The Eighth Episode of *Ulysses* and
*The Cheese and the Worms* by Carlo Ginzburg

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1. Eating in the Eighth Episode of *Ulysses*

"Lestrygonians," the eighth episode of James Joyce's *Ulysses*, mainly takes up the subject of eating. The episode examines the problem of eating by connecting it with various spheres such as politics, economics, history, culture, and self-fashioning. Among these concerns, the relationship between eating and religion is very important. At the beginning of the episode, in the stream of consciousness of Leopold Bloom, Catholicism is implicitly criticized in its relationship with eating.

In this episode Bloom also carefully considers what to eat for lunch. After pondering vegetarianism and the piteous animals in the cattle market, he finally chooses a Gorgonzola cheese sandwich and a glass of burgundy wine for lunch at Davy Byrne's "moral" pub. Meditating on "Kosher," and the "Yom Kippur fast" in the Jewish dietary culture, he orders lunch at the pub.


--Have you a cheese sandwich?
--Yes, sir.

Like a few olives too if they had them. Italian I prefer. Good glass of burgundy take away that. Lubricate. A nice salad, cool as a cucumber, Tom Kernan can dress. Puts gusto into it. Pure olive oil. Milly served me that cutlet with a sprig of parsley. Take one Spanish onion. God made food, the devil the cooks. Devilled crab.

--Wife well?

— 7 —
--Quite well, thanks.... A cheese sandwich, then. Gorgonzola, have you?
--Yes, sir. (8.751-65)

Concerning Bloom’s lunch, we should pay attention to the following points:

1. Wine and bread are connected to Jesus Christ’s blood and body at the Eucharist.
2. Bloom thinks of Italy when he makes his order at the pub. Gorgonzola is a famous Italian cheese, and he also thinks about Italian olives.
3. Bloom has an obsession about cheese.

Various reasons will be proposed as to why Bloom has selected such items for his lunch. Bloom’s choice may simply be a reflection of Joyce’s meals in his Italian days. John Garvin presents Joyce’s menu on a day in 1906 when he was in Rome. At 6:00 p.m. his meal includes gorgonzola cheese and wine.

10:30 a.m. Ham, bread and butter, coffee.
1:30 p.m Soup, roast lamb and potatoes, bread and wine.
4:00 p.m Beef-stew, bread and wine.
6:00 p.m Roast veal, bread, gorgonzola cheese and wine.
8:30 p.m. Roast veal, bread and grapes and vermouth.
9:30 p.m. Veal cutlets, bread, salad, grapes and wine. (78)

In her The Joyce of Cooking, Alison Armstrong suggests a reason for Bloom’s choice of cheese.

Bloom and Molly fall between these two extremes of “Weggebobbles”/fruits/nuts on the one hand and gluttony/cannibalism/mutton stew on the other. Bloom chooses “mighty cheese” for lunch primarily because it is neither meat nor herb. (233)

Armstrong’s explanation is reasonable, since Bloom has been considering both vegetarianism and meat-eating prior to deciding what to eat for lunch.

Lindsey Tucker, in her Stephen and Bloom at Life’s Feast, proposes very suggestive reasons for Bloom’s selection of cheese. After admitting that one of the reasons for Bloom’s selection is that cheese is “a neutral kind of food” which has no relationship with slaughter, she suggests some new significance for Bloom’s preference for cheese, relating it with the scene of Patty Dignam’s burial in “Hades,” the sixth episode.
Bloom’s selection of cheese perhaps seems odd. Of course it is most apparently chosen in reaction to the brutal eating, the animality expressed by the eaters at the Burton. It seems a neutral kind of food because it does not seem to be involved in slaughter or sacrifice. Roy Arthur Swanson, recognizing the eucharistic nature of Bloom’s meal, allows that although eating may be cannibalistic it need not be “animalistic,” and that Bloom transforms eating into a “pastoral-scale repast.” The selection of cheese does seem to suggest Bloom’s unwillingness to participate in any “sacrifice” of the kind seen at the Burton. Bloom, like “mighty cheese,” would like to digest everything but himself. However, Bloom’s thoughts on Dignam’s death in “Hades” suggest some additional insights on his preference for cheese at this time. (71, emphasis mine)

As Tucker points out, we can see Bloom’s obsession with cheese in the sixth episode, especially in the following two passages. In the first, Bloom ponders the process of decay of a corpse, wherein the dead body rots like cheese while the cells go on living and a great mass of maggots breed.

