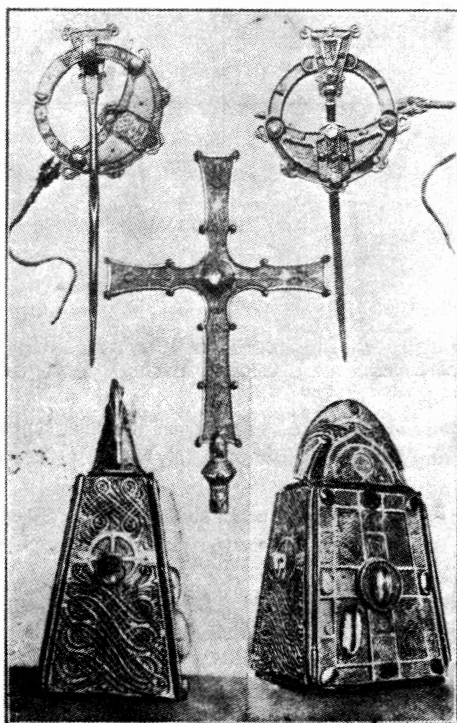


A *FINNEGANS WAKE* CIRCULAR



Tara Brooch (back). Cross of Cong. Tara Brooch (Front).
Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell (End). Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell (Front)
From photographs kindly supplied by the National Museum.

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CONTENTS

The Wellspring of the Saints: J.M. Flood in B.3.....	<i>Vincent Deane</i>	1
Index: VI.B.3.....		7
K's Orisons.....	<i>Terence Killeen</i>	27
St. Martin of Tours.....	<i>Wim van Mierlo</i>	29
Index One: VI.B.2.....		31
Index Two: VI.C.2.....		43
Forthcoming Issues.....		44

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THE WELLSPRING OF THE SAINTS: J.M. FLOOD IN B.3.

Once the omphalic cord had been severed and *Ulysses* finally sent out into the world, Joyce was faced with the challenge of conceiving a new project on a comparable scale. Clearly this could hardly be anything less than the 'universal history' he told Miss Weaver about on his first meeting with her in London, in August 1922.¹ However, he still needed to find some more tangible starting-point in order to begin the actual process of composition. As a result the first notebook, VI.B.10, for the new work-not-yet-in-progress, contains hardly any notes that could be classified strictly as 'historical'. It consists rather of idioms, personal names, and possible plot generators, captured for the most part from newspaper or magazine articles on topics of the day,² all hoarded away for future use — when, it was hoped, some sort of concrete framework would emerge to indicate specific functions for them.

There is no sign that Joyce had found this framework when he entered the last notes into B.10, around the beginning of February 1923; yet just over a month later he was able to produce 'Roderick O'Connor', his first actual draft text and the first of the series of vignettes — unequivocally historical — that were to characterise the first phase of composition of his new work.

The conceptual pedigree of Roderick is still obscure. The first draft is missing, and of the ink faircopy that underlies the second draft referred to by Joyce in his letter to Miss Weaver, only one unit, 'Art MacMurrough Kavanagh', appears to come from an extant notebook (B.10.054). The last preelectric King has of course forerunners in

¹Patricia Hutchins. *James Joyce's World* (London: Methuan and Co. Ltd., 1957), 140. Hutchins' account was based on personal information from Miss Weaver, as was Ellmann's — in *James Joyce: New and Revised Edition* (New York; Oxford; Toronto, 1982), 537 — where the phrase is 'history of the world.' Common to each account, of course, is the idea of writing a *history*.

²In an unpublished study Geert Lernout has set Joyce's B.10 newspaper-derived notes against the then current leading headlines. This reveals a consistent neglect of what might be termed 'important historical events' and an almost exclusive concentration on popular feature sections containing fashion tips, recipes and various informational titbits.

the burlesque sections of 'Cyclops', but during the composition period a tantalising series of historical parodies by T.J. Collins called 'Peeps Into Irish History' was appearing in the new satirical monthly, *Dublin Opinion*, launched in March 1922.

Dealing for the most part with episodes from mediaeval Irish history, the series began with a number of facetious accounts of the Norman invasion of Ireland, decked out with mock-scholarly acknowledgements to the *Annals of the Four Masters*. Episode I, entitled 'A Veracious Vignette',³ describes the arrival of Robert FitzStephen; episode V, 'Henry II Comes to Ireland',⁴ ends with the drunken collapse of Strongbow and the King at the end of a mammoth feast to celebrate the royal visit. The following passage is typical of the naive farcical style of the series as a whole:

Strongbow rose in his place beside the monarch and sat down again. A courtier put his arm around him and elevated him once more.

"I rise," he said rapidly, "on behalf of Hish Majesty's loyal — hic — people of Ireland — to extend a — hic — welcome to Hish Majesty — Henry — alwaysh — goo fella — gives out the landsh. Jolly goo fella."

Here Strongbow collapsed on the King's shoulder and they wept together for a brief period.

They then fell under the table and joined the rest of the company.

While it should be stressed that there is no evidence to show that Joyce read any of these issues, there is a reasonable likelihood that he would have known about them.⁵ In contrast to the hit-and-run burlesque effects aimed at by Collins, Joyce's mediaeval sketches function consistently as *exempla*, a suite of paradigms illustrating the decay in Ireland's genealogical tree — ultimately to result in such blossomings forth as the paralysis of *fin de siècle* Dublin, or the violence of the new Free State.

We can be more definitive about the origins of two of the succeeding pieces, 'St. Kevin' and 'St. Patrick and the Archdruid'. At this stage — as some kind of active framework was beginning, or seemed to be beginning at last fuzzily to emerge —

³ *Dublin Opinion*, volume 1, issue 3 (May 1922), 40.

⁴ *ibid.*, volume 1, issue 7 (September 1922), 104.

⁵ In a letter to Miss Weaver, dated 16 January 1924 (*Lett.*, I, 208), Joyce refers to the current (January 1924) issue of *Dublin Opinion*, which featured a caricature of *Ulysses*.

Joyce turned to, or propitiously stumbled upon, a particularly felicitous source of material, J.M. Flood's compact study entitled *Ireland: its Saints and Scholars* (hereafter abbreviated *ISS*).

Flood was not a heavyweight scholar but an industrious and enthusiastic amateur (he was a barrister and later a judge by profession). In his preface he modestly lists the larger books he has drawn on, notable among them Healy's monumental 'Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars', as well as the work of Zimmer, Gougaud, Margaret Stokes and P.W. Joyce. It is characteristic of (James) Joyce that he himself did not turn to the weightier accounts but to this popular 126-page distillation. Published just five years earlier, in 1918, between the Easter Rising and the founding of the Irish Free State, it was written with the declared aim of giving 'within a small compass a concise survey of the most glorious epoch in the annals of our country' (v). This epoch comprises the sixth and seventh centuries,⁶ part of the so-called dark ages, when Ireland was seen as the preserver (through its monastic schools) and disseminator (through its widely-travelled missionaries) of Christianised European culture. The directness of Flood's aim, as well as his proselytizing zeal, enable him to present a great diversity of material in a vivid and stimulating way. It is certainly no surprise that Joyce, the author of 'Irlanda, isola dei santi e dei savi,' should have been drawn to this book, though how precisely he came across it is unknown. He had some personal contact with Flood, but it is still uncertain when or how he first encountered him, or whether the two men ever met.⁷

ISS divides into ten self-contained chapters (see the transcription below for headings), covering the biographies of individual saints, as well as more general topics. Treating the chapters as units, Joyce took them in random order, beginning with IV, the life of Stephen's patron, fiery Columbanus, which contributed a number of colourful details that were never used. Some use was made of material from the life of St. Columcille (III), but this was limited to detail without any strong referential function.

⁶ See the citations at 089(d) and (f), below.

⁷ The National Library in Dublin has a tantalising letter dated 25/12/29 from Joyce to Flood (MS 5754), thanking him for some (unspecified) books. I am grateful to John O'Hanlon for pointing this out to me.

By contrast, the notes from chapter II are of the greatest interest and from here on the importance of Flood's book is self-evident. This chapter on the life and works of St. Patrick furnished Joyce with his first notes on the Saint. While a study of these elements in context should guard us against ascribing anachronistic foresight to Joyce at this stage,⁸ it is clear that they not only provided focal subject matter for 'St. Patrick and the Druid' but suggested new ways of ordering his narrative.

The structural framework underlying the episode is a nationalistic distortion of the Newtonian revelation of white light as the true source of colour. Its origins may be traced to a number of direct quotations from Flood:

- 1) the note at 009(e) 'whiterobed', which derives from a passage describing the surprise of the daughters of King Leary on seeing St. Patrick and his whiterobed companions: this unit no longer appears in its original form in *FW*, having been superseded by 'alb' at *FW* 611.08, which nevertheless retains the same idea;
- 2) '7 degrees of wisdom then Ollave' (see *FW* 611.20) at 092(h)-093(a) is taken from an account of the mediaeval Irish educational system;
- 3) 'Poet took rank of sergeant | ollave can wear same number of hues as king' at 093(c): these come from the same passage in Flood as the preceding notes, with the mystic number now obviously suggesting the rainbow by a process of contextual contamination. Although the note was not cancelled until a decade later, when it ended up in an extradraft culdesac, its genetic importance in 1923 is unmistakeable.

