

# A *FINNEGANS WAKE* CIRCULAR

So sang seaswans :

--- Three quarks for Muster Mark

Sure he hasn't got much of a bark

And sure any he has it's all beside the mark

But O Wrenseagle <sup>High flighty</sup> ~~Almighty~~ wouldn't un be a sky of a lark

To see that old buzzard whooping about for uns shirt in the <sup>un</sup> ~~dark~~ <sup>dark</sup>

And ~~be~~ hunting round for uns speckled trousers ~~around~~ by

Malmerston Park .

THE MISSING TYPESCRIPTS

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Danis Rose

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## THE MISSING TYPESCRIPTS OF *FINNEGANS WAKE*

With so much discussion of the 1984 edition of *Ulysses* filling the letters columns, spawning conferences and books, it is easy to forget that genetic criticism and textual editing are not only matters of re-ordering and re-interpreting already-known documents. There is also the ever-present possibility of discovering new documents, which can be vitally important whether these new documents challenge or confirm our understandings of the text and its backgrounds. Few such documents have come to light during the current controversies surrounding the editing of *Ulysses*, and it has also been the case for *Finnegans Wake* that little new material has come to light to add to the record of Joyce's composition of the book since the big acquisitions of material by the University Library at Buffalo and the British Library in 1950 and 1951, respectively — materials that are now reproduced in facsimile in the Garland *James Joyce Archive*.

In this context, and in the fiftieth anniversary year of the publication of *Finnegans Wake*, it is particularly pleasing to reveal the discovery some new evidence which adds a small but important part to our picture of the growth, and possibly the substance, of Joyce's extraordinary last work. The discovery consists in a number of typescripts made by Harriet Shaw Weaver and subsequently revised by Joyce of the four earliest sketches for *Finnegans Wake*: 'Roderick O'Connor'; 'Tristan and Isolde'; 'St. Kevin' and 'Berkeley and St Patrick'.

These first four of the sketches, 'active elements' or 'boring parties', as Joyce called them (in his favourite tunnelling metaphor), were composed in the Spring and Summer of 1923 but not published or incorporated into the larger sequence of the work until 1938. Except for the love-scene 'Tristan and Isolde', which was integrated with the 'Mamalujo' sketch of four voyeuristic old men into II.4 (FW 383-399), the sketches survive as discrete entities in the published work, 'Roderick O'Connor' coming at the end of II.3 (FW 380-2), and 'St Kevin' and 'Berkeley'

coming in Book IV (*FW* 605-6 and 611-2, respectively). Some passages were heavily elaborated and revised; others, such as the 'seaswans' song' in 'Tristan and Isolde', much less so. The sketches are delightful in themselves, as parodic *tour de force*, written in a language that some find more accessible than that of the *Wake* in its completed form. They are important, not just as scenes in a future narrative continuum but also as small first stages on which Joyce's huge conceptual experiments in literary language and personification are built. Isolde is a prototype of Joyce's Wakean daughter-figure Issy; Tristan, Kevin, Berkeley and St Patrick become elements in the characterisation of the warring brothers Shem and Shaun; Roderick O'Connor and the cuckolded King Mark of Cornwall foreshadow Joyce's father-protagonist H.C.E.

The typescripts in question were first discovered in a small brown-paper package among some papers of Harriet Shaw Weaver, Joyce's patron. The package bears a number of notes in Miss Weaver's hand suggesting that it contained a succession of different papers over the years of her custodianship of Joyce's manuscripts. One set of notes clearly suggests that manuscripts for six of the first episodes had been wrapped in it at one time; listing their titles, marking against the first, fourth and sixth of them ('King Roderick', 'Tristan' and 'Mamalujo') 'removed March 5th 1951' and against the fifth ('Humphrey Childers Earwicker') 'removed from here and put with the rest of I ii'. An additional note added later in a different pen reads 'All now put with rest of manuscripts except King Roderick O'Connor 30.5.1951. Typescripts here.'

These were apparently notes made at the time of the deposit of Joyce's manuscripts in the British Library in 1951. Another note on the package reads 'Copies of earliest typescripts made by me for Mr Joyce, July and August 1923. All mss (except for King Roderick O'Connor) put with mss for British Museum, 1951.' In fact several manuscript drafts of each of the sketches (including 'Roderick O'Connor') were



deposited in the British Library along with typescripts for nearly all of them, including a revised typescript of 'Mamalujo' and one of 'Humphrey Childers' which now form part of the published *Archive* record.

It is hard to say exactly how the current typescripts became separated from the rest. This may have been during the sorting of the papers at the time of the British Library deposit in 1951 when they were intentionally or mistakenly grouped with less important typescript copies, some of which were apparently made by Harriet Weaver for her own interest. But the note on the white envelope inside the package which contains these typescripts seems to suggest that they had been separate from the main body of manuscript materials since 1923. This reads '*First typescript of new book* made by me for Mr Joyce, 1923, August mostly while he was at Bognor. Duplicates here made at the time to keep myself. H.S.W. *Mamalujo* not amongst them - was not written quite so soon I think.' This note (evidently retrospective and hesitant about some details) clearly refers to copies made by her 'at the time' and suggests that the typescripts of these first four of the six sketches may have been held separate from the rest since 1923 which may begin to explain the fact that they did not join the others in the British Library, when the papers were sorted in 1951.

Miss Weaver's note is correct about the later composition and typing of the 'Mamalujo' sketch. The evidence of Joyce's letters gives us a reasonably clear picture of the relevant chronology, though it is one that is not without difficulties. Manuscript drafts of the first sketches date back as far as March 1923 when Joyce wrote of 'two pages - the first I have written since the final *Yes* of *Ulysses*'.<sup>1</sup> These two pages were a draft of the 'King Roderick O'Conor' passage. The 'double sheet of foolscap' on which Joyce wrote 'in large handwriting' because of his failing eyesight still survives in the British Library collection. Also in March he made a first draft of 'Tristan and Isolde'.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Letters* I, 202.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters* III, 73.