I daresay the soil would be quite fat with corpsemanure, bones, flesh, nails. Charnelhouses. Dreadful. Turning green and pink decomposing. Rot quick in damp earth. The lean old ones tougher. Then a kind of a tallowy kind of a cheesy. Then begin to get black, black treacle oozing out of them. Then dried up. Deathmoths. Of course the cells or whatever they are go on living. Changing about. Live for ever practically. Nothing to feed on feed on themselves.

But they must breed a devil of a lot of maggots. Soil must be simply swirling with them. (6.776-84, emphasis mine)

In the other passage, Bloom regards cheese as a “corpse of milk,” comparing a rat’s eating of the human body to cannibalism.

Making his rounds.
Tail gone now.
One of those chaps would make short work of a fellow. Pick the bones clean no matter who it was. Ordinary meat for them. A corpse is meat gone bad. Well and what’s cheese? Corpse of milk. (6.978-82, emphasis mine)

As Tucker observes, “Beyond decay, there is the suggestion of regeneration” (71). It is significant in these quotations that Bloom relates cheese not only to death and decay but also to regeneration and the perpetuation of life. If we read the following two passages from a completely different text, keeping Bloom’s views of cheese in mind, we cannot help feeling something in common between the two texts.
I have said that, in my opinion, all was chaos, that is, earth, air, water, and fire were mixed together; and out of that bulk a mass formed——just as cheese is made out of milk——and worms appeared in it, and these were the angels. (5-6)

In the beginning this world was nothing, and... it was thrashed by the water of the sea like foam, and it curdled like a cheese, from which later great multitudes of worms were born, and these worms became men, of whom the most powerful and wisest was God. (58)

These two passages present the view of the universe held by Menocchio, or Domenico Scandella (1532~1599), a miller in the Friuli region in Northern Italy in the sixteenth century. The source of the quotations is Carlo Ginzburg’s *The Cheese and the Worms.*

In *Ulysses,* “cheese” is associated with the decay of a corpse and regeneration. Menocchio employs the word of “cheese” when he explains the genesis of the universe. In both cases, “cheese” and “maggots” are given metaphorical meanings to explain life or the universe.

Friuli, where Menocchio lived, is a district which the Celts inhabited in ancient times. In addition, Trieste, where James Joyce spent almost eleven years between 1905 and 1920, is located at the eastern end of Friuli. These historical and geographical factors may play a substantial part in the commonality of ideas between Menocchio and Joyce.

In this article we will compare the text of *Ulysses,* mainly that of the eighth episode, with the thought of Menocchio, and explore the significance of Bloom’s lunch in that episode.

2. Mennocchio’s Thought

Menocchio was denounced to the Holy Office because of his heterodoxy, and after two trials he was burned to death at the stake in November, 1599. Only three months later, Giordano Bruno (1548~1600), an Italian philosopher and mystic who had a great influence on Joyce, was also burned to death in Rome. In the eighth episode of *Ulysses,* a fragment of Bruno’s thought, “food, chyle, blood, dung, earth, food” (8.929-30), appears in Bloom’s mind when he thinks about the dynamic cycle of food and life. The Friuli district where Menocchio lived was governed by Venice, and Bruno was arrested in 1592 when he was in Venice. These two heretical thinkers were in the same region in the same period.

Ginzburg presents Menocchio’s criticism of the Roman Catholic Church as follows:

Even if Menocchio’s opinions grew out of his own predicament, they ended by becoming much broader in scope. His call for a church that would abandon its privileges and reduce itself to poverty alongside the poor was tied to a different
religious concept, rooted in the Gospels, free of dogmatic requirements, and reduced to a core of practical precepts: “I would want us to believe in the majesty of God, to be good, and to do as Jesus Christ commanded when he replied to those Jews who questioned him about what law was to be kept: ‘Love God and your neighbor.’” For Menocchio this simplified religion didn’t call for confessional restrictions. His impassioned exaltation of the equality of all religions was based on the idea that illumination was granted to all men in equal measure—“the majesty of God has given the Holy Spirit to all, to Christians, to heretics, to Turks, and to Jews; and he considers them all dear, and they are all saved in the same manner.” And he concluded with a violent outburst against his judges and their doctrinal arrogance: “You priests and monks, you too want to know more than God, and you are like the devil, and you want to become gods on earth, and know as much as God, following in the footsteps of the devil. In fact, the more one thinks he knows, the less he knows.” And casting restraint and prudence aside, Menocchio declared that he rejected all the sacraments, including baptism, as human inventions, as “merchandise,” instruments of exploitation and oppression in the hands of the clergy.... (9-10)

