war with the Latins, Aeneas is ready to take on the responsibility of leading his people once again through battle, but the prospect has clearly taken a toll on him. In Book Eight, after the war has been declared, Virgil writes:

> Over the earth all weary living things, all birds and flocks
> were fast asleep when captain Aeneas, his heart racked
> by the threat of war, lay down on a bank beneath

the chilly arc of the sky and at long last

indulged his limbs in sleep. (Fagles 8.27-31)

This detail, the weary captain worrying while his men sleep, illustrates the toll Ascanius' actions have taken on his father. By forcing his father to endure one more trial before finally settling in Latium, Ascanius has failed as a son.

Aeneas is not the only one who is hurt because of Ascanius' failures. There are human lives affected by Ascanius' inability to understand his role as Aeneas' sons. In Book Ten, as the battle between the Trojans and Turnus' men rages on, Turnus' troops are described as "beleaguered farmers" (Fagles 10.367). These are not hardened soldiers like many of the Trojans but farmers who are forced to fight in a war because of the selfish actions of a young boy. Virgil tells, too, of specific soldiers like Nisus and Euryalus and Pallas whose lives are lost because of the war. The fallout of Ascanius' failures is felt on both sides of the battlefield.

After the death of Icarus, Daedalus is damaged irrevocably. Ovid tells of his subsequent wanderings, never at peace after the death of his son. Just as Daedalus is forever haunted by Icarus' failure to follow his directives, the fathers and sons in the *Aeneid* and *Ulysses* continued to be defined by filial failings. For Stephen, this means continuing to look to father figures to create his identity; for Aeneas it means finding sons to break the cycle of paternal and filial failings in his own patrilineal line.

Chapter 3: Shadows

As Telemachus searches for his father, he finds himself instead dealing with father figures. After leaving Ithaca, Telemachus finds himself in the kingdom of King Nestor who served with his father in Troy.

Nestor has little information about Odysseus to offer Telemachus. While Nestor implies that Odysseus is dead, he cannot really provide Telemachus with any more information than he already knows: Odysseus was alive when he left Troy, but Nestor has no more knowledge of Odysseus' fate than Telemachus. Nestor does, however, provide Telemachus with a rambling account of several other Greek heroes, including Agamemnon and Menelaus.

Nestor is, in many ways, the opposite of Odysseus. While Odysseus is a man of thought and action, Nestor is a man of words. Throughout his speeches to Telemachus he often speaks of the ways other people have acted, but rarely talks about his own. For example, when talking about Orestes, Agamemnon's son who avenged his death, Nestor says:

> "How fortunate the dead man
> had left a son to take revenge upon
> the wicked, scheming killer, that Aegisthus,
> who killed Orestes' father." (Wilson 3.196-199)

While part of Nestor's propensity for talk over action stems from his advanced age, it is also his nature; while Odysseus is known for his tactical and military abilities, Nestor is known for his speaking and peace-making skills.

Telemachus and Odysseus interact very little in the *Odyssey* until the poem's conclusion, but in Nestor Telemachus interacts with a shadow father. Nestor, the opposite in so many ways of Odysseus, serves temporarily as a masculine figure against which Telemachus can define himself. Nestor even provides Telemachus advice throughout their encounter, telling him, "My dear boy, / I see that you are tall and strong. Be brave, / so you will be remembered" (Wilson 3.199-201). But in spite of Nestor's sound advice and welcoming hospitality he cannot fill the masculine void for Telemachus entirely. Instead, he serves as a shadow father.

Shadow fathers, like Nestor, serve to temporarily bolster the hero, but they cannot fill the void left by the failure of the biological father. Whether they remain in the narrative briefly or consistently, shadow fathers temporarily allow Aeneas and Stephen to carve out independent identities for themselves. Importantly, these figures are often the complete opposite of the heroes' biological fathers. Yet as the heroes seek to stand on their own and become independent men, however, they find that their shadow fathers more often hold than back than propel them forward.

Although Anchises, Aeneas' biological father, looms large in the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is also joined by a shadow father: Achates. Achates, Aeneas' faithful companion, serves as shadow father, the male figure that Aeneas' identity is anchored to, for most of the epic.

Like Ascanius, Achates is a uniquely Virgilian creation. He is a "hitherto unknown figure in Trojan or Greek history" (Hexter 8). A shadowy figure who explicitly appears next to Aeneas in six out of the twelve books, Achates often appears in auspicious moments, when Aeneas is struggling to establish his identity as leader of men.

Achates first appears in the *Aeneid* in Book 1. When Aeneas and the Trojans land on Carthaginian shores, "Achates is first to strike a spark from flint / then works to keep it alive in dry leaves" (Fagles 1.205-206). Achates is immediately established as an important figure, close to Aeneas, and one who will take charge when situations call for action.

Ascanius' role as Aeneas' right-hand man is further solidified in Book 1 when accompanies Aeneas to the court of Queen Dido to determine the Trojans' safety in Carthage. Aeneas and Achates, hidden by Venus, watch Dido welcome a cadre of Trojans previously believed to be lost at sea. When Aeneas is hesitant to reveal himself, "Achates spurs Aeneas on" (Fagles 1.667). But Achates is not just an advisor to Aeneas. As Lee notes, "Achates is someone to whom precious things can be trusted" (106). Later, when Aeneas has ensured Dido's hospitality, he sends Achates to fetch Ascanius from the ships, further underscoring the value Aeneas places in their relationship.

From his first introduction, Achates is in many ways the anti-Anchises. While Anchises takes control from Aeneas, dictating his movements and making his own proclamations about the Trojans' next steps, Achates primarily urges Aeneas to do what he already wants to do. In Book 1, Aeneas has already indicated his desire to seek shelter in Dido's kingdom and his longing to be reunited with his comrades. Rather than giving Aeneas advice, Achates is, in essence, giving him permission to do what he already wants to do and what he knows will help his people in the long run.

Achates again appears as the anti-Anchises in Book 3. In "The Faith of Achates: Finding Aeneas' Other," Ralph Hexter notes that "until the end of Book 3 . . . Aeneas had in his father a nearer and dearer companion" (12). Yet throughout Book 3 Anchises

misguides and misdirects the Trojans, leading them to land in several incorrect locations until they reach Italian shores. It is, notably, Achates who first (correctly) announces the Trojans' arrival in Italy, further emphasizing his role as an anti-Anchises and shadow father. While Aeneas does have his father, a closer advisor as Hexter correctly points out, until the end of Book 3 Anchises continually fails his son in Book 3. Achates' role as Aeneas' second in command, already established in Book 1 is further underscored by his supportive, albeit brief, actions in Book 3.

Achates is absent from Books 4 and 5 of the *Aeneid* entirely, and his absence is notable for several reasons. In Book 4 Aeneas desperately needs the guidance of a father figure as he ignores the destiny he has been given by the gods and remains in Carthage with Dido rather than proceeding to Italy. But since Anchises' death, Aeneas has not had that father figure. While Achates serves as a shadow father in Books 1 and 3, his powers in such a role is limited; he does not have the authority as a shadow father to *guide* Aeneas. Instead he only serves the role Aeneas wants him to have. Aeneas does not want to leave Carthage and so Achates does not urge him to.

Achates' disappearance from Book 5 makes sense, too. Book 5 is about Aeneas and his relationships with his biological father and son. As Aeneas conducts the funeral games for Anchises, his role as son is paramount. In this book Aeneas does not need Achates, his shadow father, because his actions are still being dictated by Anchises, his biological father.

Achates is named again in Book 6. When Aeneas and the Trojans land in Cumae, Aeneas goes to the Sibyl's cave only to be told that one of his comrades has died

(unbeknownst to him) and that he will need to bury said comrade before he is able to see Anchises in the Underworld. Achates is mentioned as Aeneas leaves the Sibyl's cave:

> His eyes fixed on the ground, his face in tears,
> Aeneas moves on, leaving the cavern, turning over
> within his mind these strange, dark events.
> His trusty comrade Achates keeps his pace
> and the same cares weight down his plodding steps.
> They traded many questions, wondering back and forth. (Fagles 6.187-192)

Again Achates acts as a cipher for Aeneas. He does not give Aeneas advice on how to proceed, nor does he guide Aeneas' actions. Instead he is a sounding board, letting Aeneas think through his potential next steps without providing any definitive answers.