On June 11th he took his family (except Giorgio who was working in a Paris bank) to Bognor in Sussex where they were to spend the Summer. There he made a fair draft of 'King Roderick', a new version of 'Tristan and Isolde' and wrote the further sketches on 'St Kevin' and 'Berkeley and St Patrick', all of which were sent to Harriet Weaver for typing. Joyce's letter of 19th July 1923, sent with the fair copy of 'King Roderick O'Connor', clearly dates that copy and the request for it to be typed. The fair copy of 'Berkeley' is dated by a note, reading 2nd (or possibly 3rd) August 1923. Between them should come the fair copy of 'St Kevin', also dated but by a note that causes some confusion. It is usually read (in the BL catalogue in the *Archive* facsimile) as 16th July but this is puzzlingly early since the 'Roderick O'Connor' sketch must have been the first to have been sent on the 19th. The same note appears in Richard Ellmann's *Letters* with the date 20th July,<sup>3</sup> which is more helpful to chronology but quite unlike what Joyce wrote and it seems probable that the date he wrote was actually 26th July.<sup>4</sup>

It would be natural to assume that the typescripts were made, one at a time, within a day or so of their receipt. However, contact between Joyce and his patron-cum-typist may not only have been by letter. Joyce visited London on his way to Bognor, at least twice to visit eye doctors and once more to meet his sister-in-law Kathleen at Euston Station and (especially bearing in mind Harriet Weaver's huge gift to Joyce of £12,000) there may well have been more direct contact between them than is documented and which bears directly on these typescripts. Indeed a further typed note attached to the 'Roderick O'Connor' typescripts says that they were made 'by me for Mr Joyce when he was in London in August 1923.' This is unlikely to be exactly true since the earliest reference to the existence of typescripts is in Joyce's note on the fair copy of the 'St Kevin' sketch (of 16th, 20th or 26th July). However it does indicate the possibility of Joyce having visited Harriet Weaver in London at this time. No covering note or letter survives referring to the

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<sup>3</sup> *Letters* III, 79.

<sup>4</sup> See *JJA* 63:38f, where the letter is reproduced.

'Tristan and Isolde' sketch, the second in order to be composed. It seems not to have been sent with 'Roderick O'Connor' on 19th July and it is possible that Joyce took this fair copy manuscript to London by hand.

The Joyces returned to Paris in mid-August and it is not until 9th October that he completed his fair copy of the 'Mamalujo' sketch and refers to the already existing draft of 'H.C.E.'. These manuscripts were typed elsewhere but he continued to send them to Harriet Weaver. Both of these two sketches were published in an early form but the first four were not, further helping to explain how the typescripts might have become separated from the rest: perhaps left with Harriet Weaver in London on the return trip. It has always been believed that the sketches were left untouched until they were revised and incorporated in 1938 at this very late stage in the book's composition. However this was not the case with 'Mamalujo' or 'Humphrey Childers'. Joyce's letter of 2 November refers to having 'worked over' the typescript of 'Mamalujo' before putting it aside<sup>5</sup> and the *Archive* typescripts of both later sketches show this to have been the case. The discovery of these typescripts of the four earliest sketches shows that Joyce also revised these typescripts in 1923, though the early revisions were lost when he came to revise again in 1938.

The extent and importance of the revisions varies from sketch to sketch.

### *1. King Roderick O'Connor*

The first of the sketches recasts the Twelfth Century Irish King (popularly known as the last King of Ireland before the Anglo-Norman invasion) as a modern Dublin publican clearing up after a rowdy night in the bar. In this early form it gives an excellent example of the way in which Joyce's new book grew out of *Ulysses*. It is basically parodic in flavour but its language allows an unprecedented mixture of comic literary modes, simultaneously adding the exaggerated satiric realism of the 'Cyclops' episode of *Ulysses* with its interpolated parodic styles. The sketch also

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<sup>5</sup> *Letters* III, 82.

establishes a basic principle of *Finnegans Wake* syntax. A familiar English subject, main verb and object may be found but only as a scaffold onto which layer after layer of subordinate clause, parenthesis, hesitation, qualification and digression are built into a 'sentence' that defies semantic closure, becoming nearly three pages long.

Two typescripts have come to light. One is the first page only of a two-page foolscap-sized top copy. The other is a carbon of it, with the first page cut to make two, more easily manageable quarto-sized pages. Harriet Weaver's typed note describing these typescripts (part of which I quoted above) has a further note in blue pen which reads 'This was really a duplicate typescript I made at the time to keep myself. Original put with rest of ms of II.iii.' The typescript housed in the British Library<sup>6</sup> and reproduced in the *Joyce Archive*,<sup>7</sup> on which Joyce made substantial compositional additions in 1938, is another carbon copy. That there should be carbon copies is no surprise since Joyce specifically requested '2 copies' in his letter of 19th July.<sup>8</sup> That two carbons survive we may take as evidence of Harriet Weaver's conscientiousness in the Joycean interest. Both carbons have been corrected for typing errors but bear no marks of authorial revision at the time.

good reason that he was still such as he was the eminent king  
of all Ireland himself after the last preeminent king of all  
Ireland, the whilom jovy old top that went before him <sup>^ in the vicinity</sup> King Art.  
MacMurrough Kavanagh of the leather leggings, now of parts

Detail of lost typescript for 'King Roderick'.

The single page of top copy is more interesting. On that typescript, which may unwittingly have been stored with the unused carbon, or have been set aside as incomplete, Joyce has clearly made two additions to the text. The first extends the

<sup>6</sup> Add. MS 47480.272-3.