The most richly suggestive note is to be found at 064(g)-065(a): 'Culter of this thing in itself see the grass (r+o+y+b+i+v)'. This dense conceptual nugget is not an actual citation, yet its relation to the passages from Flood discussed above is obvious. The *OED* lists 'culter' as a variant spelling of 'coulter' = a knife. Thus we have 'the cult' + 'the cutter' (and, of course, 'the colour') of the *Ding-an-sich*, as well as dancing motes of grasshalms. Cut grass here plays a didactic role akin to St. Patrick's shamrock — but what is proposed in this case is an image born of Citizen-like hairsplitting.

⁸ Joyce's later notes on the life and works of St. Patrick will be the special subject of the next two issues of the *Circular*.

This can only see the diversity of the perceived world as a fragmentation of a national unity which it would like to represent as being as natural and universal as grass. Note the absence of green from the rainbow.

Joyce found an equally fruitful stimulus in the fifth chapter of Flood's book which presents an account of the Irish saints largely in terms of recurrent threefold divisions. The initial notes from this chapter (see 020 below) contain the seeds of the Prankean's (and later the Norwegian Captain's) triplecrossings; but most importantly at this stage, they enabled Joyce to compose 'St. Kevin'.

Unlike the 'Street Interview' in B.10, which it now transpires is purely a transcription,⁹ the St. Kevin episode which so suddenly appears on B.3.042-5 is indeed a draft, although it represents in an unusually clear and fascinating way a point where note-taking is beginning to crystallise into composition. While not taken directly from *ISS* the sketch was clearly suggested by the general theme of Chapter V, as well as most of the specifics in that chapter relating to the symbolic uses of number.¹⁰ One of the most purely formal pieces Joyce ever wrote,¹¹ it carries to extremes his passion for triadic harmony.

While Joyce is often quite happy to declare his debt to books with only a peripheral relation to his work, he is most often silent about the sources from which he has demonstrably borrowed most: certainly the importance of this deceptively unassuming book at this particularly anxious time can hardly be exaggerated. In addition to the episodes already discussed, the finding of the letter (*FW* 110) was also suggested by

⁹My article 'Bywaters and the Original Crime', in the forthcoming issue 4 of *European Joyce Studies* will include a fully annotated transcription of Joyce's notes and their source.

¹⁰I have attempted to give a full account of its origins and also to register its special status by treating it separately in an appendix at the end of the transcription proper. The fact that the sketch is in Nora Joyce's handwriting — Joyce was recovering from a sudden attack of conjunctivitis — suggests that associated parts of *ISS* may have been read out to him.

¹¹It has of course been definitively analysed by Jack Dalton in 'Advertisement for the Restoration', Jack P. Dalton and Clive Hart, eds., *Twelve and a Tilly* (Faber and Faber: London, 1966), 119-137.

ISS — see B.3.011(b) — while students of the *Wake* should find much else of interest among the many richly evocative notes, such as ‘Isolde — ornaments her father’s caligraphy’, at B.3.010(a), for example.

Notetaking in B.10 had been passive, rarely taking flight from Joyce’s self-appointed task of faithful transcription. What makes B.3 so exciting is the new level of conceptualisation and purposefulness shown in its entries inspired by Flood, who turned out to be not just another source of singular raw material, but a doorway to new compositional possibilities. The ‘Roderick’ episode, harking back to earlier models in the parodic tradition, shows no trace of Flood and very probably preceded Joyce’s reading of *ISS*. By contrast the two episodes — ‘St. Kevin’ and ‘St. Patrick and the Druid’ — clearly derive from Flood, and stand apart from the other early sketches as structurally the most innovative and adventurous.

Joyce’s Notes From Flood

Conventions: in addition to the standard conventions, I have used a vertical stroke (|) to represent horizontal authorial strokes separating some of the units.

Chronology: VI.B.03 has a complex history as it was used over an unusually long time span. Uncancelled material was not copied into a C notebook, but many of the later transfers were effected by means of extradraft worksheets, the majority of these being cancelled in blue. The dating of many of the drafts, including the early sketches, is currently being reappraised. I have however continued to use the *JJA* dates, pending a proper overhaul of the chronology. To allow easier cross-checking I have also listed cancellations under colours, in order of the draft coding.

Draft usage: *red*-deleted material appears in I.1§1.*1 (second draft (pencil); November 1926), I.1§1.*2/2.*2 (fair copy (ink); dated by Joyce 29 November 1926, but some insertions made at a later date), I.1§1.5/2.5 (pages of *transition* I (April 1927) revised for the printer of *Finnegans Wake*; probably early 1936), I.2§2.3/3.3 (fair copy (ink), written in two parts but later combined by Joyce; probably November–December 1923), I.4§1A.*1 (fair copy (pencil), probably November–December 1923), I.5§1.*0 (first draft (pencil) of FW 104–112.02, probably December–January

1923-1924), I.5§1.*1 (second draft (pencil), probably December 1923), I.5§1.3/4.3 (First typescript (incomplete), probably early 1924, but revised February-March 1925), I.7§1.*2 (fair copy (ink); sent to Harriet Shaw Weaver early February 1924), I.7§1.3/2.3 (First typescript, probably February 1924, but revised April-May 1925), II.2§3.2 (typescript, with new autograph (ink) material composed piecemeal under a variety of headings; 1934), II.2§7.11- (extradraft material, 1934), II.3§7.*0 (First draft (ink) of 'Roderick O'Conor' piece; March 1923), II.4§2.5/3.7 (Proofs for Transatlantic Review, 1, second set; March 1924), III§3A.*1+ (second draft (pencil) of chapter opening with some additional material; probably November-December 1924), III§3A.5/3B.5 (fair copy (ink); April 1926), IV§2.*0 (first draft (pencil); Summer 1923), IV§2.*1 (Second draft (pencil); July 1923), IV§3.*0 (First draft or perhaps a fair copy (ink); July 1923), IV§3.*1 (Fair copy (ink); July 1923);

blue-deleted material appears in II.1§2.Σ21-/4.Σ51- (extradraft material, late 1932); II.1§6B,C,D.Σ31- (extradraft material, late 1932); II.2§3.2 (typescript, with new autograph (ink) material, 1934); II.2§4.5 (Carbon of the third typescript, to which Joyce appended the first draft of §3; probably 1934), II.2§9.*0 (first draft (pencil); probably 1934), II.4§2.*0 (First draft (pencil); sent to Harriet Shaw Weaver on 5 October 1923), II.4§3(AB).*2 (Fair copy (ink); October 1923);

orange-deleted material appears in I.1§1.*2/2.*2 (fair copy (ink), dated by Joyce 29 November 1926, but some insertions made at a later date).

VI.B.03

ISS: J M Flood. *Ireland: Its Saints and Scholars*. pp. x, 118 (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1917)

003

CHAPTER IV: St. Columbanus [31-42]

- (b) embraced Christianity

ISS 33: The Franks, after a time, embraced Christianity

- (c) Columbanus / squirrel in cowl

ISS 35: Legends tell us that he [Columbanus] had a fascination for animals ... that the squirrels came down from the trees and nestled in his cowl.

(d) Valery (pupil)

ISS 36: [Columbanus] loved tenderly St. Valery, a shepherd boy, who became one of his monks

(e) Irish tonsure — shaved / front of head to ears

ISS 37: The Columban monks, in accordance with the Irish custom, shaved the front of the head as far as the ears

(f) ^bAlpennines

ISS 40: After spending three years in Switzerland, he crossed the Alps by the Pass of St. Gothard into Italy, and Agilulph, King of the Lombards, gave him lands for the foundation of a monastery at Bobbio, a lonely spot in the Appenines.

FW 000.00; 47478-282; JJA 52:192; (#)340000

II.2§4.5

004

CHAPTER III: St. Columcille [19-30](a) ^bPhelim I

ISS 20: His father Phelim

[FW 384.08, 11]; 47481-2; JJA 56:026; #231005

*II.4§2.*0*

(b) ^bKells I

ISS 21: [St. Columcille] went through Ireland establishing many churches and monastic societies, of which the most famous were Durrow, Arran, Boyle, Swords, Raphoe, Kells, Tory Island and Drumcliff.

FW 000.00; 47478-277; JJA 52:187; (#)340000

II.2§4.5

(c) ^thospitable I

ISS 24: His monks were taught by him to observe Obedience, Celibacy ... Hospitality ...

FW 380.11; 47480-267; JJA 55:446; #230311

*II.3§7.*0*

(d) ^ttriangular Spain

ISS 27: [Adamnan on the spread of St. Columcille's influence] his name ... reached even to triangular Spain

FW 019.13; 47472-35; JJA 44:125; #261141

I.1§1.*2/2.*2

- (e) ^bwent away of / his fathers l

ISS 27: [St. Colmcille on his approaching death] I shall, as the Scripture saith, be going the way of my fathers.

FW 000.00; 47478-277; JJA 52:187; (#)340000

II.2§4.5

005

- (a) ^runfeigned charity l

ISS 28: exhorting the Brothers to preserve mutual and unfeigned charity and peace amongst themselves.

FW 075.19; 47471b-22; JJA 46:011; (#)231100

I.4§1A.*1

- (b) Shealing hymn l

ISS 29: The people of the Hebrides invoke [St. Columcille's] aid to this day in their annual Shealing Hymn

008

CHAPTER II: The Coming of St. Patrick [10-18]

- (c) ^rSuccoth (Patrick)

ISS 10: The boy Succoth, afterwards called Patricius

?FW 013.28; 47475-8; JJA 44:241; (#)360001

I.1§1.5/2.5

- (d) Calpurnios Concessa

ISS 10: the son of a Decurion Calpurnius, and his wife Conchessa

- (e) ^bmaster Milcho >

FW 241.22; 47477-88v; JJA 51:152; #330200

II.1§2.Σ2l-/4.Σ5l-

- (f) ^bSlieve Mish

ISS 10: employed by his master Milcho to tend his cattle on the slopes of Slieve Mish in Antrim.