Although Achates' name is not mentioned directly again until Book 8, most scholars assume that he is present throughout the rest of Books 6 and 7, based on the matter of fact way Aeneas addresses him when he reappears in Book 8. Achates is not called to Aeneas' side, he merely accompanies Aeneas as he journeys to King Evander to seek aid in his fight against Turnus and the Latins. This place of honor and trust would not be given unless Achates had been by his side throughout the rest of the poem.[7]

Achates disappears from the narrative again until Book 10 when Aeneas asks him for his arms. Again, the offhanded way Aeneas makes the requests leads most scholars to infer that Achates has been present by Aeneas' side for the entirety of the action between Books 8 and 10. Moreover, his actions in Book 10 again underscore Achates' role as

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[7] Aeneas' journey to Evander is an important moment of fatherhood for Aeneas—it is as a result of this journey that Aeneas will gain his most meaningful surrogate son in his quest to form his own masculine identity. Achates' presence in this moment is notable as the beginning of Aeneas' movement towards independent male adulthood.

Aeneas' shadow father. Achates does not advise Aeneas not to attack the Latins and Rutulians in a fit of rage. In this appearance Achates merely provides Aeneas with the thing he thinks he needs (his arms) rather than guiding him to do the right thing.

Achates' final appearance in the *Aeneid* is by Aeneas' side as he is injured on the battlefield in Book 12. Again, Achates is Aeneas' silent supporter. He helps Aeneas off the battlefield, yet plays no role in his recovery. For the rest of the book, Achates is absent. Although the reader can assume that Achates is present for the rest of the battle, he is not mentioned. As Aeneas faces his final test, he is alone.

Achates' character is difficult to interpret not only because of his infrequent appearances but also because of his murky origins. Hexter correctly asserts, "Part of the 'mystery' of Achates is that he exists in neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* nor provably in any earlier epic, Greek or Roman" (19). Unlike most of the figures in the *Aeneid*, Achates has no Homeric counterpart and therefore his role has been subject to multiple interpretations in the two millennia since Virgil finished the *Aeneid*. As Hexter notes, "the *Aeneid* often invites us, indeed seduces us, into letting our sympathies round out various characters, so that—a classic readerly response—we are deeply engaged in their very creation" (18). Achates is one of Virgil's least developed characters yet his appearance at such pivotal points in the narratives invites a variety of interpretations. The most basic interpretations of Achates' character is as a "simple political allegory" (Hexter 17). Some critics, reading the *Aeneid* as a direct allegory of Augustus' rise to power, argue that Achates plays the role of Agrippa to Aeneas' Augustus. In the same way that Agrippa stands by Augustus' side as he does what he must to become the leader of Rome, so too faithful Achates supports Aeneas' journey from Trojan to Italian

ruler. This interpretation, however, ignores the complexities of the poem, and most critics acknowledge that one to one allegorical interpretations of the *Aeneid* fail to account for the nuances of Virgil's poem, relegating it to mere propaganda.

Another interpretation connects Achates to Venus and puts Achates in the role of mother figure. In his article "The King of Pain," Sergio Casali argues that Achates often serves not a paternal but a maternal role for Aeneas. Casali notes that Achates' most substantial appearance comes in Book 1 when Aeneas is being guided most closely by his mother. This, he argues, aligns Achates with Venus. Casali also draws connection to the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, claiming that Achates serves "as the living incarnation of the truthfulness of Venus' *dicta*" (185-186). Yet this argument, too, fails to consider the complexity of Achates' role and the variety of his appearances throughout the poem.

One of the most popular, if least convincing, arguments is an etymological, linguistic one (Hexter 16). Many early commentators including Servius, the most famous Classical interpreter of the *Aeneid*, connect Achates' name to the Latin and Greek words for agate and rock (Achates is the first to strike the flint in Carthage, after all). Several argue that Achates and his attitudes become the foundation on which Aeneas' Italian empire will be founded. But as Casali points out this may overexaggerate Achates' importance both in the narrative and to Aeneas.

In his book *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid, Tum Genitor Natum,* M. Owen Lee argues for a Jungian interpretation of Achates' character. Lee claims that Achates should be viewed in the context of the work of Joseph Campbell. According to Lee, Achates is the "companion" to Aeneas' hero, "the shadow . . . part of the personality which an individual has repressed but which nonetheless remains attached to him" (107).

While Lee's argument is convincing, it attaches the shadow significance to the wrong character. Achates is not Aeneas' shadow, he is Anchises'. From the beginning of the poem, Achates is the anti-Anchises. He does not seek to control Aeneas. Instead, he guides Aeneas, fresh from Anchises' death. While Anchises dictates Aeneas' every move, even from beyond the grave, Achates capitulates to what Aeneas has already decided. As Hexter notes, "Achates takes his very qualities from the task Aeneas calls on him to fulfill at any given moment" (11). Throughout the poem, Achates is where Aeneas needs him to be, anticipating his needs but not dictating them. Lee correctly asserts that *pietas*, Aeneas' primary characteristic, and *fidelitas*, Achates', are complimentary:

> Without *fidelitas* the man who is *pius* succumbs to all-too-human passions (Aeneas gives way to sexual desire in Book 4 and to the desire for vengeance in Book 10); without *pietas* and an ideal to attach himself to, the man who is *fidus* has no identity at all. (Lee 108)

But he incorrectly asserts that it is Aeneas that is Achates' *pius* counterpart. Instead, it is Anchises who serves as the opposite of Achates, not Aeneas.

But while Achates serves an important role for Aeneas, providing him with the anti-Anchises guidance of a shadow father, that relationship, still, does not let him become his own person. Faithful Achates doesn't add anything to individual Aeneas. In the end, Aeneas still succumbs to *furor* when he kills Turnus. Although Achates' presence is steadying it is not enough to provide him with the masculine ballast he needs to create his own independent masculine identity.

Like Aeneas and Telemachus, Stephen Dedalus has shadow fathers, men who, for a brief time, fill a paternal role in the absence of the guidance of his biological father. The most notable of these is Garrett Deasy, the headmaster of the school at which Stephen teaches.

Deasy only appears in the second episode of *Ulysses*, better known as the "Nestor" episode. He gives Stephen advice on how to teach and how to save money while asking Stephen to use his connections in the newspaper world to publish an editorial about foot and mouth disease in cattle. Like Nestor in the *Odyssey*, Deasy is long on advice and short on actual information. While Deasy is only physically present in one of the episodes in *Ulysses*, it is clear that he and Stephen have had this kind of interaction before, although it is unclear if they will have it again.

Stephen's role as "child" emphasized in the opening of the episode as Stephen thinks of his recently-deceased mother. Clearly uncomfortable with his role as teacher, Stephen spends the beginning of the episode thinking of his own time at school. As Sargent, a student who needs to review his mathematics problems, stays behind for Stephen's help, Stephen thinks of Sargent's mother which leads him to think about his own mother:

> Ugly and futile: lean neck and tangled hair and a stain of ink, a snail's bed. Yet somebody had loved him, borne him in her arms and in her heart. But for her the race of the world would have trampled him under foot, a squashed boneless snail . . Was that then real? The only true thing in life? His mother's prostrate body the fiery Columbanus in holy zeal bestrode. She was no more: the trembling skeleton of a twig burnt in the fire, an odour of rosewood and wetted ashes. She

had saved him from being trampled under foot and had gone, scarcely having been. (27-28)

Looking at the young men in front of him, Stephen is reminded of his own childhood. As he helps a student review mathematics problems, Stephen thinks, "Like him was I, these sloping shoulders, this gracelessness. My childhood bends beside me" (28). Further, because Stephen is thinking of his mother rather than his father, Deasy is placed in the paternal role. Later he thinks of his mother again: "*Amor matris:* subjective and objective genitive. With her weak blood and wheysour milk she had fed him and hid from the sight of others his swaddling bands" (28). Stephen's thinking of his mother in the opening of this episode situates him as a child still. Rather than an adult professional, Stephen is established as a son.

Like Achates, Deasy plays a small but important role in the narrative; he serves to illustrate "the complexity (and occasional inscrutability) of Joyce's methods" (Marcus 49). Deasy is, in many ways, the opposite of Stephen's biological father, Simon, inhabiting the role of Stephen's shadow father.