The following key points can be distilled from this passage:

1. The Roman Catholic Church should “abandon its privileges” and “dogmatic requirements.”

2. God granted illumination “to all, Christians, heretics, Turks, Jews,” in equal measure, and “he considers them all dear, and they are all saved in the same manner.”

3. All the sacraments, including baptism, are “human inventions, ‘merchandise,’ and the instruments of exploitation and oppression in the hands of the clergy.”

These three points correspond closely to Leopold Bloom’s view of religion in Ulysses. As for (1), it is obvious that Bloom assumes a critical attitude toward Catholicism. In the eighth episode Bloom indicates that people in Ireland cannot take enough food because they are poor and have many children, while the “butteries and larders” (8.35) of the Catholic churches are full of stocks. Concerning (2), Bloom is also alike in not believing in one specific religion. About (3), Bloom shares the same idea with Menocchio. In the fifth episode, while observing a mass, Bloom says in his mind, “Liberty and exaltation of our holy mother the church. The doctors of the church: they mapped out the whole theology of it” (5.439-41).

According to Ginzburg, Menocchio criticized the sacrament of the Eucharist. He exclaimed in front of a vicar one day when the wafers were being made, “By the Virgin Mary, these are great beasts” (10). On another occasion, arguing with a priest, he said, “I do not see anything there but a piece of dough, how can this be our Lord
God? And what is God anyway? Nothing but earth, water, and air” (10-11). Joyce shows a similar critical attitude toward this sacrament through Bloom’s baffled irreverence about the Host in the fifth episode:

Something like those mazzoth: it’s that sort of bread: unleavened showbread. Look at them. Now I bet it makes them feel happy. Lollipop. It does. Yes, bread of angels it’s called. There’s a big idea behind it, kind of kingdom of God is within you feel. (5.358-61)

Menocchio pointed out that the Church and the ruling class deceived the poor by the use of Latin, as Ginzburg describes here:

He began by denouncing the way the rich tyrannized the poor in the courts by using such an incomprehensible language as Latin: “I think speaking Latin is a betrayal of the poor because in lawsuits the poor do not know what is being said and are crushed; and if they want to say four words they need a lawyer.” But this was only one instance of a prevailing exploitation in which the Church was an accomplice and participant…. (9)

In the same way, Bloom notes how the priest mystifies people by using Latin:

The priest bent down to put it into her mouth, murmuring all the time. Latin. The next one. Shut your eyes and open your mouth. What? Corpus: body Corpse. Good idea the Latin. Stupefies them first. Hospice for the dying. They don’t seem to chew it: only swallow it down. Rum idea: eating bits of a corpse. Why the cannibals cotton to it. (5.348-52).

In this passage, which is Joyce’s attack on Catholicism, Bloom associates the sacrament with cannibalism, which is one of the main themes of the eighth episode. Menocchio was also interested in cannibalism. Joyce and Menocchio share a wide range of interests. In order to reveal the sources of Menocchio’s idea, we will examine some of the books which Menocchio had read, and consider the commonality of thought between them.

3. The Sources of Menocchio’s Ideas and Ulysses

For a miller in the sixteenth century, Menocchio was an exceptionally great reader. In The Cheese and the Worms, the titles of eleven books which influenced him are mentioned. When he was tried for his heretical thought, he said, “My opinions came out of my head” (27). However, during the first trial he mentioned the following books as the sources of his ideas:
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1. The Bible in the vernacular…;
2. Il Fioretto della Bibbia…;
3. Il Lucidario (or Rosario?) della Madonna…;
4. Il Lucendario (sic, for Legendario) de santi…;
5. Historia del giudicio…;
6. Il cavallier Zuanne de Mandavilla…;
7. “A Book called Zampollo”…;

To these titles should be added others in mentioned in the second trial.