FW 241.16f; 47477-88v; JJA 51:152; #330200

II.1§2.Σ2l-/4.Σ5l-

- (g) ^6yrs^ Antrim //

009

- (a) ^4 yrs^ / Tours (S. Martin) <6> / ^14 years^ / S Germain Auxerois
ISS 11: After six years' captivity Patrick escaped from Ireland to France and made his way to Tours, where he stayed for four years receiving instructions from St. Martin. Then he spent about fourteen years with St. Germanus of Auxerre
- (b) '(Focluth (wood of)) |
*ISS 12: I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Focluth
 FW 478.34; 47482b-68; JJA 58:015; #241141
 III§3A.*1+*
- (c) S. Benignus
ISS 12: Benignus ... succeeded the Saint as Bishop of Armagh.
- (d) hymn / ^bBreastplate of SP
*ISS 13: the beautiful hymn, which has become known as the 'Breastplate of St. Patrick,'
 FW 231.24; 47477-88v; JJA 51:152; #330200
 II.1 §2.Σ2|-/4.Σ5|-*
- (e) 'whiterobed^f / girls — / King
*ISS 14: When the Saint and his attendants assembled ... at Clebach ... they found there ... two daughters of King Laery ... The sisters at first thought that St. Patrick and his whiterobed companions were ... fairies [FW 611.07f]; 47488-99; JJA 63:146; #230700
 IV§3.*0*
- (f) 7 years in Connacht
ISS 16: He spent seven years in Connacht

CHAPTER X: Early Christian Art in Ireland [105-118]

- (g) illumination >
- (h) metalwork >
- (i) ^bcrosses >
*FW 228.05; 47477-88v; JJA 51:152; #330200
 II.1 §2.Σ2|-/4.Σ5|-*

(j) buildings

ISS 105: Christian Art in Ireland attained its highest excellence in four branches: the writing and ornamentation of manuscripts, metal-work, stone carving, and building.

(k) gorgets

ISS 105: From the pagan period we have ... gorgets

010

(a) 'Isolde — ornaments / her father's caligraphy / Vere Foster I

ISS 106: the excellence of the Irish school of caligraphy¹²

FW 280.16-18; 47486a-67; JJA 52:247; #340000

II.2§7.11-

(b) 'scribe I

ISS 106: The title of scribe is frequently used in our ancient literature to enhance the dignity of a bishop

FW 108.04; 47471b-44; JJA 46:241; (#)231200

*I.5§1.*1*

(c) "Tripartite Life >

FW 486.28; 47484a-96; JJA 58:216; #260400

III§3A.5/3B.5

(d) ^bcoppersmith bishop

ISS 106: it is stated in the Trepartite Life that the holy Bishop Assicus was [St. Patrick's] coppersmith.

FW 228.05; 47477-88v; JJA 51:152; #330200

II.1 §2.Σ21-/4.Σ51-

(e) 12th cent. stone houses

ISS 109: The builder's art in Ireland reached its perfection about the twelfth century, when from the very rude and simple buildings there was developed the beautiful style of architecture known as the Irish Romanesque.

¹² Vere Henry Lewis Foster (1819-1900). English philanthropist. His father was Irish-born. In Ireland his name is still associated with the series of Vere Foster Copybooks, once widely used in schools for the practise and perfection of handwriting, drawing and watercolouring. Milly Bloom's, lovingly preserved, is described in *U 17.1775-8*.

- (f) 'the lette F.

ISS 109-11: [discussion of calligraphy, and the scribe Ferdomnach, mentioned in the 'Annals of the Four Masters', although no reference to the letter 'F' as such]

FW 266.22; 47478-130; *JJA* 52:018; #340000

II.2§3.2

- (g) ^bTara brooch / Cross of Cong >>

FW 399.25; 47481-25; *JJA* 56:063; #231000

II.4§3(AB).*2

011

- (a) ^rArdagh Chalice / (two handled)

ISS 111: The most beautiful specimens of their art that have been pre-served are the Tara Brooch, the Ardagh Chalice, and the Cross of Cong.... The Ardagh Chalice is an almost unique example of the two-handled chalice used in the earliest Christian time.

FW 110.35; 47471b-26v; *JJA* 46:236; (#)231200

I.5§1.*0

- (b) ^rchild (found chalice / in potatofield)

ISS 112: a boy digging potatoes near the old Rath of Ardagh in Limerick found the Ardagh Chalice.

FW 110.36; 47473-32v; *JJA* 46:326; (#)240154

I.5§1.3/4.3

- (c) ^rbog oak

ISS 112: the Cross of Cong ... is made of oak

FW 171.01; 47474-4; *JJA* 47:363; #240200

I.7§1.*2

- (d) [See reproduction of VI.B.03.011 opposite for graphics and layout]

ISS: [See plate facing p. 10, reproduced on cover of this issue.]

- (e) arms >

- (f) shaft

ISS 112: [Cross of Cong] nine jewels adorned the face of the shaft and arms.

- (g) shrine >

~~As a whole Chalk~~
100% handled

~~Chalk for most choice~~
~~by only~~

Shrine
~~crozier~~



⊕ High

~~past beehive hats~~
~~castles~~

(h) ^rcrozier

ISS 113: The Irish artists who worked in metal have also left us many beautiful croziers elaborately wrought, shrines for the lives and relics of venerated saints

FW 180.13-4; 47474-28v; JJA 47:410; (#)240255

I.7§1.3/2.3

(i) [representation of brooch] Irish

ISS 113-5: [discussion of Irish High Crosses: plate facing p. 113 shows the Cross at Monasterboice]

(j) ^rfirst beehive huts >

FW 605.24; 47488-24; JJA 63:038; #230700

*IV:2.*1*

(k) ^bcashels

ISS 115-6: The first Christian architecture in Ireland ... They built their small oratories and bee-hive huts within the bounderies of the stone fort or cashel.

FW 228.26; 47477-88v; JJA 51:152; #330200

II.1 §2.Σ2l-/4.Σ5l-

012

(a) ^rundressed masonry l

ISS 116: The earliest buildings were made without cement, and with undressed masonry

FW 004.35; 47471a-5; JJA 44:049; #261100

*I.1§1.*1*

(b) ^binclined jambs l

ISS 117: The Irish Romanesque ... is characterised by ... the retention of the inclined jambs of the primitive doorways

FW 228.27; 47477-88v; JJA 51:152; #330200

II.1 §2.Σ2l-/4.Σ5l-

(c) round tower to / protect clerics

ISS 117-8: round towers ... were used as belfries, and as places where the inhabitants of a monastery might retire with their most treasured possessions in case of a sudden attack.

- (d) door 14 ft from / ground |

ISS 118: [round tower] Its great height, and its small doorway, generally about fourteen feet from the ground

019

CHAPTER V: The Irish Saints [43-54]

- (c) ^bBook of Life | / Irish Thebaid^b (Montalembt)

*ISS 43: Cardinal Newman speaks of “the Irish multitude of Saints which the Book of Life alone is large enough to contain,” and Montalembert tells us that the Thebaid reappeared in Ireland
FW 000.00; 47478-285; JJA 52:195; (#)340000
II.2§4.5*

020

- (a) ^bSaints / 1st order 350 | / 2 — Ge/rns/bart / 3 order >

*FW 000.00; 47478-285; JJA 52:195; (#)340000
II.2§4.5*

- (b) ^oSPatrick’s vision / 1 All I ablaze >

*FW 021.16; 47472-25; JJA 44:128; #261141
I.1§1.*2/2.*2*

- (c) ^o2 hilltops >

*FW 022.03; 47472-26; JJA 44:129; #261141
I.1§1.*2/2.*2*

- (d) ^o3 lights in valley >

*FW 022.27; 47472-27; JJA 44:130; #261141
I.1§1.*2/2.*2*

- (e) 1 missionaries / 2 monks / 3 anchorites |

ISS 43-5: An ancient Irish manuscript of unknown origin divides the Saints of Ireland into three great orders. The First Order was in the time of St. Patrick. They were 350 in number ... The Second Order numbered 300 ... It included Finnian, Enda ...¹⁴ and flourished during the latter half of the sixth century. The Third Order of Saints lived in Ireland for a period which extended for about seventy years from the end of the sixth century.

¹⁴ Among the further ten names mentioned none bears any resemblance to ‘Ge/rns/bart’.

The writer of the manuscript says that “the First Order was most holy, the Second Order holier, and the Third holy. The First glowed like the sun in the fervour of their charity; the Second cast a pale radiance like the moon; the Third shone like the aurora. These Three Orders the blessed Patrick foreknew, enlightened by heavenly wisdom, when in prophetic vision he saw at first all Ireland ablaze, and afterwards only the mountains on fire; and at last saw lamps lit in the valleys.”