Politically, Simon Dedalus and Garrett Deasy are on opposite ends of the imperial continuum. Deasy is "a happy warrior of the nineteenth century type, full of hardy Victorian optimism and high-sounding imperiastic rhetoric" (Spoo 141). Deasy rants to Stephen about the treachery of Kitty O'Shea and Charles Parnell, saying "A woman brought sin into the world. For a woman who was no better than she should be . . . the Greeks made war on Troy . . . A woman brought Parnell low" (34-35). Throughout the episode, Deasy is closely connected to ideas of empire and imperialism and represents clear contrast to Stephen (and Simon's) politics (Staples). Simon, on the other hand, is an

acolyte of Charles Parnell and an Irish nationalist. In *Portrait of the Artist* Simon's devotion to Parnell is enough to cause a fight at Christmas dinner, leading to one of the first moments Stephen is able to see his father clearly as a flawed adult.

Deasy and Simon are also dichotomous in terms of their relationships with money. While Deasy spends much of his time with Stephen hectoring him on the importance of staying debt-free, Simon is deeply in debt throughout much of Stephen's life. Stephen first becomes aware of his father's profligate ways in *A Portrait of the Artist*, and later in *Ulysses* he will see the detritus of his father's debt when he encounters his penniless sisters. While Deasy's attitude about helping family is unclear, his attitude toward debt is not. Again, Deasy serves as the shadow side and foil to Simon Dedalus. Deasy's most memorable trait is his anti-Semitism. At the end of the episode, he calls after Stephen, saying, "Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which never persecuted jews. Do you know that? No. And do you know why? . . . Because she never let them in" (36). This, too, sets him as Simon Dedalus' shadow side. Simon, friends with Jewish Leopold Bloom, exhibits none of the prejudices that Deasy clearly holds.

If Deasy is, in many ways, representative of Simon Dedalus' shadow side, he has more in common with Stephen Dedalus than either one would probably admit to. Like Deasy, Stephen is preoccupied with money and debt, albeit because he has no money and is in a lot of debt. As Deasy talks about debt Stephen can easily tally his debts in his head. Although Deasy and Stephen take different approaches to money they are both concerned with it and consumed with having it.

Maybe the most important connection between the two is their desire to be intellectually superior to those around them. Deasy makes a point to ask Stephen about the Jews in Ireland, following him out of the office to deliver the "punchline." Kiberd points out, "Deasy rushes after Stephen to tell this crude witticism at the end of the episode, from his subconscious need to appeal to a person whose mind is superior to his own, even if that person is dependent upon him for employment and income" (62). Stephen, too, spends much of the opening episode (and the rest of the novel) thinking about the ways he is intellectually superior to those around him. Moreover, in the end of *A Portrait of the Artist*, Stephen thinks about the ways he is intellectually superior to his own father. This desire to be the smartest in the room—or at least to seem like the smartest in the room—is shared by both Stephen and his shadow father Deasy.

While Stephen's encounter with Deasy may be brief it is memorable. Stephen continues to think of Deasy throughout the novel, both when he is running the errand Deasy has tasked of him and other times throughout his day, notably when he is expounding on his theories of Shakespeare and paternity. Yet "Mr. Deasy is not . . . a serious contender for spiritual fatherhood in *Ulysses*; he plays Polonius to Stephen's Hamlet" (Spoo 69). Rather, like Achates, Deasy is a shadow father for Stephen, acting as the opposite of his biological father but not providing the masculine support Stephen needs to form his own identity.

There is, importantly, a delineation between shadow father and surrogate father. Kuwahara argues:

> Deasy plays the role of a master and employer, but, after all, he is no more than the old man to be repudiated and detested by the skeptical Stephen. Deasy

> assumes the surrogate father of Stephen indeed, but he isn't worthy of patriarchal responsibility. (27)

But Deasy does not seek to be a surrogate for Stephen, nor does Stephen seek to take Deasy as a surrogate father. In order for Deasy to be a surrogate he would have to have a genuine interest in Stephen's well-being. Further, Stephen would have to turn to Deasy for fatherly wisdom and guidance. But that is not true for either man; Deasy is only interested in Stephen for what Stephen can provide him, and Stephen humors Deasy but ultimately does not take his advice seriously.

As a shadow father Deasy does play an important role for Stephen, but his presence is not enough for Stephen to create his own masculine identity around. Stephen does use his relationship with Deasy to define himself, but it is not a definition he rejects. Deasy is Stephen's boss, and inasmuch as Stephen's identity is connected to his job it must be connected to Deasy as well. However Stephen does not want his identity to be connected to his job. Because of this, Stephen's shadow relationship with Deasy cannot be enough to help him create his own adult identity.

Deasy also points out the ways Stephen has failed in becoming an individual, rather than supporting as he strives to separate himself from his father and his father's legacy. Deasy harps on the topic of debt, asking Stephen:

> "Do you know what is the pride of the English? Do you know what is the proudest word you will ever hear from an Englishman's mouth? . . . I will tell you . . . what is his proudest boast. *I paid my way*. . . . *I never borrowed a shilling in my life*. Can you feel that? *I owe nothing*. Can you?" (30)

Stephen, of course, cannot feel that. Rather than being a figure Stephen can use to distinguish himself from his father and his profligate legacy, Deasy only serves to remind Stephen of one of the primary ways he is like Simon, his propensity for debt.

Moreover, Stephen's relationship with Deasy never moves beyond teacher and pupil, employer and employee. While Deasy wants to pontificate, he does not actually want to help Stephen in any way. When Deasy correctly assumes that Stephen cannot say he has no debts, Deasy response gives away his true purpose in asking: "I knew you couldn't, he said joyously" (31). While Deasy is quick to dole out advice it is not to actually improve Stephen's life but to continue to assert his dominance over his employee.

Deasy also wants to use Stephen exclusively for his benefit. Deasy asks Stephen to pass on a letter to his "literary friends" (32). After he makes the request, he has an exchange with Stephen that further illustrates his indifference toward Stephen and his future well-being:

> —I forsee, Mr. Deasy said, that you will not remain here very long at this work. You were not born to be a teacher, I think. Perhaps I am wrong.
>
> —A learner rather, Stephen said.
>
> And here what will you learn more?
>
> Mr. Deasy shook his head.
>
> —Who knows? he said. To learn one must be humble. But life is the great teacher. (35)

Is Deasy insulting Stephen, implying that he is not humble enough to learn from life or from scholarly pursuits? Perhaps. At the least he is being dismissive of Stephen's future, which he is already certain lies outside of the walls of his school.

This indifference, coupled with his egotism, makes Deasy, the shadow father, an inadequate male figure upon which Stephen can anchor his burgeoning adult identity. But Stephen's encounter with Deasy primes him for the interaction with Bloom later on. In Deasy Stephen has found a male figure that does not serve his purpose. It is not enough that Deasy is the opposite of Simon. Stephen needs a male figure who is not only unlike Simon but who will also let Stephen be his own individual. Just as Aeneas needs a masculine figure who will help him to determine his own identity independent of his father's, Stephen needs a masculine figure who will allow him to stand on his own outside the shadow of Simon Dedalus.

When in the *Odyssey* Telemachus leaves Nestor he does not return home to Ithaca but instead travels to Sparta to visit King Menelaus, another of his father's comrades-in-arms. In Menelaus, too, Telemachus finds a shadow father. While Menelaus has more in common with Odysseus than Nestor he is still no replacement for Telemachus' father. Menelaus continually brings up the imbalance in his and Odysseus' relationship, calling Odysseus "my dear friend who worked so hard for me" (Wilson 4. 170). Menelaus cannot serve as the masculine figure Telemachus needs either. Nestor, like Anchises, is his father's opposite. Menelaus, like Deasy, serves to further illustrate the hierarchy between Telemachus and the male figures in his life. These shadow fathers serve as temporary masculine figures but cannot fill the hole left by Odysseus. In the

end, only a surrogate, not a shadow, can provide the masculine force for Telemachus, Aeneas, and Stephen to create their own independent identities.

Chapter 4: Surrogate Fathers

When Homer's *Odyssey* begins, Telemachus, Odysseus' long abandoned son, is in a dangerous position. Surrounded by men who are hoping to win his mother's hand in marriage and with no political allies to speak of inside or outside of his kingdom, Telemachus is a young man adrift. In her introduction to her translation of the *Odyssey*, Emily Wilson notes:

> Telemachus, Odysseus' almost-adult son, is in a particularly precarious situation. Left as a "little newborn baby" when Odysseus sailed for Troy, he must be twenty or twenty-one years old at the time of the poem's action, but he seems in many ways younger. To fight off the suitors and take control of the household himself, he would need great physical and emotional strength . . . none of which he possesses. (4)

Because of the Trojan War, Telemachus is left without a male role model to help him transition to masculine adulthood. He does not possess the manly qualities which would help him overthrow the suitors in part because he has never had a male role model to help him gain those qualities. When Telemachus leaves Ithaca for news of his father he does so not only because he needs to know if his father is alive or dead to challenge the suitors but also because he needs to know his father's fate to understand who *he* truly is.