8. Il supplimento delle cronache…;
9. Lunario al mondo di Italia calcolato composto nella città di Pesaro dal ecc.mo dottore Marino Camilo de Leonardis…;
10. the Decameron of Boccaccio in an unexpurgated edition;
11. an unidentified book that a witness supposed was the Koran….

(29-30)

In order to consider the similarity of thought between Menocchio and Joyce, in the list of the books above, we will focus on the three books, Il cavallier Zuanne de Mandavilla, Il supplimento delle cronache, and the Decameron, which influenced Menocchio’s basic ideas about cannibalism, chaos, and Jews, respectively.

(1) Cannibalism

It was through the book entitled Il cavallier Zuanne de Mandavilla that Menocchio became familiar with cannibalism, or the eating of human flesh. The book contains the records of travels to such distant countries as India and China. It also includes the description of imaginary “islands inhabited by cannibals, Pigmies, and men with the heads of dogs” (44). With the records of these travels, Menocchio realized the diversity of beliefs and practices in the world and he began to ask himself about the foundations of his own beliefs and actions. He acquired the perspective of seeing the world in which he lived from the outside, relatively and objectively.

The description of cannibalism can be found in Il cavallier Zuanne de Mandavilla in the chapter about the island of Dondun. There, when someone becomes ill and has very little hope of recovery, “by suffocating him they kill him, and then they slice up the body into pieces and invite all their friends to come and eat from his dead body, and they summon as many pipers as they can, and thus eat with great rejoicing and with great solemnity” (46). They claim that “they eat his flesh to free him from suffering” (46), which shows that cannibalism from their perspective is not a savage custom at all.

While Menocchio realized that eating human flesh was not a savage practice, Joyce overturns the common view on cannibalism in another way. It has been well-known
that European Christendom promoted colonization along with the cause of evangelization, fabricating a fictitious story that the native inhabitants practiced the barbarous custom of cannibalism. What is pointed out in Ulysses is that cannibalism had already been incorporated into the Christian culture. Mami Adachi observes, “We might have to be reminded that the Eucharist itself is based on the imagery of eating Christ’s flesh and drinking his blood” (198). Her observation reminds us of the scene in which Bloom associates the sacrament with cannibalism.

Another reason for Bloom’s obsession with cannibalism is that while attending Dignam’s burial he imagined a rat eating a human body and pondered the continuity of life. In the eighth episode, encapsulating the descriptions of cannibalism, Bloom thinks in succession about potted meat, Dignam’s dead body, and cannibalism immediately before he orders his lunch:

Potted meats. What is home without Plumtree’s potted meat? Incomplete. What a stupid ad! Under the obituary notices they stuck it. All up a plumtree. Dignam’s potted meat. Cannibals would with lemon and rice. White missionary too salty. Like pickled pork. Expect the chief consumes the parts of honour. Ought to be tough from exercise. His wives in a row to watch the effect. There was a right royal old nigger. Who ate or something the somethings of the reverend Mr MacTrigger. With it an abode of bliss. Lord knows what concoction. Cauls mouldy tripes windpipes faked and minced up. Puzzle find the meat. (8.742-51)

Here again, there is a striking correspondence between Menocchio’s concerns and Bloom’s reveries.

(2) Chaos

In the eighth episode Bloom recalls the question asked by Martha, a woman with whom Bloom carries on an illicit correspondence: “Tell me who made the world” (8.329). Both Joyce and Menocchio were deeply interested in the question of how and by whom the world came to be. Menocchio once said “in my opinion, all was chaos, that is, earth, air, water, and fire were mixed together…” (52). Ginzburg explains that Menocchio took the learned term “chaos” from the book entitled the Supplementum supplementi delle croniche, written at the end of the fifteenth century by the Augustinian hermit Jacopo Filippo Foresti. The book mentions Ovid’s idea of Chaos in his Metamorphoses. As Ginzburg quotes, at the beginning of the book Ovid writes,

Before earth, sea, and the sky, which covers everything, existed, nature had an appearance throughout its expanse that the philosophers called Chaos, a great and inchoate matter: and it was nothing but an uncertain and sluggish weight, and discordant seeds of things not well combined gathered in that same expanse. (53)
According to Ginzburg, “Beginning with the idea of harmonizing the Bible with Ovid, Foresti had ended by proposing a universe that was more Ovidian than biblical. The concept of a primordial chaos, of a ‘great and inchoate matter’ made a strong impression on Menocchio” (53), and gave him a motive to construct his theory about the universe in which “all was chaos.”