The First Order of Saints were mainly occupied in spreading the Christian faith amongst the Irish people... The Saints of the Second Order were the pioneers of the great monastic movement in Ireland ... The Third Order was chiefly composed of Anchorites

022

CHAPTER VI: The Irish Mission [55-69]

- (e) no Irish mention / of Irish missions / in Eur / Why they left? I

ISS 55-6: We owe our knowledge of the labours and influence of the Irish monks in England and the Continent almost entirely to foreign sources, and, with a very few exceptions, our native annals are almost silent ... Walafried Strabo ... remarks that the custom of travelling appears to have become part of the Irishman's nature ... Various reasons may be assigned to account for the large number of Irish monks that went abroad, and they certainly did not leave their native land because of any idle curiosity to see foreign countries ... [but] an urgent and great need for missionary effort

023

- (a) ^bdrawers of souls

ISS 57: [Gougaud *Les Chrétientés Celtiques* on Irish missionaries] “They were wonderful ... as the revivers of the intellectual life and as drawers of souls.”

FW 000.00; 47478-285; JJA 52:195; (#)340000

II.2§4.5

- (b) Irish monks I

ISS 55: the labours and influence of Irish monks in England

- (c) Scot (Irish) / <chu> ecclesia Scotorum, nay Romanorum / (SP) |

ISS 57-8: The Irish Church had been careful to preserve carefully the tradition of the faith that had been brought to her by St. Patrick from Rome, the centre of Christendom, and she kept ever before her his maxim: "O Church of the Scots — nay of the Romans — as ye are Christians, be ye also Romans."

- (d) no jew in Ireland / (Columbanus says)

ISS 58: St. Columbanus in a letter to Pope Boniface states "that although dwelling at the extremity of the world, all the Irish were disciples of Saints Peter and Paul, receiving no other than the evangelical and apostolic doctrine; that no heretic, or Jew, or schismatic, was to be found among them, but they still clung to the Catholic faith as it was first delivered to them by his (the Pope's) predecessors

- (e) 615
73
542

ISS 40: St. Columbanus ... passed away ... in the year 615, when he was in his seventy-third year.

024

- (a) mendicant orders / (SD) / introduced 900/1000¹⁵ |

ISS 59: Mendicant orders ... were not introduced until many centuries later.

- (b) S Columbanus plants / vineyards in / Luxeuil

ISS 59: The companions of St. Columbanus by their incessant labour transformed one of the wildest and most deserted regions in France into fertile cornfields and vineyards.

note: Auxeuil does not appear here, but Joyce would have remembered the parallel passage quoted below:

ISS 36: The community soon became too large for the old castle of Annegrai and it became necessary to establish another house in Luxeuil ... In a few years the monks had cleared away woods, tilled and sowed the land, and transformed the wilderness into a smiling garden.

¹⁵Joyce's virgule.

.../...

- (d) S Rémy (Ir) I

ISS 59: The biographer of St. Remi

- (e) Mission in troupes, / sail from Kent I

ISS 60: The Irish missionaries usually travelled in groups as it would have been dangerous in that age of violence to journey alone ... They ... re-embarked at some Kentish port for the continent

- (f) ^bunfruitful^b servant I

ISS 62: [Story of Riquier, a nobleman and later a saint, and missionaries whom he protected.] He ... was filled with sorrow for his past life which he had spent as an unfruitful servant.

FW 421.28; 47483-107; JJA 57:324; #-272028¹⁶

III§1A.10/1BC.1/1D.10

025

- (a) ^rIrish saint with / a trapped rabbit

ISS 63: [Irish missionaries] when other provisions failed them, they gathered wild fruit, trapped animals, and fished with great dexterity¹⁷

[Not located in FW]

.../...

- (e) S Tressan with 3 [nuns] / Franda, Portia, Possna

ISS 64: hospitable reception of ten pilgrims from Ireland ... [including] ... Tressan ... and three sisters. Franda or Francla, Portia and Possena

.../...

- (g) episcopi vagi

ISS 64: There is also frequent mention made in the histories of the time of 'episcopi vagi,' bishops without any fixed diocese

.../...

¹⁶ Unit entered on missing drafts 1D.8, 1D.8' or 1D.9: see JJA 57:205, 311 for draft dating.

¹⁷ A footnote acknowledges this as a quotation from P W Joyce *Social History of Ireland*, Part I., p. 341.

- (i) Marianus Scotus / founded monastery / Ratisbon 1076
ISS 65: In South Germany Marianus Scotus, a native of the North of Ireland, settled at Ratisbon ... and founded a monastery in 1076.

026

- (a) Lane Poole I
ISS 67: [Lane-Poole cited on Irish love of learning]

027

CHAPTER VII: Some Famous Irish Missionaries [70-79]

- (a) Farrell (Virgilius) / of Salzburg
*ISS 70: St. Virgilius, Archbishop of Salzburg, was born, reared, and educated in Ireland [no mention of 'Farrell', the Irish form of Virgilius' name, in *ISS*]*

.../...

- (c) S.Meldon
ISS 72: St. Meldon, who succeeded St. Brendan as head of the community [at Inchquin]

- (d) S. MacFadden
 [not found in *ISS*, although the Irish name means a 'son of Patrick']

- (e) ^bapossil
ISS 75: the inhabitants [of Taranto] venerated St. Cathaldus as their patron and apostle.

FW 411.16; 47483-106; JJA 57:316; #-272028¹⁸

III§1A.10/1BC.1/1D.10

.../...

- (h) King serves / priests table
ISS 78: King Oswald, who had spent some time with the Irish monks at Iona, acted as interpreter to the Irish missionaries

064

- (g) 'Culter of this thing in / itself see the grass //

¹⁸ Entered on missing 1A.8; 8' or 9: see *JJA 57:205, 311* for draft dating.

065

- (a) ^r(r+o+y+b+i+v)

note: Not an actual citation from *ISS*, but clearly inspired by the various passages referring to the role of colour in early Irish society. See for example 009(e) above and 093(c) below.

[*FW* 611.20-1, 33]; 47488-100; *JJA* 63:146c; #230700

IV§3.*1

IV§3.*1¹⁹: for the ^numpa one^ seer ^cultur ^^in the 7th degree of wisdom^^ of the Entis-Onton^

IV§3.*2²⁰: for the numpa one seer in seventh degree of wisdom of Entis-Onton

089

CHAPTER 1: The Island of Saints and Scholars [1-9]

- (d) 600 700

ISS 1: The sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era must be regarded as the Golden Age of Ireland

- (e) Celt or Latin Christ >

- (f) [/later] / Aquinas v. Duns Scotus |

ISS 3: ... it seemed for a time as if the world's history was to be changed, and as if a Celtic, and not Latin Christianity, was to mould the destinies of the churches of the West.

- (g) ^bsame laudable / purpose |

ISS 4: in the year 535 ... there arrived at Cork from the Continent, fifteen monks who were led thither by their desire to perfect themselves in the practices of an ascetic life under Irish directors, and to study the Sacred Scriptures in the schools established near the city. At a later period the Anglo-Saxons passed over to Ireland in great numbers for the same laudable purpose.

FW 306.05; 47478-124; *JJA* 53:266; (#)340000

II.2§9.*0

¹⁹ Fair copy (ink); July 1923.

²⁰ Fair copy (ink) sent with note to HSW, dated '2/viii/923'; 47488-101r; *JJA* 63:146d.

091

CHAPTER VIII: The Irish Schools [80-9]

- (b) Scotus sapiens I

ISS 80: The word 'sapiens' so frequently employed in the early literature is applied to a learned man who was versed at once in sacred and profane literature.

- (c) Armagh had one / part = Trian Saxon

ISS 80: A great number of students from other countries came to Armagh ... and one of the wards into which the city was divided was known as the Trian Saxon or Saxon Third, because it was the residence of English students.

- (d) ^bBrigid's school at / Kildare — 1st bishop / S Connlath I

ISS 80-1: Later in the century St. Bridget established her church and school at Kildare with St. Conlaeth as its first bishop and head

FW 000.00; 47478-123; JJA 52:022; #340000

II.2§3.2

- (e) Kilco/ck/

[not found in ISS]

- (f) ^bS Mobhi of Glasnevin I

ISS 81: Mobhi of Glasnevin [listed as one of the Twelve Apostles of Erin]

FW 252.07; 47477-91; JJA 51:173; #330200

II.1§6B,C,D.Σ3I-

092

- (a) 2 St Finnians

ISS 81: St. Finnian founded the School of Clonard in 520 A.D ... about twenty years after ... another St. Finnian founded the school at Moville

- (b) 3 S [Columbs/]

?ISS 81: [Columcille and Columba of Tir-da-Glas are listed among the Twelve Apostles of Erin, who came as pupils of St. Finnian. St. Columbanus is listed among the pupils of 'The great School of Bangor ... founded by St. Comgall']

.../...

- (d) ?[of bees & asks] I

?ISS 83: Adhelm ... states that the English went to Ireland in crowds as numerous as bees, and asks, "why does Ireland pride herself upon a sort of priority ...

- (e) ^bDagobert educated / at Slane (cf / Brian O'Linn)

ISS 83: Dagobert II., King of the Austrasian Franks, was educated at Slane²¹

FW 274.29; 47478-123; JJA 52:022; #340000

II.2§3.2

.../...

- (g) ?[little] pagans / = paiens, Rels

?ISS 84: allusions to pagan and Christian antiquity are frequent in [Columbanus'] poems.

FW 000.00; 47478-282; JJA 52:192; (#)340000

II.2§4.5

- (h) '7 degrees of / wisdom //

093

- (a) 'then Ollave I

ISS 86: The course of education was divided into seven stages, or as they were called the "seven degrees of wisdom," which corresponded with the term periods in a modern university. A student who had passed through the various degrees and attained to the highest grade was known as an 'Ollave or Doctor.'