Telemachus' desire for a father-figure is clear from the beginning of the poem. In Book 2 when Athena disguises herself as Mentes, a man who knew his father, Telemachus jumps at the chance to ask questions of his father's whereabouts and exploits. In fact, Telemachus' first words as he sits down to dinner with the goddess-in-

disguise clearly illustrate the way he has positioned his own identity in relation to his father. Rather than introduce himself as Telemachus or ask about his visitor's journey, Telemachus immediately explains who the suitors are and why he is in the situation he is in, saying:

> "This food belongs to someone else,
> a man whose white bones may be lying in the rain
> or sunk beneath the waves. If they [the suitors] saw him
> return to Ithaca, they would all pray
> for faster feet, instead of wealth and gold." (Wilson 1.160-164)

Telemachus confides in Mentes-Athena that he longs for information about his father, and she convinces him to undertake the dangerous journey to find out whatever he can about his father's fate.

The word surrogate comes from the Latin word *subrogo*, meaning to put in place of another. While the aim of Telemachus' journey is to find information about his own father, both Stephen and Aeneas have information about their male family lines. In pursuit of a larger shaping force in their lives, both men seek out surrogates, hoping to have other men in some way fill the roles that their fathers failed to fill for them.

Telemachus' journey is ultimately one about identity—figuring out who his father was so he can figure out who he is. Part of the catalyst for Telemachus' journey from Ithaca "is to establish a viable identity for himself. Years without that father have left a vacuum, and so his journey is a search for authority rather than a revolt against it" (Kiberd 284). Unlike Telemachus, Stephen Dedalus and Aeneas both know their fathers (and in Aeneas' case his son). Yet because of the failures of both father and son neither

is able to use his own male relation to create his identity. Neither are they able to use the shadow fathers they have encountered in the time since breaking with their fathers, men whose motivation and actions do not supply enough paternal force to push the heroes into adulthood.

Instead, both seek out surrogates to anchor their identity to something larger than themselves. These surrogates serve as stand-ins for Stephen and Aeneas; both men attempt to position their identities in relationship to other men around them in absence of clear masculine role models because their fathers have failed them in some way. By seeking surrogates—whether a surrogate father or surrogate sons—both Stephen and Aeneas seek to create for themselves adult masculine identities to help them navigate the changing worlds in which they are living.

For Stephen, that means finding a "father" who can guide him in his development as an independent man living in Dublin in 1904. Stephen knows he cannot escape the similarities between him and his estranged father, and that fact haunts him from the beginning of *Ulysses*. As Stephen walks along Sandymount Strand, he thinks specifically of his own origin:

> Wombed in in darkness I was too, made not begotten. By them, the man with my voice and my eyes and a ghostwoman with ashes on her breath. They clasped and sundered, did the coupler's will. From before the ages He willed me and now may not will me away or ever. (38)

Stephen repeatedly mentions the fact that he and Simon have similarities, notably the same eyes and voices. Those seemingly inherited traits link Stephen and Simon irrevocably, whether Stephen likes it or not. In *Dreams of the Burning Child*, David Lee

Miller notes that the patrilineal line is always questionable, writing, "there is no way to see that any particular boy springs from this man rather than that one, or indeed from any man at all" (4). Stephen, who goes from disdaining Simon in *Portrait* to detesting him in *Ulysses*, would love nothing more to question his paternity. But Stephen recognizes that the genetic similarities to his father draw them irrevocably together.

For all of his attempts to escape his father, Stephen finds himself repeatedly haunted not only by Simon's likeness in his own body and voice but also by the reminiscences of others who know his father. In Paris, where Stephen should feel the most himself, he is reminded by Kevin Egan of the ways in which he is like his father. In fact, Egan remarks that he would know Stephen as Simon's son anywhere because of their voices (43). Once again the genetic marker of Simon Dedalus has followed Stephen, even in the place he should feel most like himself.

By the end of *Ulysses* it is clear that the way Simon (and those around him) have created a mythology around the Dedalus name has become a burden to Stephen, and he seeks to distance himself from his father's identity. In the "Eumaeus" episode, Stephen encounters a sailor who, when Stephen gives his name, asks, "You know Simon Dedalus?" (623). When Stephen responds "I've heard of him," the sailor proceeds to tell an elaborate story about Simon travelling the world as a crackshot. Although the story is clearly not true of Stephen's father it must rankle nonetheless. Even when his father is not present, the myth of him is.

Although Stephen rejects his father's role in his life he knows that he needs some kind of father figure. In fact, throughout *Ulysses* Stephen repeatedly brings up the idea of paternity and fatherhood. Edward Duncan notes in his article "Unsubstantial Father: A

Study of the *Hamlet* Symbolism in Joyce's *Ulysses*" that "*Ulysses* is largely a saga of Stephen's searching for a father" (126). In addition to the repeated references to the biological ways that he and Simon are related, Stephen is repeatedly preoccupied with paternity and the idea of paternity as it relates to identity as illustrated by the argument he makes about Shakespeare and Hamlet.

Some critics have argued that Stephen's Hamlet argument serves as a way for Stephen to grapple with his own questions of paternity and paternal identity. Duncan contends that Stephen's theory "propounds a theory of fatherhood [that] rids [Stephen's] soul of some of the bitterness caused by his own family" (126). Duncan asserts that the focus for the Shakespeare argument is not really Stephen's relationship with his father but rather his relationship with his mother, that the focus on Ann Hathaway's alleged cuckolding of Shakespeare emphasizes the maternal rather than paternal relationship. While Duncan correctly points out that the maternal relationship figures prominently in the novel and in Stephen's understanding of his identity, his reading ignores the ways that Stephen and the novel have, up until then, also been concerned about paternal lineage. Stephen has repeatedly questioned his paternity, yes, but has always come to the same conclusion: Simon Dedalus is, much to Stephen's dismay, his biological father. The biological similarities (eyes, voice) are simply too similar between father and son for Stephen's father to be anyone but Simon.

It is important to note that Stephen does not consciously look for a surrogate to replace Simon Dedalus. In his argument in the Library about Hamlet's connection to Shakespeare's paternity, Stephen tries to make a case that Shakespeare and Hamlet have fathered themselves, that they have no father. The subtext, of course, is that if one does

not have a father one cannot be failed by him. The appeal of this argument for Stephen is obvious: if it is possible to be your own father, then he can be his own father; if he can be his own father, then he does not need Simon to secure his identity and transition into adulthood.

Yet Stephen, Joyce, and the novel itself are so preoccupied with the corporeal realities of life that this argument cannot be made in truth because it is not sustainable with the logic of the rest of the novel. Putting biological imperatives aside, both Stephen and those he encounters are bent on connecting him to his father in a way that makes questions of Stephen's paternity obsolete.

Although Stephen finally finds his surrogate father in *Ulysses*, he is initially drawn to surrogate father figures during his childhood in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.

In his youth, Stephen spends considerable time with his great Uncle Charles, both in the company of his father and alone. Chapter 2 of *Portrait* opens with a description of Uncle Charles' "black twist," which is so disgusting that Simon makes him smoke it in the outhouse in the back of the house. Stephen spends much of his summer with Uncle Charles. Joyce writes:

> During the first part of the summer in Blackrock uncle Charles was Stephen's constant companion. Uncle Charles was a hale old man with a welltanned skin, rugged features and white sidewhiskers. On week days he did messages between the house in Carysfort Avenue and those shops in the main street of the town with which the family dealt . . . He would seize a handful of grapes and sawdust or three or four American apples and thrust them generously into his grandnephew's

> hand . . . and, on Stephen's feigning reluctance to take them, he would frown and say:
>
> —Take them, sir. Do you hear me, sir? They're good for your bowels. (39)

Uncle Charles' relationship with Stephen is playful and doting, akin to that of a grandfather and grandchild. At this point in the novel Stephen has been taken out of Clongowes, his former school, and has moved with his family to a new location. Uncle Charles provides a stable figure in a time when much of Stephen's life is in flux. Indeed, Stephen spends much of that summer surrounded by surrogate father figures. On his walks with Uncle Charles, Stephen often encounters Mike Flynn, a friend of Simon's who trains him in track. Like Simon, there is something both magnetic and pathetic about Mike Flynn. At the same time:

> a small ring of wonderstruck children and nursemaids would gather to watch him and linger when he and uncle Charles had sat down again and were talking athletics and politics . . . Stephen often glanced with mistrust at his trainer's flabby stubblecovered face, as it bent over the long stained fingers through which he rolled his cigarette, and with pity at the mild lustreless blue eyes which would look up suddenly from the task and gaze vaguely into the blue distance. (40)

In the same way Stephen seems to instinctively know that there is something not to be trusted in his father, he knows that there is something to be pitied in Mike Flynn.