<sup>7</sup> *JJA* 55:462-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Letters* I, 203.

phrase 'socalled last supper' (which makes play with the paradox that this 'last' is actually the most repeated of suppers), to 'socalled last free supper', drawing in a range of cadging associations appropriate to Roderick's unwelcome guests. The reference to 'the whilom joky old top that went before him King Art MacMurrough' is punningly extended to read 'that went before him in the dienasty'. Both of these changes were lost from the series of documents which went to form the final text. It is interesting to note, though, that at one of the later stages of revision in 1938 the phrase 'in the Taharan dynasty' was inserted here, as if Joyce half-remembered his earlier revision.<sup>9</sup>

Such comic touches seem typical of the flavour of Joyce's work as it was in 1923 and, whereas a genetic critic will be delighted to have further insight into Joyce's creative process, a future editor would surely decide that the fourteen year gap between this version and the final revisions, or else the rejection implied in Joyce's failure to remember or decision not to reincorporate the changes makes them unavailable for inclusion in a newly edited text. This is, however, by no means the editorial procedure that has become familiar as that adopted by the recent editors of *Ulysses*. According to their procedures one would argue that, since there is no written evidence that Joyce excluded these changes or wished them to be excluded, an editor, sticking to the letter of the last written evidence of Joyce's intentions, could put them in.

## 2. *Tristan and Isolde*

The second sketch is of the lovers Tristan and Isolde. He appears as 'handsome brineburnt sixfooter Gaelic, rugger and soccer champion'; she as 'dinkum belle of Lucalizod'. Many of Joyce's notes collected at the time in the *Scribbledehobble* notebook (under the heading 'Exiles') and other workbooks show the importance of

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<sup>9</sup> Add. MS 47490.284v, *JJA* 55:482.



the story to him at the time and its parody of romantic love and its mocking attention to the cuckolded King Mark can again easily be seen as developments from *Ulysses* and from Joyce's earlier writing.

Four typescripts in all have come to light. Two of them are of great interest. They consist in pages one and four only of a four page top-copy typescript on foolscap-sized paper and a complete carbon copy of it, which is cut down to quarto size. The two others are identical (carbon) copies of each other (except in that only one bears the title in typescript). It is these two, less interesting, copies that seem to be described by Harriet Weaver's note stating 'This typescript is a new one I have made from the fair copy'. They are similar to, though not identical with the two typescripts in the British Library and *Archive* record, one of which is clean, the other completely re-ordered and crossed through at the time of Joyce's incorporation of it into 'Mamalujo'.<sup>10</sup> These typescripts are usually supposed to date from 1923 but a pencil note on the verso of one of them indicates that they were actually made by Harriet Weaver at Joyce's request in 1938. The sketch was retyped as a replacement for the 1923 typescript which is marked 'draft' in thick blue pencil in Joyce's hand and whose top copy was incomplete.

air serene and revelling in the great outdoors . That mouth of  
mandibles vowed to pure beauty promptly elocutionised to her a  
favourite lyrical bloom bellear in iambic decasyllabic hexameter :  
Rollon thoudeep <sup>^ andamp</sup> anddark blueo ceanroll !

Detail of lost typescript for 'Tristan and Isolde'.

Once again the top copy shows a series of revisions made (mostly) in black fountain pen. The romantic Isolde requests a quotation of poetry from her lover as a token and he offers a parodied version of Byron's famous line 'Rollon thoudeep anddark blueo ceanroll!'.

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<sup>10</sup> Add. MS 47481.101-5, *JJA* 56:20-24 and Add. MS 47481.108-11, *JJA* 56:214-7.

Joyce's revision further ironises Byron, extending the line to read 'Rollon thoudeep andamp anddark blueo ceanroll!' The addition was lost and indeed any possibility of it obliterated when Joyce, revising as he inserted passages from 'Tristan' into 'Mamalujo' in 1938, overlaid the Byron with older romantic and Romance associations making it read 'Rolando's deepen darblun Ossian roll'.<sup>11</sup>

The famous 'seaswans' song' of mockery of the old King Mark which originally closed but ultimately opened the scene was apparently a favourite of Harriet Weaver's and she notes that it survived virtually unrevised into the final text. However these typescripts do show revision. In a thick pencil Joyce sharpened the punctuation 'Fowls, up! Tristy': a change he made once again on a galley proof of 1938 and which appears in the published text. In fountain pen he changed 'Wreneagle Almighty' to 'Wreneagle Highflighty': an improvement well in sympathy with the developing complexity of his stylistic experiment. In lines 4-6 of the song as it was published several pronouns have been changed to 'un' or 'uns', appropriate for what was, at least in its Wagnerian version, a German love story, and fitting with the general contamination of the vowels by 'u' throughout, but also serving to make the seawans mockery disturbingly reflexive.

We can observe that Joyce altered these pronouns in the final fair copy from which these typescripts were made and it is very easy to imagine that he was merely completing this process in changing the last unchanged pronoun 'he' to 'un' in line 6, as he does on this typescript. Should a future editor suppose that this change was an essential part of the same revision which was subsequently overlooked and that we are now reading a corrupt text of what was, after all, hardly revised at all in the fourteen years before publication? Or should he decide that Joyce, in looking over the text again in 1938, saw the continuing need to sharpen the punctuation but on second thoughts felt that the other revisions were better left unmade? Here the case for a change to the published text seems stronger.

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<sup>11</sup> Add. MS 47481-115v, *JJA* 56:174.



What, furthermore, can we make of the word 'Highflighty'? It appears in a list of words apparently added later and crossed through in blue on the final page of Buffalo Notebook VI.B.3.168. This must confirm the importance of the revision for Joyce. Also, by a stroke of luck, since it is apparently a last item or even afterthought in the notebook, it helps us clarify the dating of the notebook itself. VI.B.3 must have been filled before this word was 'harvested' for this revision on some date between 19th July and mid August 1923, denying that it was continued into the 'fall' as some have argued.