It is well known that the name of Stephen Dedalus, another chief character in *Ulysses*, is derived from Daedalus “the fabulous artificer” (*Portrait* 183) in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. In the ninth episode of *Ulysses* Stephen asserts that the world is “founded upon the void” (9.842). If we consider that one of the definitions of the word “chaos” is “void” in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, we cannot help but realize that Stephen’s cosmogony, which is unfolded as follows, is very close to Menocchio’s.

Boccaccio’s Calandrino was the first and last man who felt himself with child. Fatherhood, in the sense of conscious begetting, is unknown to man. It is a mystical estate, an apostolic succession, from only begetter to only begotten. On that mystery and not on the madonna which the cunning Italian intellect flung to the mob of Europe the church is founded and founded irremovably because founded, like the world, macro and microcosm, upon the void. Upon incertitude, upon unlikelihood. (9.836-42)

(3) the Jews

By a curious coincidence, the citation above from the ninth episode mentions Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, which Menocchio also read. In *The Cheese and the Worms*, Ginzburg explains the story of Melchisedec the Jew, the third story of the first day in the *Decameron*. King Saladin of Babylon was in need of a large sum of money, and, having devised a reasonable pretext for extorting the money from Melchisedec, a wealthy Jew, asked him a difficult question: “which of the three laws thou reputest the true law, the law of the Jews, the law of the Saracens, or the law of the Christians?” (*Decameron Web*). The wise Jew told the king the story of the three rings, and evaded the trap. During the second trial Menocchio related the story in detail to the inquisitor sitting in judgment.

There was once a great lord who declared his heir would be the person found to have a certain precious ring of his; and drawing near to his death, he had two other rings similar to the first one made, since he had three sons, and he gave a ring to each son; each one of them thought himself to be the heir and to have the true ring, but because of their similarity it could not be known with certainty. Likewise, God the Father has various children whom he loves, such as Christians, Turks, and Jews…. (49)
Ginzburg expounds, “The Decameron, or at least part of it—the third story of the first day in which the legend of the three rings is told—made a profound impression on Menocchio.... Certainly, Menocchio's religious attitude, so intolerant of confessional restrictions, must have found support in the story of Melchizedec the Jew” (50).

In the fifteenth episode of Ulysses Leopold Bloom makes a speech about social reform. His opinion shares something in common with the legend of the three rings.

I stand for the reform of municipal morals and the plain ten commandments. New worlds for old. Union of all, jew, moslem and gentile.... esperanto the universal language with universal brotherhood. No more patriotism of barspongers and dropsical impostors. Free money, free rent, free love and a free lay church in a free lay state. (15.1685-93)

It is noteworthy that this scene in the fifteenth episode recalls the eighth episode. The audience of his speech includes Davy Byrne, the owner of the restaurant where Bloom takes lunch, and Nosey Flynn, a regular at the restaurant.

Bloom criticizes Catholicism, stripped of substance, and narrow-minded nationalism. On the other hand he searches for the possibility of social reform and envisions his ideal society. Menocchio's thought was very similar to Bloom's. Ginzburg explains,

But what renders Menocchio's case that much more complicated is the fact that these obscure popular elements are grafted onto an extremely clear and logical complex of ideas, from religious radicalism, to a naturalism tending toward the scientific, to utopian aspirations of social reform. (xix)

Melchisedec the Jew, who had a great influence on Menocchio, can be associated with Leopold Bloom if we read the following catechism in the seventeenth episode, where the scene with Bloom's lunch is mentioned:

What past consecutive causes, before rising preapprehended, of accumulated fatigue did Bloom, before rising, silently recapitulate?