These surrogate relationships provide a temporary anchor as Stephen is forming his young identity, but they cannot fully serve to sever the pull Simon has on Stephen's identity formation. For one, both men are too linked to Simon to be Stephen's surrogates. While Stephen primarily encounters Mike Flynn in the company of Uncle Charles, the

coach is Simon's friend and therefore linked to Simon intimately. Simon often joins Stephen and Uncle Charles on the weekends, and it is clear that Uncle Charles has served a surrogate role for Simon at some point in his life, just as he is for Stephen now. When Simon's financial situation begins to dissolve, it is Uncle Charles he laments to and Uncle Charles who tries to persuade him to calm down. Although Uncle Charles provides a temporary alternative to Simon Dedalus, he ultimately cannot fill the role of surrogate father to help launch Stephen into adulthood. To do that, Stephen needs someone entirely divorced from his father.

Practically, Uncle Charles is also too old to be an effective surrogate for Stephen. At the end of the summer, when "two great yellow caravans had halted one morning before the door and men had come tramping into the house to dismantle it," Uncle Charles' age becomes apparent. As the Dedalus family home is taken apart by creditors, Uncle Charles "dozed in a corner of the half furnished uncarpeted room" (44). Later, when the family moves to Dublin, Uncle Charles "had grown so witless that he could no longer be sent out on errands" (44). As Stephen grows, gains more freedom, and needs more paternal guidance than ever before, Uncle Charles is simply too old and infirm to satiate the need for a father figure that is not Simon.

Upon his return from Paris, Stephen seems to enter a kind of surrogate relationship with Buck Mulligan, his roommate in the Martello tower, but the relationship has soured by the time the action of *Ulysses* begins. While it is clear the two were once close friends, by the opening scene the two are sniping at and insulting one another. Although Mulligan is closer to Stephen's age, and it is possible Stephen at one point

wanted to model his behavior off of his friends, their relationship has been soured by Mulligan's relationship with Haines and with Ireland.

Mulligan himself is a young man, a student like Stephen who has not yet formed his own independent masculine identity. Although Mulligan's aunt is mentioned several time in the opening episode of *Ulysses*, no masculine members of his family or extended family are. Mulligan himself seems to have adopted Haines as a sort of surrogate father. Mulligan, too, does not seem to want to be a surrogate to Stephen. In the opening episode he jeers at Stephen, undermining and mocking him in front of Haines and their peers. Later at the National Library Mulligan again mocks Stephen's treatise. Mulligan is both unfit and unwilling to act as a surrogate, leaving Stephen once again without someone to whom he can anchor his identity.

Stephen finally finds a meaningful surrogate in Leopold Bloom, the middle-aged advertising man Stephen has been circling and crossing paths with for the entire novel, toward the end of *Ulysses*.

Bloom acts more like a father to Stephen than any of the other male figures in the novel (including, at times, Simon). Bloom's first "real" surrogate moment happens in the hospital during the "Oxen of the Sun" episode in what Kiberd calls "the mysterious climax of the book" (28). Bloom, an older man, has no reason to stay in the hospital and bear witness to the drunken antics of the young men gathered there except for his interest in Stephen. As Gilbert points out, "Mr. Bloom plays here a ripely paternal role as he sits, humdrum, among these harum-scarums, genuinely shocked by their callousness" (295). Bloom, recognizing Stephen as Simon's son, remains with the young men to watch over Stephen as best he can.

Unlike Simon, Bloom still sees the best in Stephen. As he follows Stephen out of the hospital and into Nighttown Bloom thinks, "What am I following him for? Still, he's the best of that lot" (452). While Simon sees Stephen as a wastrel and profligate, Bloom, able to see him in context of the real world of his peers, sees him as a diamond in the rough.

Bloom proves to be an apt surrogate for Stephen: he is the right age, the right disposition, and is connected enough to Simon to have a working knowledge of Stephen's experiences and relationship with his father. Bloom "notices how Simon doesn't always recognize his eldest boy; yet he himself has noticed the similarities between them, most of all their fecklessness" (Kiberd 175-176). Unlike Simon, Stephen's character is not yet entrenched, and Bloom understands that the younger man's identity may be altered. Moreover, Bloom, too, is looking for a surrogate to whom he can anchor his own identity. While Stephen is looking for an older paternal figure, Bloom is frequently plagued by thoughts of his own son, Rudy, who dies shortly after his birth. In the "Hades" episode, Bloom thinks of Rudy, musing, "I could have helped him on in life' (89). Further, Bloom's own father committed suicide leaving him without a father to anchor his own identity to. In the "Oxen of the Sun" episode, Joyce shows Bloom thinking of fathers: "There is none for Leopold, what I was for Rudolph" (414). Without a father or a son, Bloom's own identity as a man is in flux, making the surrogate relationship mutually beneficial for both surrogate father and surrogate son.

But in Nighttown, Bloom actively denies being Stephen's father. Bloom is preoccupied with Rudy throughout the novel, and he does not necessarily want to take Stephen as a new son. Like Stephen's, Bloom's ideas of fatherhood are still grounded in

genetics and heredity. Bloom cannot bring Rudy back to life, and Stephen cannot truly be a substitute for him.

Instead, Bloom acts a protector, someone who seeks to guide but not own Stephen. In Nighttown he calls Stephen a poet and a scholar even though he is not actually either. Simon would never have called him this—would have called him a teacher if he remembered his son's current occupation or something much worse if he did not.

After Nighttown, Bloom tries to engage Stephen in talk about his family. He says to Stephen:

> —I met your respected father on a recent occasion, Mr Bloom diplomatically returned. Today, in fact, or to be strictly accurate, on yesterday . . . A gifted man . . . a born *raconteur* if ever there was one. He takes great pride, quite legitimately, Out of you. You could go back perhaps, he hazarded . . . (620)

By suggesting that he return to his family, Bloom is not only appealing to the "better angels" of Stephen's nature. He is also suggesting that Stephen become, finally, the adult of his household. Bloom knows Simon well enough to realize that Simon and Stephen probably cannot coexist in the family. By suggesting that Stephen take his father's place at the head of the household he provides Stephen with an opportunity to create an adult masculine identity of his own.

Like Stephen Dedalus', Aeneas' desire for surrogacy stems from his desire to create an identity that is independent from his father's. Aeneas, following what he knows to be his destiny, wants to fulfill his role as the founder of Rome and become the leader of his men. However, he struggles to get out of Anchises' shadow as his father continues

to take the leadership role on the Trojan's journey to Italy. After Anchises' death, however, Aeneas strives to find another male to anchor his identity to not by searching for a surrogate father, as his was too stifling, but by searching for a surrogate son. Virgil first highlights Aeneas' role as father early in the poem. In Book 1, when the Trojans first land on Carthage, Aeneas acts as a paternal force for his men, soothing their fears as they find themselves on foreign shores. His "words relieve their stricken hearts" (Fagles 1.231) even as "sick with mounting cares he assumes a look of hope / and keeps his anguish buried in his heart" (Fagles 1.255-256). Like countless fathers before and since, Aeneas comforts his men (standing in for children) even as he quells his own fears. Later in Book 1, once Aeneas has determined that Dido and the Carthaginians will be friendly hosts and not antagonists, Aeneas calls for his son to join him in the queen's palace:

> Aeneas—a father's love would give the man no rest—
> quickly sends Achates down to the ships to take
> the news to Ascanius, bring him back to Carthage.
> All paternal care is focused on his son. (Fagles 1.766-769)

Again, Aeneas's role as father is emphasized from the outset of the poem.