FW 611.20; 47488-100; JJA 63:146; #230700

IV§3.*1

- (b) Pop composed / extempore verse >

²¹ The reference to Brian O'Lynn is an extrapolation by Joyce, which plays on the similarity between the French children's song 'Dagobert', in which the good king 'se met sa culotte à l'envers', and the Irish song about the intrepid Brian O'Lynn who liked to wear his breeches 'With the fleshy side out and the woolly side in'. [See Ruth Bauerle. *The James Joyce Songbook* (New York: Galand Publishing, Inc., 1982) p. 569.] An early example of the important motif of clothing.

- (c) 'Poet took rank / of sergeant l / ollave can wear / same number / of hues as king

ISS 86-7: an Ollave poet had to possess a knowledge of seven kinds of verse, and to be able to compose extemporaneously in each.... He took rank at the head of the learned professions and was considered to be the equal of kings and bishops in social dignity and importance... The Ollave Brehon ... corresponded to a Judge of the High Court ... an Ollave sat next to the King at table, and was privileged to wear the same number of colours in his clothes as a monarch.

47488-269²²; *JJA* 63:348; #330005

- (d) 'SD amateur writer >

[Not located in *FW*]

- (e) ^bSD scullion to //

094

- (a) scholars / —(Adamnan >

FW 305.30; 47478-124; *JJA* 53:266; (#)340000

II.2§9.*0

- (b) 'King Finaghta / the Festive

ISS 88: Some of the poorer students ... lived in the houses with their wealthier classfellows, and waited upon them, receiving their food and clothing as recompense. Sometimes even rich and nobly born scholars chose to do this by way of discipline. A story is told of the schooldays of Adamnan ... [Adamnan, making way for King Finaghta the Festive and his retinue, upset and broke a jar of milk he was carrying to the noble scholars he was serving. Not recognising the King, he complained and the amused King promised he would make good the damage and also see to Adamnan's future welfare. He later summoned Adamnan to his court as friend and spiritual adviser.]

FW 041.24; 47472-141; *JJA* 45:059; (#)231200

I.2§2.3/3.3

.../...

²² This is one of a set of miscellaneous pages with 'No Known Relation to Existing Text', grouped at the end of the *JJA*.

CHAPTER IX: The Irish Learning [90-104]

- (d) ^ba phrase spoken / 1500 AC repeated / 1923 AD ? >
 ?FW 383-399; 47481-2 et seq; JJA 56:026 et seq; (#)231005

II.4§2.*0

- (e) ^bAnnalists^(b) //

095

- (a) repeat themselves I

[Not found in *ISS*, but Ch. IX opens with a discussion of Irish MSS sources, although with no discussion of repetition.]

[Not located in *FW*]²³

- (b) 'they knew Greek / used Gr words in / their Latin with / verses in Greek / (Scotus Erigena)

ISS 92: It was considered good taste amongst the Irish scholars and the other learned men of this period to scatter Greek words through the Latin text which they composed, and this practice points to a certain acquaintance with the language. John Scotus Erigena went even further than this, and wrote verses entirely in Greek.

FW 390.18; Cornell-4; JJA 56:102; #240300

II.4§2.5/3.7

- (c) rector of Naples / Ir-

ISS 94: when the Emperor Frederick the Second was about to set up the University of Naples, he sent to Ireland for the learned Peter to be its first Rector

- (d) JSE translated / Dionysius Areopagus I

ISS 94-5: the greatest scholars in France were unable to interpret [the Greek text of Dionysius the Areopagite] ... The task was finally entrusted to John Scotus, and he produced a satisfactory version

096

- (a) Michael Scotus / Dunsigina I

?*ISS* 96: John Scotus Erigena [Joyce's distortion combines this with Duns Scotus and Michael Scot]

²³ Probably the same as 094(d)-(e).

- (b) tares in a field

ISS 100: [Dungal, a theologian, in a controversy with the Bishop of Turin] saw the field of the Lord overgrown with tares

.../...

- (d) [Wetherup] / Muratori

ISS 101: Muratori says²⁴ that [Dungal's treatise] is remarkable

.../...

- (f) ^bantiphonary I

ISS 102: Amongst [the books of Dungal now in the Ambrosian Library in Milan] is an Antiphonary which appears to have been in use in Bangor.
FW 000.00; 47478-124; JJA 53:266; #330005

- (g) Faraway Isles I

ISS 103: "A certain trustworthy monk" told [Diciul the Geographer] of the existence of the Faroe Islands, and how he had reached them by sailing for two summer days and one summer night

156

- (a) Ir sent to measure / pyramids

?ISS 102: [Dicuil the Geographer]²⁵ gives the measurement of one of the Egyptian pyramids which was supplied to him by his countryman Brother Fidelis.

APPENDIX: THE ST. KEVIN DRAFT

[Notes in Nora Joyce's hand.]

042

- (b) 'St kevin born on the / Island of Ireland / ^in the Irish ocean^ / goes to lough glendalough / ^where holy Kevin liv[ed]^ / <to> live on an Island / in the <the> lake and / as there is a pond / on the Island / and a little island / in the pond ><^<he> ven. K^> very h K< builds^(t) //

.../...

²⁴ Cf U 7.337: WHAT WETHERUP SAID.

²⁵ See 096(g) above.

043

- (c) 'his hut on the islet / and then ^most holy K²⁶ scoops out / the floor to a dept [sic] / of one foot after / which ^<he> venerable K^ goes to / the brink of the ^(t)//

044

- (a) 'pond and fills his / tub with water which / he emptys [sic] time after / time into a cavity / of his hut thereby / forming a pool / having done which / he ^blessed K^ half fills the / tub ^very blessed^ / sets it in the ^(t)//

.../...

045

- (a) 'middle of the pool, / ^blessed K^ pulls up his frock / and ^St Kevin^ seats himself / in the tub and / ^<Saint> doctor Kevin^ meditates with burning / zeal the sacrament / of baptism or / regeneration by / water^(t)

[While not taken directly from *ISS* this was drawn largely from **CHAPTER V: The Irish Saints** [43-54]. The following quotations from this chapter seem especially pertinent.]

ISS 45-6: The desire for solitude had become general amongst religious men of the time, and we find whole communities living apart in remote valleys or on lonely islands. Each member of the community constructed a little cell for himself, a church was built in the centre of the cells and a low rath or wall surrounded the settlement. There are interesting remains of these hermit communities on some of the islands off the Irish coast, notably ... off the coast of Kerry, where there is still a group of the beehive-shaped stone houses built by the monks

ISS 48: The more ardent and enthusiastic spirits were desirous of leading a life of even greater mortification and prayer than was contemplated by the monastic rule, and went to live apart in solitary communion with God.... St. Kevin dwelt alone for seven years in a small cave at Glendalough.

ISS 43: An ancient Irish manuscript ... divides the Saints of Ireland into three great orders. [See also citation at 020(a)-(e) above.]

²⁶ This insertion is written between the first line (ending 'islet') and the second line (beginning 'and') without a guiding caret.

ISS 46: the three virtues most strongly commanded are obedience, poverty, and chastity.

ISS 49: In the rule of St. Columcille the day is divided into three parts and the three labours of the day are prayer, work, and reading. The work of a monk was again divided into three parts

FW 605.04-606.12 etc.; JJA 63:34-7 = VI.B.03.042-5; #230300

IV§2.*0

—VINCENT DEANE

K'S ORISONS

In a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver on May 21st, 1926, Joyce wrote; "I have the book now fairly well planned out in my head. I am as yet uncertain whether I shall start on the twilight games of \$[\\$/\ and \$I.3 which will follow immediately after \$A or on K's orisons, to follow \$/\d. But my mind is rather exhausted for the moment."¹

The "twilight games" clearly refers to II.1, which does indeed follow the Anna Livia chapter but I have never seen the phrase "K's orisons" satisfactorily explained. According to the letter it should follow the fourth watch of Shaun and correspond to Book IV of the book, 'the Ricorso'. Ellmann suggests that K refers to Kevin, whose story does appear in IV (presumably why Ellmann thought of the identification). Indeed, the phrase "St. Kevin's Orisons" seems to have become a standard term to describe this part of the text²

In early notebooks, the letter K did indeed stand for St. Kevin as Joyce worked on the very early St. Kevin sketch. But by 1926, the sigil \$K had come to refer, not to Kevin, but to Kate, the maidservant at HCE's inn. This identification is consistent throughout

¹ Richard Ellmann, ed. *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, (Faber and Faber: London, 1975), 314.

² See, for example, David Hayman 'Nodality and the Infra-Structure of *Finnegans Wake*' in Patrick A. McCarthy, ed. *Critical Essays on James Joyce's 'Finnegans Wake*' (New York: G. K. Hall; Toronto: Maxwell MacMillan Canada; New York: Maxwell MacMillan International, 1992), 131.

Joyce's use of the sigla and there is no reason why it should vary in the present case — particularly in a context where the other sigla were being deployed correctly. Moreover, by the time of Joyce's letter, he had long written the Kevin sketch and he would not, in 1926, announce that he had yet to "start" it.