The preparation of breakfast (burnt offering): intestinal congestion and premeditative defecation (holy of holies): the bath (rite of John): the funeral (rite of Samuel): the advertisement of Alexander Keyes (Urim and Thummim): the unsubstantial lunch (rite of Melchisedek) .... (17.2042-47, emphasis mine)

Don Gifford annotates “the unsubstantial lunch (rite of Melchisedek)” as follows: “The ‘unsubstantial lunch’ recalls the Jewish priest’s quasifast at noonday: Melchisedek is the archetypal priest of the Old Testament: ‘And Melchizedek king of Salem brought
forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God’ (Genesis 14:18)” (601). However, if we consider the commonality of thought between Menocchio and Joyce, we can take “Melchisedek” in the quotation from the seventeenth episode for the Jew in the legend of the three rings.

4. Conclusion

What are the reasons for the correspondence of thought between Menocchio and Joyce? One reason may be the similarity in historical background between them. In Northern Italy, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, the wave of religious reformation was coming. Coping with the wave, Roman Catholic Church increased pressure on Protestants, tightened its regulations over the people, and tried to remove the heretics.

In Dublin, more than three hundred years later, the domination by Catholicism cannot avoid criticism. Leopold Bloom, in the beginning of the episode, thinking about the poverty of Simon Dedalus' family, criticizes the doctrines of Catholicism.

Fifteen children he had. Birth every year almost. That’s in their theology or the priest won’t give the poor woman the confession, the absolution. Increase and multiply. Did you ever hear such an idea? Eat you out of house and home. No families themselves to feed. Living on the fat of the land. Their butteries and larders. I’d like to see them do the black fast Yom Kippur. (8.31-36)

After satisfying his appetite at Davy Byrne's, he sees a pamphlet entitled “Why I left the church of Rome” (8.1070-71), written by a Canadian minister who was ordained a Catholic priest and switched allegiance to the Presbyterian church (Gifford 186). The title of the pamphlet, which was written to attack the Roman Catholic Church, may further suggest a symbolic relation between Menocchio’s era and Joyce’s.

Another reason may be that Joyce had been living in Trieste in Northern Italy for a long time. Richard Ellmann describes Joyce in Trieste as follows:

So he brought, in the person of Ulysses, the bright though unsentimentalized Mediterranean world to somber Dublin.

Joyce did not suspect he would change in this way in Trieste. Although for the moment he did not like the city much, he saw in it certain resemblances to Dublin and felt he understood it. Like Dublin, Trieste had a large population but remained a small town. Everyone looked familiar; the same people went to the same cafés, to the opera and to the theater. Joyce was particularly taken with the dialect; if Dublin speech is distinctive, Triestine speech is much more so, having its own spellings and verb forms and an infusion of Slovene and other
words. Not only was Triestino a special dialect, but the residents of Trieste, who had congregated there from Greece, Austria, Hungary, and Italy, all spoke the dialect with special pronunciations. The puns and international jokes that resulted delighted Joyce.

Trieste resembled Dublin, too, in its Irredentist movement; the similarity here was so striking that Joyce found he could interest his Italian friends in Irish political parallels, though no doubt he would have compelled them to listen in any case. (196)

We can imagine that Joyce, in Trieste, an international city, nurtured diverse senses of value and heard various stories from his Italian friends. He may have heard of Menocchio of the Friuli district and of his ideas, for Trieste is culturally very close to Friuli as Ellmann notes:

Oddly enough, Triestino had once been close to the language spoken nearby called Friulano, which is of Celtic origin. (196)

John McCourt observes further that Teodoro Mayer, a Hungarian Jew who was the "founder and owner of Il Piccolo and Il Piccolo della Sera, the city newspapers" (94) is one of his models for Leopold Bloom. Joyce adopted Mayer as the prototype for Bloom in Trieste, and rounded out the main character in Ulysses, while he may have simultaneously had Menocchio and his ideas in mind.

One of the reasons for Bloom's selection of cheese for lunch is that it is a food associated with the regeneration of life and the creation of the world. Owing to this lunch, he recovers his spirits, overcoming the unpleasant sensation of feeling “as if I had been eaten and spewed” (8.495). However, this cheese in Ulysses is not merely a dish which revives Bloom. We can say that it is a clue pointing us to Menocchio, his ideas, and the religious situation in Northern Italy in the sixteenth century, superimposed over the real situation in Dublin in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Note
This paper is based on the Japanese manuscript read at the nineteenth annual conference of the James Joyce Society of Japan held at Aoyama Gakuin University on June 16, 2007.

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