Aeneas's paternal duties continue to dominate the narrative in Book 2, when Aeneas's concern for his son is one of the driving forces that lead him to lead his family (and the remaining Trojans) safely out of the burning city. Later in Book 2 Aeneas encounters the ghost of his wife, Creusa, who was killed when Aeneas left her behind to carry his father and son to safety. Aeneas finds her ghost as he has returned to the city to discover his wife's fate. Creusa's ghost reminds Aeneas of his duty to Ascanius and tells

him to return to be a father to his son. In her article "'O Grief, O Glory, Destined for Your Father!': On Sons Dying in Front of Fathers in the *Aeneid*," Ellie Foster writes, "Creusa passes the burden of motherly protection on to Aeneas in addition to the one he already bears as a father not only to his own son, but to a fledging nation . . . Virgil thus emphasizes the importance of the bond between father and son" (21). Creusa's admonition as well as the way Aeneas is set up as a father in Book 1 center Aeneas clearly in the role of father, a role he will continue to inhabit throughout the poem in an effort to help establish his identity as a man and leader independent from his father and his father's legacy.

The act of taking surrogate sons solidifies Aeneas's role as father not as son, thus establishing him as the head of his own household rather than a member of Anchises and as a leader of his own people rather than his father's second in command. Although Aeneas has his own biological son, Ascanius, Aeneas' surrogate sons provide him with an insurance policy of sorts; they allow Aeneas to secure his legacy as a father. The repetitive action of fathering young men solidifies his role as father and safeguards against anything happening to Ascanius.

Taking surrogates also serves to safeguard Aeneas' destiny as the founder of Rome. In *Dreams of the Burning Father* David Lee Miller notes that Ascanius is aligned with Marcus Claudius Marcellus who is mentioned in Book 6 when Anchises describes for Aeneas the parade of Romans who will eventually become legendary (90). Marcellus was the nephew and presumptive heir of Caesar Augustus, Virgil's patron and first emperor of Rome, and he died an early, tragic death in 23 BCE. When Aeneas asks Anchises about Marcellus his father replies:

"My son,"

his tears brimming, father Anchises started in,

"don't press to know your people's awesome grief.

Only a glimpse of him the Fates will grant the world,

not let him linger longer." (Fagles 6.1000-1004)

Because Ascanius is aligned with Marcellus, the spectre of an early death hangs over Aeneas' son as well. Aeneas' surrogate sons serve as safeguards as well as a bolster to Aeneas' paternal identity.

Aeneas' drive to adhere to his sense of *pietas* and "do right by" his son and surrogate sons is deeply connected to his mission to land in Italy and found the city that will one day become Rome. In "Dido, Aeneas, and Iulus: Heirship and Obligation in *Aeneid* 4," J.S.C. Eidinow examines Roman law and customs in the age of Virgil and notes that "so far as the gods are concerned, Aeneas' failure to pursue his destiny in Italy would be tantamount to disinheriting his son . . . Aeneas will be acting undutifully to [Ascanius] if he does not leave him an Italian kingdom" (262). Aeneas' sense of duty to Ascanius drives him to take surrogate sons because they provide him with multiple opportunities to act "fatherly" without putting his own son at risk.

In fact, these surrogates solidify Ascanius' place as Aeneas' heir and make Aeneas' actions toward him more indicative of *pietas*. After examining the lack of children resulting from Aeneas' relationship with Dido, Eidinow argues that "the reader is brought to appreciate more deeply the position of [Ascanius] and the differences between the relationship that produced [Ascanius] and the one that has no produced *parvulus Aeneas*" (267). Aeneas' surrogates throughout the poem serve the same

function; they highlight the importance of Aeneas' biological paternity by highlighting the ways he is paternal for other young men.

Although Aeneas' surrogate sons allow Aeneas to exercise his paternal role they do not fare well—in fact, none makes it through the end of the poem alive.
The first prominent surrogate Aeneas takes is Palinurus, the pilot who helps guide the Trojans to Carthage and then to Cumae. Although Palinurus is infrequently mentioned in the first five books of the poem he plays an important role in Aeneas' journey. Palinurus is Aeneas' first surrogate son, and his role becomes important particularly when considered in the context of the poem. In *Fathers and Sons in Virgil's Aeneid: Tum Genitor Natum:*, M. Owen Lee points out that Palinurus' death (and subsequent burial) takes place in Book 5, a book that is primarily concerned with Aeneas' role as both father and son, noting "For all the importance of Ascanius and Anchises in Book 5, the book belongs to the helmsman, Palinurus" (58). Book 5 contains both Ascanius' funeral games, Aeneas' most ostentatious display of filial *pietas*, and Aeneas' parading of Ascanius and the other Trojan boys in front of their parents, his most ceremonial display of paternal pride.

Palinurus' death at the end of Book 5 becomes an important moment for Aeneas. Having completed the official funeral games for Anchises, Aeneas is now squarely positioned as the patriarch of the Trojan people. Palinurus' death should provide Aeneas with his first opportunity to display the appropriate *pietas* his father would have displayed in a similar situation. Yet because Palinurus died at sea Aeneas cannot bury his body or perform funeral games for his friend and surrogate son (as indeed

all of his men become surrogates for Aeneas). As Aeneas laments at the end of Book 5, Palinurus' "naked corps will lie on an unknown shore" (Fagles 5.972).

Virgil further emphasizes Aeneas' position as patriarch in the beginning of Book 6. After Aeneas discovers Palinurus' death, the Trojans land on Cumae, where Aeneas has been sent to visit the Sibyl, journey to the Underworld, and receive his final instructions. On Cumae Aeneas finds himself facing the doors to the Sibyl's temple which were created by Daedalus, the Greek inventor, and depict the fall of Icarus, Daedalus' son. The position of these two scenes highlights Aeneas' role in Palinurus' death: like Daedalus he cannot perform the actions a father should. In Daedalus' case, that means protecting his son; in Aeneas' it means burying his pilot's body. Palinurus, like many of his surrogate counterparts, becomes more important to *pater Aeneas* in his death than he was in his life.

Aeneas' next notable surrogates are Nisus and Euryalus, the doomed friends who are killed in Latium. Aeneas first shows favoritism towards the pair in Book 5 during Anchises' funeral games, when Nisus and Euryalus both compete in the footrace. Although Nisus is leading at the beginning of the race he slips on blood from a sacrifice and loses his lead. Rather than allow Salius, who was in second place, to be victorious, Nisus trips his opponent allowing Euryalus to win. When Salius is, understandably, upset about this foul, protests, Aeneas gives him a prize as well as Euryalus. Nisus, however, asks Aeneas:

> "If losers win such prizes . . .
> and the ones who trip, such pity—what gift
> will you give to Nisus worth his salt? Why,

I clearly had earned the crown for first prize

if the same bad luck that leveled Salius had not

knocked me down" (Fagles 5.392-397)

Nisus' complaints are those of a petulant child, and many leaders would dismissed them out of hand as such. However Aeneas, "the fatherly captain" gives Nisus a shield as well, doting on the Trojan and his friend as if they were his own children engaged in a squabble over a toy (Fagles 6.399).

This tender, fatherly moment makes Nisus and Euryalus' ultimate fates more harrowing. Petrini notes in his book *The Child and the Hero: Coming of Age in Catullus and Virgil,* "The deaths of children in the *Aeneid* are not mere pathos, nor are they only individual losses and particular tragedies. They represent the loss of renewal, both in the time of the narrative and in the republic of Rome" (9). The deaths of Nisus and Euryalus represent a failure for Aeneas as a father-figure. He has claimed paternal care for the young men, both through his indulgent actions during the funeral games and through his position as their military commander, and he has failed to keep them safe. It is on the heels of this double failure that Aeneas adopts his final and most important surrogate, Pallas.

Nisus and Euryalus have to leave the Trojan stronghold to find Aeneas and tell him of Turnus' attack because Aeneas is wooing a political ally in the neighboring kingdom of King Evander, enemy of Latium. After pledging troops to support Aeneas' battle, Evander adds:

"What's more, I will pair you with Pallas, my hope,

my comfort. Under your lead, let him grow hard

to a soldier's life and the rough work of war.

Let him get used to watching you in action,

admire you as his model from his youth" (Fagles 8.607-611)

Pallas is Aeneas' most explicit surrogate and his most important.