The explanation is to be found at the start of the Ricorso, *FW* 593 07-8: "And already the olduman's olduman has godden up on othertimes to litanate the bonnamours." The "olduman's olduman" is analogous to the phrase "gentleman's gentleman", a valet, here with the sense "oldwoman's oldwoman" — the position of Kate vis-a-vis her employer, ALP. She has risen as on other mornings to "litanate" (clearly linked to "litany") the "bonnamours" — and it is this last word which may give us pause. The obvious gloss — the French *bon amour*, given by McHugh — seems an odd sort of thing to be litanising; nor does it have any immediate connection with "orisons". There is another reference here, however, namely to the Catholic sodality of the *Bona Mors* — the good death. The sodality was founded in 1648 in Rome by Vincent Carafa, seventh general of the Jesuits, and its purpose was to prepare each member for a peaceful death. Special indulgences were available to members.³ It seems an appropriate institution for Kate to be "litanating", and also ties up with the peaceful death of ALP at the end of Book IV. (That "good love" should equate with "good death" is not untypical of *FW*'s general procedures.)

That "orisons" do provide one of the motifs of the chapter is evidenced by the next page (594) which is certainly an invocation, if not one addressed to any Christian deity. Many other summonses and invocations are scattered throughout Book IV, from the "Sandhyas! Sandhyas! Sandhyas!" with which it begins to the "Prayfulness! Prayfulness!" on 601 and the "Oyes! Oyeses! Oyesesyases!" on 604. And the conclusion can be read as, among other things, a prayer to the sea to which Anna Livia is heading.

—TERENCE KILLEEN

³ *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), Vol II, 648.

ST. MARTIN OF TOURS

By late August 1923, when Joyce began entering notes into VI.B.2, the first phase of composition of his new book was well under way. Most of the mediaeval sketches had been written, and a holiday in Bognor (with a study of the appropriate Ward Lock guidebook) had provided him with the material to convert John Millar Watt's cartoon-strip character — henpecked Pop — into human, erring and condonable HCE (who makes his initial appearance in this form on page three of B.2). The first fifty or so pages of the notebook show Joyce continuing the exploration of sacred — and, more specifically, hagiographic — themes begun in B.3. Thus it opens with the first proper index devoted to the life and works of Saint Patrick¹ and continues with notes on the Book of Genesis (VI.B.02.14-16) and the Blessed Virgin Mary (VI.B.02.19-21). This culminates at the end of the notebook in the conceptual notes for 'Mamalujo'.

Saint Martin, native of Szombathely, seems to have enjoyed the distinction of being the only saint — apart from Kevin and Patrick — to get an index to himself in the notebooks. The source for these notes is Margaret Maitland's *Life and Legends of St. Martin of Tours* (316-397) (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1908). The saint's privileged position was most probably the result of his family connections: he was related to Patrick's mother and had accordingly already made some guest appearances in notes dealing with Patrick on B.3.009(a) and on the first page of B.2. Joyce's copy of Maitland's book is preserved among the items from his personal library at Buffalo.² Whereas Patrick was to provide Joyce with not one, but many useful sources, St. Martin hardly got beyond the initial notebook stage: somehow the collected material failed to strike the necessary imaginative sparks, despite the thoroughness of the notes, which for the most part dutifully follow the chronology of Maitland's pamphlet.

Of the very few units actually taken from B.2, not one is remotely allusive. They function almost exclusively as examples of phraseology that is lent an imprecisely

¹ See the next issue of the *Circular* for a fully annotated transcription.

² See Thomas E. Connolly, *The Personal Library of James Joyce*. (Buffalo: University of Buffalo, 1957), item 186. I am grateful to R. J. Schork for pointing out this source to me as well as for his useful suggestions for some of the annotations.

evocative quality through its quaintness. See, for example, 'lay down with melancholy death' at *FW* 097.33, from 035(a); or 'So far as in the bishop it lay' at *FW* 548.18, from 036(h); or 'a pious author' at *FW* 034.14, from 037(a).

Even more remote from the original text are the seven units taken some eleven years later from Madame Raphael's C.2 transcription. All of these were transferred into the already fragmentary II.2, mostly as material for Issy's footnotes. While the source can be of some help in identifying a factual substrate for individual words on the notebook pages, its relation to the units in the finished text is often problematical. For example *FW* 262.02 'Approach to lead our passage!' derives in part from C.2.032(e) 'passage death', taken *via* B.2.035(h) from page 72 of Maitland's book in which she defines St. Martin's 'passage' as his 'passing into eternity'. Are we to take it that this meaning has been imported along with the word into the text of the *Wake*? We could argue, certainly, that much of the chapter is indeed concerned with death — indeed the 'NIGHTLETTER' leaves us in little doubt about this — but the association of word and meaning on *FW* 262 seems entirely arbitrary.

Similar considerations arise when glossing *FW* 263.F4 'And he was a gay Lutharius anyway, Sinobiled. You can tell by their extraordinary clothes.' An examination of C.2.032(e), C.2.032(f) and C.2.043(b), together with their sources in B.2 may help us annotate this somewhat obscure passage; indeed Roland McHugh has glossed it in the most recent edition of his *Annotations* simply by reference to the C notes, without any further clarification (as the source was then still unknown). The equation 'Arius = Luther' is an example of Joyce glossing or otherwise amplifying his source and treating his personal comment as an import. But the second notebook-derived equation, 'extraord. clothes heretics' seems no less capricious for being directly taken from the source description of people persecuted by the emperor Ithacus (see quotation at 034(d) below).

The appearance of St. Martin in the text of *Finnegans Wake* does not reveal any particular connection with Maitland's work. Glasheen reminds us³ (with the aid of

³ Adaline Glasheen, *Third Census of "Finnegans Wake": An Index of the Characters and Their Roles* (Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1977).

EB 11) that St. Martin is the patron saint of drinking, jovial meetings, and reformed drunks. This certainly fits, in a general way, the festive character of the *Wake*, but it does not have any bearing on Joyce's notes or the source itself, where Martin's life is clearly portrayed in terms of an imitation of Christ. Of the four references to St. Martin listed in the *Third Census*, only two denote St. Martin directly, to which another might be added: 'the bleakablue tramp', at *FW* 142.10-11. This derives from an index dealing with the calendar at B.18.258. The allusion here is to the story, also recorded at B.2.032(e) below, of St. Martin sharing his cloak with a beggar.⁴ St. Martin's feast-day, 11 November, is not mentioned in Maitland.

Two other occurrences of St. Martin appear in a time-related context: "But, Holy Saltmartin, why can't you beat time" (*FW* 419.08), and "Amties, marcy buckup! The uneven day of the unleventh month of the unevented year. At mart in mass" (*FW* 517.33-34). The former, which closes off the fable of 'The Ondt and the Gracehoper,' connects St. Martin with the larger debate between time and space in the book. Bill Fleming traces the invocation to St. Martin back to a swear term in Elizabethan English.⁵ The latter is a late addition on the final set of galley proofs (see 47488-234; *JJA* 62:512) to a passage that was already punning on the central date 1132 — here 11:32 AM as well as a reference to 11 November 1918 when the armistice was signed that would end World War I; the insertion of Martinmas at this point is self-evident.

INDEX ONE: VI.B.02

Draft usage: *red*-deleted material appears in I.2§1.*1 (fair copy: ink, with pencil revisions), probably August-September 1923; I.4§1.5/2.5 (typescript) probably April or May 1927; I.4§2.*0 (first draft (pencil) of *FW* 096.26-101.25, in the large red-backed notebook), probably November-December 1923; I.5§2.*0 ('The Revered Letter', later incorporated into Book IV; first draft (pencil) in the red-backed notebook), probably December 1923; III§3B.*2 ('Haveth Childers Everywhere', third draft (pencil)), probably November-December 1924.

⁴ This was first pointed out by Jean Haunschild at a Zurich workshop on I.6.

⁵ Bill Fleming, 'Holy Saltmartin (419.08),' *AFWC* 2.1 (Autumn 1986), 14. The expression may be found as part of an insect index on B.21.182.

LLSM: Margaret Maitland. *Life and Legends of St. Martin of Tours (316-397)* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1908), pp. 107.

032

(a) Sue for peace

LLSM 17: Martin's night prayer and vigil saved not only his own life for God's service, but the lives of many others. At dawn on the next day fixed for the battle the barbarians who were to be attacked in their fortress sent to the Emperor to sue for peace on his own conditions, and, of course, no battle followed.

(b) catechumens — | (Martin C — mass ~

LLSM 8: Martin, meantime, had ... become a catechumen ... The exercises of a catechumen consisted in attending instructions in the faith and in assisting at part of the Mass. The unbaptized were dismissed before the consecration of the Host, and on this account the portion of the service at which they were allowed to be present was called the Catechumen's Mass.

(c) [del] / canon, triple immersion 'white / wine & meat, 8 days, baptized at / death (insurance)

LLSM 13-14: He was not baptized yet, because, from a false reverence, baptism was at that time frequently delayed, sometimes with the intention of receiving it only at the hour of death, in order to avoid all risk of forfeiting the grace of baptismal innocence. Martin's humility had hitherto kept him from asking for baptism: but the vision enlightened him. He now asked for it, and was admitted to the long and penitential preliminary preparation. The candidate had to abstain from flesh, meat, and wine for many weeks, often confess his sins, be constant in prayer, watchings, and acts of mortification. The Sacrament of Baptism was administered by triple immersion, and only at the festivals of Easter and Pentecost. The newly baptized Christian was arrayed in white garments, typifying the purity of soul, and wore this apparel for eight days.

(d) Earwicker waits on servant

LLSM 11-12: One form of self-humiliation that he [Martin] practised was to wait upon his servant: he prepared his meals, took off his sandals, and washed his feet.