The fact that there are sheets missing from these top copies (only the first sheet of 'King Roderick' and only two of four pages of 'Tristan and Isolde') is also of considerable interest here. Joyce's letter (apparently 16th but probably 26th July) requested that Miss Weaver make three copies of the 'St Kevin' sketch, the next one in order to be composed, since, he wrote, 'in moving today I have lost one of your typed sheets'.<sup>12</sup> It seems that in changing rooms to the third floor of the Alexandra Hotel in Bognor Joyce lost not just one but three sheets of typescript and we may presume that these were the pages missing from these typescripts that have now come to light. The loss was an especially unfortunate one since Joyce may already have revised the typescripts (though whether he did this before or after the loss is uncertain) and, supposing that these top copies were not used because they were incomplete, both these and the other contemporary revisions were lost.

### 3. *St Kevin*

Probably the third of the fair drafts to be made and sent to Harriet Weaver for typing, 'St Kevin' is a brief portrait of the Irish saint, famed for his asceticism, who Joyce makes a prototype for his priestly brother-figure Shaun. The passage is another *tour de force* woven through with terms for ecclesiastical and celestial hierarchy, liturgical colours, canonical hours, gifts of the Holy Spirit and sacraments. Equally it is a passage whose textual corruptions were dramatically exposed in an

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<sup>12</sup> *Letters* III, 79.

article written by Jack Dalton for the 25th anniversary of the *Wake*. Dalton pointed out that among the terms for the orders of angels woven into the passage, the order 'dominations' seems absent but was present in a phrase in an early manuscript draft that was apparently overlooked by Joyce himself in making his fair copy.

Here the discovery of the typescripts is especially important since none were previously known. The two typescripts both date from 1923 and were clearly made from the fair copy in the British Library. If Harriet Weaver obeyed Joyce's instruction to 'make three copies' and 'keep one yourself' to the letter, (the number she apparently made of the Roderick O'Connor sketch) then only two have so far come to light. The third was almost certainly used as the copy text for the bad typescript of 1938, from which most of Dalton's errors arose. Of the surviving two one is a top copy; the other is a carbon of it. The top copy is on two sheets of foolscap-sized paper; the carbon is cut down to two sheets of quarto.

*Y eugenically*

Procreated <sup>Y eugenically</sup> on the ultimate island of Ireland in the encyclical  
<sup>A polynesian</sup> Irish archipelago, come their feast of precreated holy whiteclad  
 angels, voluntarily poor <sup>Eugene</sup> Kevin, having been granted the privilege  
 of a priest's postcreated portable altare cum balneo, when es-  
 Detail of lost typescript for 'St Kevin'.

The carbon copy shows correction of typing errors and one or two improvements to punctuation. The top copy, once again, shows clear evidence of revision in a number of manuscript additions (in black ink, some over pencil) which were never incorporated into subsequent draftings of the episode. These include the additional naming of Kevin as 'Eugene', which confirms the identity of the two names on the basis of their respective etymologies first proposed by Brendan O'Hehir. It may be one of the first examples of Joyce's use of the common etymology of names in his 'tunnelling' process of attempting to fuse composite identities in the *Wake*. The corresponding playful reference to his having been 'procreated' 'eugenically' is also added.

The reference to the Irish archipelago as 'polynesian' plays on the prefix 'poly' and parallels the use of pidgin in the 'Berkeley' sketch. Kevin's remarkable altar-cum-bath is described here as 'miraculoid'. He is described (in the Italian pun that we might most expect in a description of the ascetic on his island) as 'isolated'. His 'honeybeehivehut', with its associations of the terminology of mediaeval Irish building, becomes a 'honeybeehivecashelhut'. The phrase 'acolyte of cardinal virtues' is expanded to 'acolyte in heroicity of cardinal virtues'; 'Gregorian water' is expanded to 'infusion of Gregorian water'. Kevin's title '*doctor insularis*' is expanded to '*doctor universalis insulae continentis*' and he is described as 'finally persevering'.

For the most part these additions seem to expand and clarify the overall sense of the sketch, rather than add to its complex interweaving of ecclesiastical terms. They do little to confirm or deny Dalton's arguments about textual corruption, since Joyce apparently did not question the reliability of his own fair copy and since the errors made in this typescript were spotted later. It should be noted, though, that an error which Dalton hypothetically traced to Miss Weaver's typescript was not made by her.

When the sketch was retyped in 1938, Joyce's revisions were rather different, adding the initial letter 'Yad' and concluding 'Yed', requesting that all initial 'i's be changed to 'Y' and so on but failing to remember or else consciously suppressing these 1923 revisions.

We can see from the notebooks how Joyce took some items for his revision. Indeed the early notebook VI.B.2 opens with two items of hagiographic vocabulary 'heroicity of virtues' and 'final perseverance' which were evidently harvested for this revision and crossed through in blue: they are followed by the word 'miracles', which is not crossed through. In VI.B.2 on page 15 we can see Joyce's association 'polynesian/Kevin' again clearly made in note form.

The words Joyce harvested even for this single revision of his sketch may not only have been taken from one notebook. The entry 'miraculous shrine' in VI.B.1.3 (not crossed through) may be the source of 'miraculoid'. In VI.B.2.6 the note 'cashel of the kings' appears (not crossed through) but in VI.B.3.11 we can see the word 'cashels' added to the note 'Irish first beehive huts' (crossed through in blue) to which Joyce's revision can more clearly be traced. ('Cashel' and 'cashels' appear elsewhere in the *Wake*.) 'Polynesian', 'isolation' and 'insular' appear together, crossed through in yellow, on VI.B.11,68, suggesting a still more complex process of note-taking and use. It may be a coincidence that 'an infusion' appears as deleted in a draft of the 'Berkeley',<sup>13</sup> where it was substituted with 'a brew' in the closing phrase 'a brew of sennacassia'. On the other hand it is quite possible that Joyce, with his well-known parsimony, replaced the word here, demonstrating the closeness of the two hagiographic sketches in the compositional process, that is confirmed by the frequent proximity of notes relating to St Kevin and to St Patrick in the notebooks.