Part of Pallas' importance as a surrogate lies in his nationality. Pallas is Aeneas first (and only) non-Trojan surrogate. All of the other men he "fathered" were under his control and, in some ways, his responsibility inherently. As their military commander and the ranking Trojan among their troop, Aeneas would be the natural father figure for these young men whose fathers were not present.

But by taking Pallas, a native of Italy, as his surrogate, Aeneas is acting not only as a leader but as a diplomat, something his father never did. Pallas' surrogacy further distances Aeneas from his father's legacy. Unlike his son's Anchises' realm was decidedly Trojan, not global. While Anchises certainly had dealings with other peoples, they did not extend to this kind of intimate relationship.

Further, Aeneas' act can be read as one of empire, further rising his status in the eyes of Virgil's Roman readers. While Anchises dealt with foreign leaders as a Trojan, respecting their sovereignty, Aeneas effectively takes control of the son and heir of King Evander, who asks the Trojan to assimilate Pallas into his own culture and act as a model for the boy. Aeneas is engaging in an act of empire, something his father never did. His surrogate relationship with Pallas, therefore, is not only important to establish him as Aeneas the father or *pater Aeneas* but also to establish him as a leader beyond the accomplishments of his father.

In addition to being symbolically important, Pallas is different from Aeneas' other surrogates in the way his relationship with the Trojan leader is depicted. Pallas' relationship is the most developed surrogate relationship in the poem. When Aeneas "adopts" Pallas, he is in the middle of an unexpected war with the people of Latium, after many years of fleeing destruction. As Lee writes, "The little moment is rich in suggestions. Aeneas is lonely, uncertain, bitter with experience; the boy is aglow with hero-worship, fresh and eager for experience" (81). In the remainder of the poem, Aeneas spends more time in Pallas' company than he does his own son's.

Miller points out that, as King Evander gives Aeneas guardianship over his son, he emphasizes repeatedly the ways Pallas has brought pride to his people, the ways he loves his son, and the fact that Pallas is his only child (80). Evander and Pallas serve as a parallel in this way for Aeneas and Ascanius. Like Evander, Aeneas has only one biological child, one he goes to great lengths to protect. In fact, Aeneas is not the only figure who goes to great lengths to protect Ascanius. Both Apollo and Venus intervene to secure Ascanius' safety.

Yet Pallas, the son of a mere mortal not a demi-god, is afforded no such protection and is killed in Book 10 at the hands of Turnus. Pallas' death directly leads to the poem's ambiguous ending and to the final action that will solidify Aeneas' identity as distinct from his father's, although perhaps not in the way the Trojan hero would have hoped.

Pallas is killed by Turnus, Aeneas' most formidable opponent and the rival for his place as Prince of Latium. In her article "Establishing Rome with the Sword: *Condere* in the *Aeneid*," Sharon L. James argues that Pallas' death "is designed explicitly to punish

Evander" for siding with the foreigner and sending troops to Aeneas' aid (629). But Pallas' death is not only a punishment for Evander but for Aeneas as well. Aeneas has returned from his visit to Arcadia with Pallas in tow and the young man is depicted throughout Book 9 as being Aeneas' right-hand man. So although Turnus may explicitly claim the act as vengeance against Evander, Aeneas, too, is wounded by Pallas' death as well. In response, Aeneas acts with a heretofore unseen emotional outburst and an irrational violence in direct opposition to his character throughout the rest of the poem.

Consumed by Pallas' death, Aeneas begins to mow down every opponent who steps in his path. His violence is unprecedented in the poem and "the transformation in him is terrible to see, for his victims now are not indiscriminate victims vaguely seen as 'the enemy,' but unfortunates who appeal to him in the name of *pietas*" (Lee 85). No longer the model of *pietas* that Anchises raised, Aeneas' wrath parallels that of Achilles at the death of his friend (and surrogate) Patroclus.

After Aeneas' grief-induced killing spree has ended with the death of Lausus and Mezentius, he begins to prepare to send Pallas' body to Evander and for funeral games for his fallen surrogate. During his preparations, Aeneas' thoughts immediately travel to the Arcadian king and his reaction to his son's death, wondering if Evander is preparing for his son to come back triumphantly, rather than lifelessly:

> "Unlucky man, you must
> behold the agonizing burial of your son . . .
> Is this how we return? Our longed-for triumph?
> Is this my binding pledge? Ah, but Evander, you
> will never see him retreat, hit by a shameful wound,

never pray for a father's wretched death, disgraced

by a son who lives safely on" (Fagles 11.60-66)

Aeneas' thoughts are immediately paternal. Although Aeneas has acted with the rage of a surrogate father, he realizes in this moment that his grief must pale in comparison to Evander's.

But perhaps more importantly, Aeneas' reaction to Pallas' death proves that he feels anxiety about his own role as father. Aeneas' grief and *furor* after learning of Pallas' death are understandable because "Pallas was his ward and he has failed to save him from death" (Gaskin 300). If Aeneas cannot save another man's son, will he be able to protect his own? Aeneas' rampage after Pallas' death, then, illustrates some of the vulnerabilities of the Trojan prince: he is still unsure of his own place as a father, despite having repeatedly acted as a father to other young men. This anxiety about his son's security leads to his uncharacteristic lack of *pietas* in the poem's concluding moments.

Aeneas' reaction to Pallas' death illuminates the motivation behind taking him as a surrogate. Although he has previously been a model of *pietas* and restraint, Aeneas becomes unhinged after Pallas' death, displaying total blood lust for someone he has known for literally days in the time of the poem. Aeneas does not react as violently at the deaths of Nisus and Euryalus because they are two of many Trojans who die at the hands of Turnus and the Latins. Pallas, on the other hand, is the only one of his surrogates who was given to him and chosen by him, making his death more powerful and personal to Aeneas than any of those who have come before. As a result of this unprecedented emotional impact, Aeneas reacts with an unprecedented outburst of violence.

In his book *The Last Trojan Hero*, Philip Hardie argues that Aeneas' wrath in this scene can be compared to his wrath during the fall of Troy when Aeneas once again appears to kill indiscriminately (1808). But the differences between Aeneas' rampages are twofold. First, in Book 2 Aeneas' opponents are often nameless, faceless Greeks who characters are poorly defined and who are clearly not designed to evoke sympathy. After the death of Pallas, Aeneas' opponents are a series of notable characters, particularly defined by their patrilineal relationships (Lausus and Mezentius being the most glaring examples).

Second, Aeneas' first violent eruption ends abruptly when an image of the deaths of fathers and sons awakens him from his fury and reminds him of his duty to his father and son, his *pietas*. In the poem's concluding scene, however, Aeneas' final opponent, Turnus, tries to reason with the Trojan, begging:

> "If
>
> some care for a parent's grief can touch you still,
>
> I pray you—you had such a father, in old Anchises—
>
> pity Daunus in his old age and send me back to my own people
>
> . . .
>
> I stretch my hands to you,
>
> so the men of Latium have seen me in defeat.
>
> Lavinia is your bride.
>
> Go no further down the road of hatred." (Fagles 12.1084-1087, 1090-1093)

It is an unequivocal surrender and one that Aeneas would have accepted earlier in the poem both as an act of goodwill against the people he was essentially conquering and because of Turnus' appeal to Aeneas' filial *pietas*.

But Aeneas does not capitulate to Turnus' appeal. Instead, motivated by the vision of the dead Pallas' armor on Turnus, Aeneas invokes his fallen surrogate son, saying, "Pallas strikes this blow, Pallas sacrifices you now" as he drives his sword into Turnus (Fagles 12.1107). The death of Turnus is Aeneas' final act as a surrogate father. He has to kill Turnus in revenge for the death of Pallas because "he sees vengeance as *pietas*" (Lee 88). Unlike Aeneas' relationship with Ascanius (or Anchises for that matter), Aeneas' relationship with Pallas was not based on blood but based on words and deeds. Therefore, his relationship has to be sealed with action. In the final moments of the poem Aeneas has finally distanced himself from his father's legacy by taking the exact opposite approach to a vanquished enemy that his father would have.

Aeneas' taking on of surrogate sons did solidify his identity as distinct from Anchises, but it is maybe not the identity he would want to have solidified. He has abandoned his *pietas* and instead has committed himself to a life of *furor*. It is easy to imagine Aeneas continuing to pay lip service to the values of his father and the Trojan people, but his actions have revealed a very different motivator: revenge. Aeneas' actions not only impact his own character but that of his descendants. Just like Aeneas was defined by Anchises' *pietas,* Aeneas' Roman descendants will be defined by his actions: they will make the appearances of *pietas* but will ultimately succumb to violence and furor.