(e) S. Martin's cloak (Tolstoy)

LLSM 12: The well-known story of the divided cloak belongs to this period of his life. It was a bitter winter; the poor in Amiens, here he was quartered, were perishing from cold and hunger. One day Martin and his troop, as they came clattering through one of the gateways of the town, decked in their armour and floating cloaks, saw cowering against the wall a trembling, half-naked man. Pitiably object as he was, no one seemed to have time to notice him, though he asked persistently for alms, and "Martin," says Sulpicius, "understood that it was for him that God had reserved the poor man." He must already have drained his pockets of his pay, for they were empty that day; but, with the impulse of a generous heart, he drew his sword, slashed his cloak in two, and gave half of it to the mysterious beggar.

note: Tolstoy does not appear in *LLSM*, but the parallels with his social philosophy are clear. See the entry under 'Tolstoy' (§290) in Thomas E. Connolly *op. cit.* for citations marked by Joyce.

(f) priest's orders

LLSM 25: Maurilius ... abandoned his worldly possessions and followed St. Martin to Tours.... St. Martin gave him priest's orders

(g) 'the Adversary >

FW 081.19; 47472-262 *JJA* 46:094; (#)270441

I.4§1.5/2.5

(h) devil in human form

LLSM 22: The devil, in human form, accosted him in a street one day and asked him where he was going.

"I go where God calls me," said Martin.

"Know then," said the Adversary, "that go where you may, do what you will, I will constantly oppose you."

(i) to maraud

LLSM 21: The band [of thieves] was on the point of starting to maraud a neighbouring place, and Martin, bound with ropes, was left behind.

- (j) priest of Calon,
LLSM 26: "God has decided and so shall it be; and, as for you, submit yourselves generously to his Holy will. Maurilius, Priest of Calon, is your future bishop."
 - (k) gift of miracles,
LLSM 24-25: Gaudentius, the elder of the two, was no novice in the spiritual life. He had long practised great bodily mortification, and had the gift of miracles.
 - (l) Arius = Luther
LLSM 23-24: All Pannonia was at that time devastated by the Arian heresy, and even certain bishops and priests dared openly to deny the Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ and His consubstantiality with the Father and the Holy Ghost. [No mention of Luther in *LLSM*.]
 - (m) cenobite in a tree / barrel
LLSM 30: Each cenobite ... had his own separate dwelling. Some fashioned themselves huts composed of leafy twigs and branches, others dwelt in caves and hollow trees
 - (n) manna of holy doctrine / wage holy war
LLSM 31 [account of St. Hilary's visit to Ligugé]: his object in these visits was to see Martin and the servants of God, who, under Martin's guidance, waged the Holy War. "He went there also," says the legend, "to seek for spiritual consolations, and to join with the brethren in offering the sacrifice of the Immaculate Lamb." Upon one of these occasions, "after sweet converse and having fed the brethren with the manna of holy doctrine, the Pontiff set out for Poitiers ..."
 - (o) 'soul of this particular / young boy dear //
- 033
- (a) 'to Martin
LLSM 33: A young man had come to the brethren to be prepared for baptism, it being their pious custom to receive youths under such circumstances. The soul of this particular young man was dear to St. Martin, and great was his grief when, on returning to the monastery after an absence of some two or three days, he was told that the lad had died suddenly. [For continuation of narrative, see (d) below.]

[Not located in *FW*]

- (b) grotesqued round [†] / orbéd in scarlet

[not found in *LLSM*]

- (c) fountain flowed in / response to prayers

LLSM 35: fountains, still held in veneration, are supposed to have flowed in response to his miraculous prayers.

- (d) S. Martin (Elias) lies on dead / youth (Kings II)

LLSM 33-34 [continued from (a) above]: The brethren had already laid him on his bier, and St. Martin found them grouped about it, mourning and performing the last offices. Then followed a repetition of a scene recorded in the Third Book of Kings. Martin dismissed the mourning monks, and, left alone with the dead, he “stretched and measured himself on the corpse, like Elias in the Scripture story, and besought God for mercy on the boy’s soul.... For two hours he stayed alone in the chamber of death, and then he felt a gentle quiver in the stiffened limbs, saw the eyes open and close, and, unable, to contain himself, he burst into a cry of praise that brought the whole community flocking into the chamber, where they found the beloved boy sitting up on the bier, alive and quite well.

note: Kings I is called the Third Book of the Kings in the Vulgate, so Joyce is mistaken here. The story of Elias (Elijah) is in chapter 17.

- (e) S Martin kidnapped by / false sick call (/hubby/)

LLSM 38-40 [St. Martin was too humble to accept the bishopric of Tours: one of the townsmen decided to bring him by force]: He [Ruricius] started for Ligugé, taking with him a band of confederates, whom he placed in ambush not far from Martin’s cell. He was alone when he approached the Saint, representing himself ... as the loving husband of a dying woman. His wife, he said, implored St. Martin to come to her as her one hope of life ... Martin, in his guilelessness, went unsuspectingly into the ambush in wait for him, and was seized and carried off to Tours by Ruricius and his confederates.

- (f) tonsure unknown in W >

- (g) earthstains >

(h) objecting bishop — Defensor

LLSM 40: The Saint's face was pinched and worn with fastings, watchings, and other austerities. His clothes were poor and blotched with earth-stains from his prostrations. His hair was close shaven, after the fashion of the monk of the East, as yet unfamiliar to Western Christianity. But the very abjectness of his humility only excited the people's enthusiasm more and more. They and all the assembled bishops—with the exception of one—who were met to assist at the election, insisted on his consecration. The objecting bishop, whose name was Defensor (or Defender), in vain said tauntingly, "Look, only look at him! his commonness! his soiled garments! the absurd cut of his hair!"

(i) monks bolsh[y]

[Not located in *LLSM*, but very probably suggested by description of St. Martin in (h) above.]

(j) contra hostem et defensorem

LLSM 41: then some one else took the book, opened it, and read out these words: "Out of the mouths of infants and sucklings Thou hast prepared praise because of Thy enemies, to destroy the enemy and the defender." *note*: A footnote in the text explains that 'in our modern Bibles, the word is Avenger, not Defender'. (*LLSM* 41n) The line referred to is Psalms 8:2, but apparently Joyce was looking at the English text and translated it into his own Latin. The original reads, 'ut destruas inimicum et ultorem'.

(k) Copyist (mind, eye & hand)

LLSM 44: The younger monks spent much of their time in copying books, "a labour," says an old writer, "that occupies the mind with the sense of the words, the eyes with reading them, the hand with writing them."

(l) rise to meet bishop / kneel & kiss

LLSM 46: The customary mode of receiving a bishop was to rise and meet him, then kiss him and kneel to receive his blessing.

034

(a) in default of authority for what / he dares to promise he is fain / to express what he desires O / holy presumption! (S Martin / promises to serve Satan)

LLSM 48: "What sayest thou, O wretched one!" cried the Saint. "To thee, even to thee, wouldst thou but cease to tempt men, wouldst thou but repent

of thy crimes, even now, when the Day of Judgement is at hand, I, confiding in our Lord Jesus Christ, would dare promise thee His mercy.” “Oh, holy presumption!” cries an old writer, speaking of this legend. “In default of authority for what he dares to promise, he is fain to express what he desires.”

(b) Priscillianiste

LLSM 48-49: Among the several journeys that St. Martin made to Treves, one that is particularly memorable was taken to plead for the lives and properties of the Priscillianists.

(c) under arrest

LLSM 50: But, meantime, Priscillian himself had been carried under arrest to Treves, where Ithacus, a Spanish bishop whom the Priscillianists had robbed of his see, was waiting to accuse him.

(d) all pale persons (people) [wearing] / extraord clothes = heretics

LLSM 52-53: Priscillian was dead, and the Emperor, yielding to the specious suggestions of Ithacus, had dispatched soldiers to Spain to slay the Priscillian heretics and cast their properties into the Imperial treasure. This meant nothing short of indiscriminate slaughter, for Ithacus averred that all pale persons, and all who wore any extraordinary attire, might be known for heretics.

(e) /i/ monk close to the usurper >

(f) rejoiced wonderfully

LLSM 58-60: Maximus asked him again and again to the Imperial table, but in vain; he declined alleging that he could not partake in the hospitality of one who had deprived one Emperor of his dominions and another of his life.... at length overcome by his arguments or his prayers, Martin came to supper, the Emperor rejoicing wonderfully that he had prevailed with him....

The day of entertainment was made quite a gala day: the first personages about the Court were invited; the monk, Martin, was placed on a couch close to the usurper, and near him his attendant presbyter, seated between the brother and uncle of Maximus.

- (g) chatting about heaven

LLSM 60-61: The Emperor [Maximus] sent often for the Saint to come and talk to him, consulted him in his undertakings, asked him for advice about his conduct, talked with him of his future life, the glory of the redeemed, and of eternity and its attendant hopes and fears.

- (h) presbyter

LLSM 59-60: Martin, was placed on a couch close to the usurper, and near him his attendant presbyter, seated between the brother and uncle of Maximus.

- (i) Empress serves & eats crumbs >

- (j) A meal served to M—

LLSM 61-2: the wife of Maximus ... hung on every word that issued from the holy man's lips.... She begged her husband, and then together with him begged the Saint to allow her, by herself and without any servants to assist her, to serve him a repast. "The hands of the Empress," says Sulpicius, "go through the chaste service; she throws a piece of tapestry over the bishop's seat, near it places a table, offers him water for his hands; she sets food that she herself has cooked before him, and while he sits she stands aloof like a well-trained servant ... When his small meal is over, carefully she sweeps the broken bits and crumbs he leaves, preferring them to every Imperial dainty."