#### *4. Berkeley and St Patrick*

Dateable by the fair copy of 2nd August 1923 as the fourth of these sketches, the sketch is normally read as an account of the victory of St Patrick and thus Christianity over Druidic Ireland in the Ninth Century: a companion to St Kevin in Irish hagiography and to Roderick O'Connor in Irish history. The sketch is another showpiece, written in pidgin and 'Nippon' English throughout. However Joyce's note to Harriet Weaver raises issues of interpretation that are not always sufficiently discussed, clearly describing it as 'the conversion of St Patrick by Ireland' and Joyce later described it as a 'defence and indictment of the book itself'. Adaline Glasheen was among those critics who recognised that in its heavily revised later form it is very hard indeed to see who gets the best of the confrontation. No doubt this results from conflict in the original elements from which Joyce composed the sketch: the Christian victory of St Patrick over the Irish Druid, on the one hand, and

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<sup>13</sup> Add. MS 47488.99, JJA 63:146a.

the family story in which the Irish Buckley shoots a Russian General on the other. In Joyce's version the Irish Druid is identified with the Irish philosopher Bishop Berkeley who might be thought to have been defeated by the English Dr Johnson, or who might, in other senses, have been intellectually victorious, at least over Patrician thought.

Two foolscap sized typescripts have come to light, of which one is a carbon copy without corrections. The other is a top copy bearing corrections and compositional additions in the same black fountain pen used to revise the other typescripts. Both typescripts correspond closely to but are not identical with the quarto-sized unrevised top-copy typescript in the British Library.<sup>14</sup>

The revisions are extremely interesting. To the name Berkeley is added the name of the first of the Druids who pitted his spiritual powers against St Patrick before King Leary. This was Luchru (spelled Lochru in some versions) who, according to some accounts, spoke disrespectfully of the Christian God and was punished by being bodily raised up by the power of prayer and smashed against the ground. The Druid is named three times in the revisions, in the first line, then twice at the start of the second long sentence 'Patfella no catch all that preachybook' which is extended to read 'Patfella no catch all that preachybook belong Luchru Berkely bymby topside joss pidgin fella Luchru Berkeley saw him two time...'. At least part of the reason for this seems to be to clarify the subject of the main part of the sentence describing the oddity that to Berkeley's special colour-vision King Leary looks entirely green. Since glancing at three critical accounts of the passage on my shelf I find three conflicting versions of what is the subject of the sentence, Joyce might have been well advised to make such a revision.

Three other words are added to the passage: 'Italyman' which is inserted before 'monkafellas'; 'damfool' to 'all damfool objects (of panepiwor)' and 'goddam' in the

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<sup>14</sup> Add. MS 47488.102-3, *JJA* 63:158-9.



parenthesis '(obs of epiwo)'. At first sight unrelated to each other, these three words turn up together in a short list in the workbook VI.B.2 (p.45) in the order in which they were added to the text and they are crossed through in orange. Apparently Joyce noted them down as American slang, probably from a book he was reading at the time, and added them here as another thickening to the non-standard English linguistic texture of the passage.

The final addition might almost be nonsense at first sight. It reads 'for Os of E W' to make the clause 'to vision so throughsighty for Os of E W High King Leary his fiery grassbelonghead all show colour of sorrel green'. Again we are helped by a notebook entry. In VI.B.2.140 we come upon the entry 'O of E. W. (obs of --, itself almost incomprehensible with or without the revision and its context. Throughout the Berkeley passage occur apparently meaningless phrases that seem to be abbreviated parenthetical recapitulations of the argument, beginning '(furnit of huepanepi world)' and becoming increasingly abbreviated to '(obs of epiwo)'. The addition was to have been a further stage in this process. Moreover there is just the possibility, since Joyce had already begun to use the name Earwicker in his notes (e.g. VI.B.2.43) that we should think of 'E. W.' (typical of a name abbreviated to initials in the notebooks) as a reference to Earwicker himself and that this represents an early attempt at fusing Earwicker's corporate identity into this incident.

~~resplendent with sextuple gloria of light actually retained~~  
~~inside them (obs of epiwo). Patfella no catch all that~~  
~~belong Luchru Berkeley fella Luchru Berkeley~~  
~~preachybook bymby topside joss niddin sav him two time with~~  
~~other words verbigratia to vision so throughsighty High King~~

Detail of lost typescript for 'Berkeley and Patrick'.

These are, then, substantial revisions to the passage fascinating to the genetic critic and the future editor alike. However Joyce made considerable further revisions of this passage. He changed the name of his protagonist from Berkeley to 'Balkelley' and 'Billykelly-Belkelly-Balkelley' by the time of the published version making the revision 'Luchru' no longer feasible (and emphasising the Buckley parallel over the

Druidic one, it might be said). The American slang was lost (though the spelling 'goddam' appears elsewhere in the *Wake*); the confusion at the start of the second sentence was differently clarified (or further compounded) and the place of the intriguing 'Os of E W' taken by a later addition describing Leary as 'you anxious melancholic'. In this case to stick pedantically to the principle of the editors of the 1984 *Ulysses* would be quite absurd.