In both texts, surrogacy helps to serve as a bridge between former identities (as Simon's son, as Anchises' son) and the masculine adult identity both men are ready to take on. Lee points out that "The archetypal hero moves from mother to father. He proves his manhood by passing from matriarchal to patriarchal influences, and eventually achieves the integration of his powers, synthesizing the male and female elements" (115). Both Aeneas and Stephen struggle to make this transition, although to differing degrees.

Throughout *Ulysses*, Stephen is confronted by the ghost of his mother. In the Telemachus episode, Stephen recalls a dream in which his mother appears before him. As he remembers the dream, he begs, "No mother. Let me be and let me live" (10). Stephen's relationships with Mulligan, his father, and his sisters are irrevocably altered by his mother's death. Later, during the hallucinatory scene in Nighttown, Bloom calms Stephen when he sees his mother's face. Until this point Stephen has not truly confronted his mother's death. In Nighttown, with the influence of his surrogate father to buoy him, he is able to confront her, thus moving him from the realm of the feminine to the realm of the masculine.

For Aeneas the transition from maternal to paternal influences also marks a transition from the realm of the divine to the realm of the mortal. Aeneas' mother, Venus, appears to Aeneas directly in Book I, guiding him to safety in Carthage. Notably, Venus' intervention comes just after Anchises' death, when Aeneas is first left solely in charge of the Trojans he is travelling with. Without Anchises, Aeneas no longer has a masculine influence, even if that influence was overbearing. By taking on surrogates,

Aeneas asserts his masculine identity, no longer relying on his mother's feminine influence to guide him and his decisions.

The denouement of Aeneas' and Stephen's narratives with their surrogates varies not only because of their ages but also because of the context in which their stories were written. In *Dreams of the Burning Child*, David Lee Miller argues that authors, in times of political crisis or upheaval, center the patrilineal relationship, reasserting the power of patriarchal rule (9). He notes, "The most ambitious literary texts take as their objects of representation social and political systems built on patricentric kinship relations, weighing the religious and historical dimensions of social order against its personal costs" (7). Aeneas, despite taking several surrogate sons, ends the poem not balancing masculine and feminine energies but engaging in the decidedly masculine vanquishing of his enemy. In his biography of Virgil, Levi notes that Virgil composed the *Aeneid* in what may be the most tumultuous time period in Roman, even Western history (7). Aeneas' ending supports Miller's theory: in a time of political crisis, Aeneas' masculine energy supersedes his feminine.

On the other hand, at the end of *Ulysses* the reader is left with the sense that both Stephen and Bloom "turn out alright in the end." Bloom returns home to Molly, potentially to reconcile and let go of his fear of fathering another child. Although Stephen is left on his own, if, as many critics do, the real-life character of James Joyce can be read on top of him, the reader is left with a sense that the encounter with Bloom will alter him for the better. Kiberd argues, "In a truly radical sense, [Stephen's] depression will be finally lifted not just by Bloom's kindness but by the flash of insight in which Stephen learns that he can immortalise his ordinary rescuer in a great book"

(207). Although Joyce wrote part of *Ulysses* during World War I, he completed the novel after the war was over. In some ways, Joyce's book is a response to that period of crisis, rather than an artifact of it. The war, a clear example of the dangers of unchecked masculine energy, informed both Joyce's writing and Stephen's resolution. Unlike Aeneas, Stephen has found the balance between the feminine energy of his mother and the masculine energy of Bloom.

In the end of the *Odyssey*, however, "only [Telemachus'] real father, Odysseus himself, can help Telemachus achieve what he most wants: a position of greater power in his own household" (Wilson 49). While Telemachus encounters shadow and surrogate fathers throughout the poem it is only his true father who can provide him with the fully-formed identity that caused him to set off from Ithaca in the first place. When, at the end of the *Odyssey* Odysseus leaves Ithaca, Telemachus stands poised to lead his kingdom. Although "Kinship through the male line . . . is a social relation," it is also a genetic one (Fields qtd in Miller 5). Like their Homeric predecessor, Aeneas and Stephen must understand their fathers before they can understand themselves. Unlike Telemachus, Aeneas and Stephen never become fully formed men because they have not yet reconciled the roles their fathers and their failures will play in their lives.

Conclusion: To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield

Homer's *Odyssey* concludes with Odysseus' return home, his defeat of the suitors, and his finally taking his place as the head of not only his own household but of his kingdom. Yet before he can rule peacefully Odysseus must face one more challenge: the fathers of the suitors have come to avenge the deaths of their sons at the hands of Odysseus and his son. As they prepare for the battle, Odysseus says:

> "Now, son,
> Soon you will have experience of fighting
> in battle, the truest test of worth. You must
> not shame your father's family; for years
> we have been known across the world for courage
> and manliness." (Wilson 24. 505-510)

In this tense and turbulent moment, Odysseus is quick to instruct Telemachus not on the ways of war (which his son has never experienced), but on the expectation that being the son of Odysseus entails.

Telemachus, now confident in his role as Odysseus' son and future head of the household, tells Odysseus, enthusiastically, that he is ready to make Odysseus and his family proud:

> Telemachus inhaled,
> then said, "Just watch me, Father, if you want
> to see my spirit. I will bring no shame
> onto your family. You should not speak

of shame." (Wilson 24. 510 - 514)

Telemachus' father has provided him with the confidence to stand on his own. Until now Telemachus has not asserted himself in an authoritative manner. But because his father, the masculine figure he needed to anchor himself to, has returned, Telemachus can now grow into a man in his own right.

While Homer's *Odyssey* ends there, with Athena successfully helping Odysseus and Telemachus thwart the suitors' revenge-seeking families, neither Odysseus' nor Telemachus' stories are over. In his journey to the Underworld, Odysseus received a prophecy from the seer Tiresias that his journey would not end when he returned to Ithaca. To finally appease the gods, Odysseus must embark on one last journey away from his wife and son.

While Homer never chronicled Odysseus' final journey, nineteenth century poet Alfred Lord Tennyson did in his poem, "Ulysses." Tennyson imagined, in Odysseus' voice, how the wanderer would feel leaving his family one final time.

Tennyson's Odysseus is not despondent about leaving his recently re-acquired family. After describing Penelope as "an aged wife," Odysseus thinks of Telemachus:

This is my son, mine own Telemachus,

To whom I leave the sceptre and the isle,—

. . .

Most blameless is he, centred in the sphere

Of common duties, decent not to fail

In offices of tenderness, and pay

Meet adoration to my household gods,

When I am gone. He works his work, I mine. (33-34; 39-43)

Although this is not Homer's Odysseus', the comments on Telemachus here are notable. Tennyson's interpretation is indicative of the *mores* of his time: a generation or two removed from James Joyce, Tennyson's Victorian ideas about fathers and sons are on display here. Odysseus is comfortable leaving Telemachus alone as the primary ruler of Ithaca because he has demonstrated his character, which is, in many ways, the opposite of his father's. While Odysseus wants to roam, free of the shackles of domestic life, Telemachus is "centred in the sphere / of common duties." Throughout the *Odyssey* Telemachus worked to create an identity for himself in relationship to his father. This post-*Odyssey* Telemachus has done just that although maybe not in the way he may have hoped or expected. Telemachus' identity is defined by his relationship his father not in the ways they are alike (as it had been before he truly knew his father when he used genetic similarities to create patrilineal identity) but by the ways they are different. Telemachus, this Odysseus implies, is a steady, reliable presence who can rule Ithaca capably in his father's stead. Odysseus, on the other hand, is a wanderer, not fit to rule "a savage race, / That hoard, and sleep, and feed, and know not me."

At the end of their stories Stephen and Aeneas, too, find themselves defined by their male relationships, their surrogate relationships if not their biological ones. Both Stephen and Aeneas are left standing on their own, literally and figuratively. At the end of the evening Stephen walks away from Leopold Bloom. As the battle ends, Aeneas stands alone above the body of Turnus. Like Telemachus, both men find themselves embracing identities that are antithetical to the identities of their fathers (and of the

identities their fathers may have wished for them to adopt). Both men have, through their relationships with their surrogate father and sons respectively, found the masculine presence needed to propel them into adulthood.

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