- (k) [Glory] allegiance

[Not located in *LLSM*]

035

- (a) 'lay down with melancholy / death

LLSM 63: St. Gregory of Tours ... says: "... pursued by the judgements of the Eternal King, was not Maximus deprived of his empire and condemned to a most melancholy death?"

FW 097.33; 47471b-27v; *JJA* 46:046; (#)231141

I.4§2.*0

- (b) member of Roman bar

LLSM 64: Sulpicius Severus, whose life of St. Martin has been often quoted in these pages, was a member of the Bar at Toulouse and a learned man.

- (c) Rom colonel
?LLSM 6: His father was a distinguished soldier, and had risen from the ranks to the position of tribune of a cohort — or, as we might say, using the corresponding modern title, colonel.
- (d) Says a writer
LLSM 66: “The sensation it [Sulpicius’ biography of St. Martin] produced in Rome,” says a writer, “and throughout the Christian world, was incredible....”
- (e) a priest whose name is / not mentioned
LLSM 28: A priest, whose name is not mentioned, shared his exile.
- (f) between Orleans & Blois I / saw the lovelight in his eyes
*note: not located in LLSM, but is in part a quotation from Lady Dufferin’s song ‘The Lament of the Irish Emigrant’: “And the red was on your lip, Mary and the love-light in your eye.” Also cited at FW 437.01 and FW 441.16f.
 [FW 615.19f]; 47471b-31; JJA 46:255; (#)231200
 I.5§2.*0*
- (g) 7 sleepers of Marmoutier / Clemens & 1^{us} (priests) / Theodore & Letus (deacons) / Gaudens, Quiriacius / & Innocent (subdeacons) >
- (h) passage = death
*LLSM 69-73: [Story of seven brothers, cousins of St. Martin, who became Christians and spent the remainder of their lives in the monastery at Marmoutier]; LLSM 71: Then he ordained two of them, Clement and Primus, priests, and two more, Letus and Theodore, deacons, and the three others, Gaudens, Quiriacius, and Innocent, sub-deacons.
 LLSM 72: Of the seven brothers in their walled-up cell we hear no more till after St. Martin is dead.... One year, when the Festival of the Saint’s “Passage” (or passing into eternity) fell on a Saturday, he appeared to the seven at the hour of the Sunday matins.
 LLSM 73: The brothers have always been known as the “Seven Sleepers of Marmoutier” because death came to them in the guise of peaceful slumber.*

- (i) case of possession

LLSM 77: [St. Martin sees two demons calling out encouragement to Brice, his protégé and later his successor as Bishop of Tours] Directly afterwards, Brice himself came in sight. He was in a fury of rage, and rushing up to the venerable bishop, poured out upon him a torrent of abuse.... The devil had, for the time, completely got the upper hand, and Brice, usually so gay and jaunty, was like one possessed.

- (j) they were gone 5 yrs — / fragments of †, relics / of sacred bodies of S James the Less

LLSM 70-71: But before settling down under his direction, they [the seven brothers of Marmoutier] desired to go over the worlds and visit all the most celebrated sanctuaries of Christendom. They were gone five years, and came back bringing St. Martin precious gifts, fragments of the true Cross and of the tombs of the Saviour and of His Holy Mother, and relics of the sacred bodies of SS. Peter, Paul, James the Less, and other saints.

036

- (a) I seek the Blessed One

LLSM 75: One day a sick man came to Marmoutier, to ask St. Martin to cure him. The first person he chanced to meet was Brice.

“I want the Blessed One,” said the sick man, “but I know neither where he is nor how he is occupied.”

- (b) attachments to place / recognized only to be / sacrificed

LLSM 90: In the austere school in which Martin’s sons were trained, attachments to places or persons were recognized only to be sacrificed.

- (c) M shears & ordains godson

LLSM 87: [...] St. Martin was very zealous in instructing the young, and on none did he bestow greater care than on his godson Victorius. [...] at the proper age St. Martin ordained him, shearing his locks with his own hands.

- (d) heals by praying

LLSM 87-88: When some grace of healing was sought at the bishop’s hands, he would send Victorius in his place, and through the young man’s obedience and his and St. Martin’s prayers, the sick were healed.

- (e) set out on his way / to repress heresy

LLSM 88: When St. Martin went forth from the monastery, and mounted his ass to go and repress heresies, distribute alms to the poor, or overthrow the idols that were still worshipped in many places, the child followed him on foot and waited on him.

- (f) amphibalus

LLSM 91: Martin rose from his prayers, and stripping himself beneath the sheltering folds of his amphibalus (a large cloak that monks wore over their habit on public occasions), he handled his under tunic to the man and sent him away.

- (g) secretarium

LLSM 90: Before he said Mass, Martin used always to make a long and devout preparation in a small inner sacristy, which was called the secretarium, because, unlike the outer sacristy, the faithful were not admitted to it.

- (h) 'So far as in the bishop' / it lay

LLSM 93-94: Judging no man, condemning none, never rendering evil for evil, he armed himself with such patience, that he, the sovereign priest, allowed the lowest cleric to insult him and go unpunished. Never on such account was any cleric dismissed from place, nor, so far as in the bishop it lay, form his friendship.

FW 548.18f; 47482b-115v; *JJA* 58:098; (#)241141

III§3B.*2

- (i) 'Yet know —

LLSM 76 [SM to Brice]: "... Yet know that many sorrows await you."
[See also 035(i) and 036(a) above.]

FW 547.03; 47482b-115; *JJA* 58:097; (#)241141

III§3B.*2

- (j) Edify me —

LLSM 95 [Sulpicius Severus and another monk discover that St. Martin has visions of the BVM, when they hear voices coming from his cell]: Sulpicius was on terms of peculiar familiarity with him, and he ventured to ask him to edify him and Brother Gallus by telling them whom he had been talking to in his cell.

- (k) sleep was allowed / to overcome

LLSM 101 [After St. Martin's death a dispute broke out between the people of Poitou and Touraine over the right to his remains]: But Tours was not thus defrauded of her legitimate patron. A dead sleep was permitted to overcome the men of Poitou, and they of Touraine profited by the opportunity. Some of them slipped noiselessly through the window, handed the body out to those below, then followed it, and stealthily carrying their treasure to their boats, jumped into them and got away.

037

- (a) ^ra pious author

LLSM 73-74: A pious author says of their story that ...

FW 034.14; 47472-98v; *JJA* 45:007; (#)230841

I.2§1.*1

- (b) a consecrated virgin & a priest / saw it

LLSM 93: A priest serving at the altar, two holy monks, and a consecrated virgin saw, circling round the head of the Saint when he invoked the Divine blessing on the Sacred Host, a ball of fire which rose slowly up and up, leaving a trail of light.

- (c) Battle Abbey (S M de Bello)

LLSM 104: Battle Abbey, built in 1066 by William I to commemorate the Conquest of England at the Battle of Hastings, was called Ecclesia Sancti Martini de Bello (Church of St. Martin of War)

- (d) Eng dowry of Mary / France, eldest daughter >

- (e) restoration of † in all things

LLSM 106-107: May St. Martin, by his powerful intercession, obtain for both our country and theirs the restoration in Christ of all things, that, as in the ages of faith, England may be again the dowry of Mary and France the eldest daughter of the Church.

- (f) it related of a living bishop / so near as France sanctity / almost unequalled

LLSM 66: "The sensation it [Sulpicius' biography of St. Martin] produced in Rome," says a writer, "and throughout the Christian world, was incredible. No book was so much read ... and it was everywhere the

subject of conversation. For it related of a living bishop so near as France sanctity almost unequalled, and miraculous powers such as were not then possessed by any one ...”

INDEX TWO: VI.C.02

Draft usage: *green*-deleted material appears in II.2§1.6/2.4/3A.6 (Typescript; late 1934, sent to Harriet Shaw Weaver from Paris on 29 March 1935); II.2§9.5 (Typescript; late 1934, sent to Harriet Shaw Weaver from Paris on 29 March 1935).

032

- (e) [§]Arius = Luther
VI.B.02.32(l)
FW 263.F4; 47478-187; JJA 52:089; #340009
II.2§1.6/2.4/3A.6
- (f) [§]cenobite[§] in a tub
VI.B.02.32(m)
FW 263.F4; 47478-187; JJA 52:089; #340009
II.2§1.6/2.4/3A.6

033

- (k) [§]O holy presumption
VI.B.02.34(a)
FW 267.F3; 47478-191; JJA 52:093; #340009
II.2§1.6/2.4/3A.6

034

- (b) [§]extraord. clothes heretics
VI.B.02.34(d)
FW 263.F4; 47478-187; JJA 52:089; #340009
II.2§1.6/2.4/3A.6

035

- (e) [§]passage death
VI.B.02.35(h)
FW 262.02; 47478-158; JJA 52:055; #340000
II.2§1.6/2.4/3A.6

- (i) ⁸I seek the Blessed One
 VI.B.02.36(a)
 FW 264.08; 47478-188; JJA 52:090; #340009
 II.2§1.6/2.4/3A.6
- (l) ⁸sacrifice
 VI.B.02.36(b)
 FW 305.F1; 47478-202; JJA 53:283; #340009
 II.2§9.5

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