On the evidence of the dated fair copies the 'St Kevin' sketch seems to predate that of 'Berkeley and St Patrick' and the typescripts follow suit. A final puzzle among these new typescripts is that a passage from St Kevin, apparently a draft fragment made at the stage of elaboration of the second or third fair copy in the *Archive* sequence<sup>15</sup> can be found on the reverse of a 'Berkeley and St Patrick' typescript. It is written half in pencil and half in ink and reads 'excavated, a lector of waterlevels, then [del.] most venerable Kevin [changes to ink] then effused, thereby letting there be water where was theretofore dry land, by him so concreated, who now confirmed a strong and'. The composition of passage can hardly be thought to postdate the typing of 'Berkeley and St Patrick'. One possible explanation of its appearance here may be found in that it is a transcription of the passage that comes at the bottom of the foolscap 'St Kevin' typescript which is now and may then also have been illegible, needing a manuscript addition to make the record complete.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, then, the new material can be confidently identified as a series of first revisions of the top copies of the first typescripts of the first four sections of *Finnegans Wake* to be composed in the Spring and Summer of 1923. It is not possible to date the typescripts to the exact day but we may clearly identify them as belonging to the period of Joyce's stay in Bognor in July and August 1923. We may further date Joyce's first request to Harriet Weaver either as in the letter of July 19th made along with the fair copy of 'Roderick O'Connor', and identify the

---

<sup>15</sup> Add. MS 47488.25-7, *JJA* 63:38c-f.



note (apparently dated 16th but probably dated 26th July) referring to the lost typed sheets, as representing the date by which typescripts of the first two sketches were produced.

The revisions may have been made sketch-by-sketch, in two pairs, or else, possibly, as a group of four, in despite of the missing pages. The use of both pencil and pen on more than one typescript suggests that they were not all made at one sitting. At any rate it makes sense to suppose that all revisions were made before Joyce's return to mainland Europe in mid-August and that they were left with Harriet Shaw Weaver at that time, possibly on a visit or visits to London. This, and the incomplete top-copies of the first two sketches, may explain how they became separated even from the revised typescripts of the other early episodes and fell out of the line of documents used by Joyce in the rewriting and revising process that led up to the published *Finnegans Wake*.

These documents fell out of the direct line of transmissional descent that led to *Finnegans Wake* some fourteen or fifteen years before the publication of the work. The discovery of these revisions gives us invaluable insight into the way Joyce's creativity was functioning in the important transitional Summer months of 1923. They provide further insight into Joyce's fascinating use of his workbooks and even assist with the dating of one of them.

Questions concerning their status in relation to the published text of *Finnegans Wake* will be much more controversial. Some revisions have the flavour of an early stage of development in the *Wake*'s language, that was superseded by later revisions. However, other revisions occur in passages that were very little revised over this period of fourteen years. The fact that Joyce read and re-read such passages need not necessarily prevent us from considering them as closer to what were Joyce's last or best intentions of what his final text was to be than the published

text we now possess. Whilst some items make a pedantic reliance on the last manuscript evidence seem absurd, there are others that confirm a reasonable scepticism about Joyce's accuracy as a proof-reader over these years.

The value of documents that have fallen out of the direct line of textual descent is, perhaps, the most central of the issues that have caused so much controversy in the discussion of the 1984 edition of *Ulysses*. It would seem very unlikely that the temptation to include some of these revisions by editors said currently to be working on a critical and synoptic edition of *Finnegans Wake* will be ignored.

The typescripts, which are still in private hands, are to be reproduced in facsimile in the forthcoming June 1989 issue of the *James Joyce Broadsheet*.

—RICHARD BROWN

#### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Please note that the *Circular* has now ceased publication in Cheshire and crossed the Irish Sea. Our new subscription rates will be mitigated by a change of currency — to *Irish* Pounds. Please see inside back cover for new address and full subscription details.

## BOOK REVIEW

Claude Jacquet (ed.) *James Joyce 1. 'Scribble' 1. Genèse des textes*. Lettres Modernes, Minard, Paris 1988, 192pp.

This collection of eleven essays, and the first volume of a planned series, is described by the editor, Claude Jacquet, as examples of the work carried out by *Le centre de Recherches sur James Joyce de l'Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle*, and *le Programme Joyce de l'Institut des Textes et Manuscrits Modernes du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, both founded in 1980. The activities of these two impressively titled bodies include *Finnegans Wake* notebook sessions, monthly seminars; international symposia, and workshops; it is not made clear, however, whether the essays were first presented at any of these venues or whether they were commissioned by the editor.

Derrida's introductory piece, 'Scribble (pouvoir/écrire)' is reprinted from his introduction to an edition of W Warburton's essay on hieroglyphs, and though it has no apparent bearing on hieroglyphs, it is even less enlightening for students of Joyce. The rest of the French contributions, however, are of high standard, and better overall than their English counterparts.

Fritz Senn in 'Distancing in "A Painful Case"' gently probes with his sharp scalpel underneath the facade of words. Michael Beausang ('Marital freedom and justice in *Exiles*') disentangles a few subtle points in *Exiles* with exemplary lucidity. H W Gabler's 'Narrative rereadings of *Ulysses*' is like an archeological dig after heavy rain: it gets all muddy. At the very beginning Gabler states: 'On earlier occasions I have approached it from a specifically textual angle to elicit from the peculiarly — albeit not exclusively — Joycean conditioning of the literary text perspectives on the text's, as well as the work's, condition of existence.' The message is garbled.

André Topia approaches the 'Sirens' episode ('*Sirènes: L'expressivité nomade*') with great sensitivity and an acute ear. Daniel Ferrer's '*Archéologie du regard dans les avant-textes de Circé*' is a less successful attempt, mainly because only seven pages are devoted to this greatest hallucinatory piece of theatre in world literature. Claude Jacquet's '*Les mensonges d'Eumée*' is a masterly exposition, followed by some beautiful writing by J-M Rabaté on '*Le nœud gordien de Pénélope*'.

*Finnegans Wake* gets only a nodding acknowledgement, but Laurent Milesi's '*Vico...Jousse. Joyce...langue*' displays the art of linguistic pyrotechnics. Klaus Reichart's '*The structure of Hebrew and the language of *Finnegans Wake**', on the other hand, is more about Hebrew than *Finnegans Wake*, and Reichart's hypothesis that Hebrew — particularly the Hebrew verb system — was a model language for the *Wake* is far-fetched. The closing piece, '*Joyce, Jameson, and the text of history*', by Derek Attridge, is thinly spun and comprehensible only to Fredric Jameson's friends or enemies.

Overall, *Scribble I* deserves an unqualified welcome, and the editor our congratulations

—PETR SKRABANEK

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# FINNEGANS WAKE

## CIRCULAR

### THE TRANSATLANTIC REVIEW

Evangelist Sweeney and he was so sorry, he was really,  
because he left the bootbutton in the hansom cab and now,  
tell the truth, there were faults on both sides—well he  
attempted (or so they said)—ah now, forget it.

one number. . . .

and count the buttons and her hand and  
a bad crab and dying to remembore who made a who  
snore. Ah dearo dearo dear! 7

And where do you leave Matt? They were all so sorry  
for poorboir Matt in his saltwater hat that she grew all out  
too big for him, of Mnepos and his overalls all falling

getting even.

bands that were four (up) beautidul sister masters.  
now happily married, and there they were always counting

- 1, the grand old Urthonian.
- 2, crosshatching or no,



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*Editor*

Vincent Deane

*Editorial Advisors*

Geert Lernout  
Laurent Milesi

Ian MacArthur  
John O'Hanlon

Roland McHugh  
Danis Rose

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## O'CASEY AND BLAKE: TWO VI.B.13 INDEXES

These two indexes complete the set of transcriptions of books referred to by Joyce in his letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, dated 5 March 1926.<sup>1</sup>

Together with the *Vision* index in VI.B.42,<sup>2</sup> the VI.B.13 *Juno* notes are of particular value as evidence of Joyce's interest in the work of contemporary Irish writers. However, while the *Vision* notes are extensive, importing characteristic phrases that would alert the reader of the *Wake* to their source, even without recourse to Joyce's notes, the use of O'Casey is purely lexicographical and so parsimonious and fragmented that the presence of *Juno* is almost completely undetectable, and has no referential function. Very probably the very self-conscious richness of O'Casey's vernacular was inhibiting, and would have inclined Joyce, who preferred to do his own groundwork, to shy away from such a mine of easy pickings.

At the end of VI.B.13 we find a series of notes on Blake that were transcribed into VI.C.13, where some of them were used for a discarded draft of II.4. Joyce had been a reader of Blake's poems since his student days, and he owned at one point, according to Ellmann in *The Consciousness of Joyce*, three different editions of Blake's poems. One of these was Yeats' *The Poems of William Blake* (1905), and it is clear from B.13.229(k) 'W(illiam) B(lake) Yeats' that Joyce continued to associate one visionary poet with the other. His source for these notes, however, was not an edition of Blake's poems, but Darrell Figgis' handsomely-produced study of the paintings. Joyce took notes from the lengthy biographical introduction, starting with the book's opening sentence ('A man's life is the seed-plot of his achievement'). Once more his main interest seems to have been peculiar and technical words and phrases, but there are some tantalising conceptual notes.

<sup>1</sup> See Geert Lernout, 'Singing Walking Gent: Sims Reeves in VI.B.13', *FWC* 3.3 (Spring 1988), p.43.

<sup>2</sup> See John O'Hanlon and Danis Rose, 'Specific use of Yeats' *A Vision* in *Finnegans Wake*', *AWN* XVI (June, 1979), pages 35-44.

Among the unused entries suggestive parallels between Blake, Shem and Tristan are to be found at B.13.230(c) and 230(i), as well as 231(b), where the story of Blake and the Dragoon, which has many parallels with HCE's Encounter, would appear to link Tristan with the Cad. One curiosity among the used items is the transference of B.13.232(d), by way of C.13.024(a) — clearly marked in both workbooks for a \$X context — to 'Butt and Taff', at FW 339.19. It is not clear that Joyce would have remembered Figgis' mention of the watercolour belonging to Blake's friend Butts, or that this fact would have had any special relevance (the material is applied to Taff's rather than Butt's vision of the Russian General).

In the following transcriptions units are now tagged alphabetically. Some changes have also been made to conventions listed in FWC 3.3 (Spring 1988), pp. 41-2.

*dr:* Draft reading.

*FDV* Where possible, references are given to David Hayman's *First Draft Version of 'Finnegans Wake'* for units not found in *FW*.

} / { Represents tabular layout. For example:

$$\begin{array}{rcc}
 & & A \\
 A \} / B \} / C \} X = & B & X \\
 & C & \\
 & & X \quad A \\
 X \} / Y \} / Z \} \{ A / \{ B / \{ C = & Y & B \\
 & Z & C
 \end{array}$$

> Where several units derive from the same passage in the source text, but have entered the *Wake* at different points, they are divided by chevrons (>) and the source passage is cited only after the final unit of the group. Note: this replaces the earlier use of a vertical bar (see next entry).

| A vertical bar now indicates (horizontal) authorial strokes used to divide units in the notebooks.

~ A tilde at the end of a line indicates that the next unit follows *without* a line break. Used chiefly in VI.A transcriptions.

The number '20' is placed in the month slots of the dating code to signify a span of years: for example, 1928-1934 would be #282034.

### **INDEX ONE(a): VI.B.13**

*JP: Juno and the Paycock*. [Two page references are given for this: the first to the text published in Sean O'Casey. *Two Plays* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1925), and the second to the frequently reprinted Sean O'Casey. *Three Plays* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1960 et al.). This has the same pagination as the current edition published in Britain by Pan Books.]

[Draft usage: *green*-deleted material appears in III§1A.5/1D.5//2A.5/2B.2/2C.5 (revisions to first typescript, March 1926), III§3A.4/3B.4 (top copy of first typescript, not dated as such but revisions probably made as III§3A.5/3B.5 was being prepared, in April 1926);<sup>3</sup> *orange*-deleted material appears in I.1:1.\*2/2.\*2 (fair copy (ink), dated 29 November 1926 by Joyce, but with some later insertions) and I.2:2.3/3.3 (additions to first typescript, early 1927).<sup>4</sup>]

161

- (e) a butt (chum)

*JP* 15/12: BOYLE (*with a meaning look*). He's a butt o' yours, isn't he?

- (f) <sup>s</sup>micky dazzler

*JP* 24/18: JERRY. I saw yous comin' out o' the Cornflower Dance Class, an' you hangin' on his arm—a thin, lanky strip of a Micky Dazzler, with a walkin'-stick an' gloves!

*FW* 444.27 47483-116 *JJA* 57:183 #260300

III§1A.5/1D.5//2A.5/2B.2/2C.5

*dr*: I'll smack your lips well for you so I will for <sup>l5</sup>[you] you. I'll teach you not to be ^[tricking] playing <your> such goddaughter's tricks^ with micky dazzlers if I find your hair and the back of your dress covered with chaff<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See *JJA* 57:165 and *JJA* 58:103, 207.

<sup>4</sup> See *JJA* 44:103 and *JJA* 45:45.

- (g) <sup>8</sup>\$[ taking word / out of anothers / mouth

*JP 31/22: [BOYLE.] I don't believe he was ever dhrunk in his life—  
sure he's not like a Christian at all! JOXER. You're after takin' the  
word out o' me mouth—afther all, a Christian's natural, but he's  
unnatural.*

*FW 480.25 47484a-40 JJA 58:174 #250154*

*III§3A.4/3B.4*

*dr: — I see. Yes. [<sup>4</sup>A child's dread ^>[of] for^ a vicefather.^ You took  
the words out of my mouth.<sup>4]</sup>*

.../...

164

- (a) <sup>8</sup>the heart / of the roll

*JP 48/32: [JOXER.] I wouldn't let a word be said agen Father  
Farrell—the heart o' the rowl, that's what he is; I always said he was a  
darlin' man, a daarin' man.*

*FW 405.20 47483-34 JJA 57:168 #260300*

*III§1A.5/1D.5//2A.5/2D.2/2C.5*

*dr: he was looking grand, so fired smart, in much more than his usual  
health. [<sup>5</sup>No mistaking that beamish brow! The heart of the roll!<sup>5]</sup> He  
was immense ...*

.../...

165

- (a) frog's march<sup>5</sup>

*JP 81/53: [MRS. BOYLE.] A nice way you were in last night—car-  
ried in in a frog's march - dead to the world.*

*FW 469.12 47483-121 JJA 57:188 #260300*

*III§1A.5/1D.5//2A.5/2B.2/2C.5*

*dr: Come, my good [<sup>5</sup>[feet!] frogmarchers!<sup>5]</sup>*

.../...

---

<sup>5</sup> Not cancelled, either here or in VI.C.12.272, but enters text at the same draft stage as B.13 *green-deleted* units.

166

- (a) a rex

*JP* 84/54: JOXER.... An' you really think there's no money comin' to him afther all? NUGENT. Not as much as a red rex, man ... Some way or another that the Will is writ he won't be entitled to get as much as a make!

- (b) °a louis

[not found in *JP*, but obviously suggested by the last unit]

*FW* 016.33 47472-21 *JJA* 44:121 #261141

*I.1§1-2/2.2*

*dr*: Mutt — <sup>[2]</sup>Louee, louee!<sup>[2]</sup> How wooden I not know it,

- (c) I'm able / to owe it

*JP* 88/56: NUGENT. You'll owe me no thirteen pouns. Maybe you think you're betther able to owe it than pay it!

- (d) jackacting

*JP* 90/58: MRS. MADIGAN. Come on, out with th' money, an' don't be jack-actin'.

- (e) barny

*JP* 88-9: [MRS MADIGAN.] I hope I'm not disturbin' you ... and that you'll let me have a barny for a minute or two with you, Mr. Boyle.

- (f) wdn't know how

*JP* 91/59: JOXER. You never twisted yourself—no, you wouldn't know how!

- (g) I was only saying

*JP* 91/59: JOXER. She must have heard some rumour or other that you weren't goin' to get th' money. BOYLE. Who says I'm not goin' to get th' money? JOXER. Sure I know—I was only sayin'.

# INDEX ONE(b): VI.C.12

272

- (c) °a rex

[VI.B.13.166(a)]

[*FDV* 198.22 47480-213 *JJA* 55:367 #380000

*II.3§6.4*

dr: I'll behead his old porterant & the wrex (wrex)

- (d) 'I'm able / to owe it

[VI.B.13.166(c)]

FW 364.27 47480-202v JJA 55:352 #380000

II.3§6.4

dr: I <sup>14</sup>Tunpothor, prison and plotch! ^If I shoulder somewhat well

>[can] am able< owe it.^4]

## INDEX TWO(a): VI.B.13

PWB: Darrell Figgis. *The Paintings of William Blake*. 4°. xv + 117 pp., 100 pl.  
(London: Ernest Benn, 1925).

[Draft usage: see INDEX ONE(a)]

229

- (d) seedplot

PWB 3 [opening sentence of book]: A man's life is the seed-plot of his achievement

- (e) vegetable nature

PWB 3: In so far as biography is a table of events, referable to a certain period among successive periods of history, it is only the concern of those who are interested in things that are dead because they are without present power. Blake would have denounced such an interest as mere occupation with vegetable nature

- (f) God put forehead to wind[s]

PWB 6: When he was only four the little fellow was set screaming to see God put his forehead to the window of his room

- (g) treeful of angels

PWB 6: his father ... began to thrash him for saying how, at Peckham Rye, he had seen a tree full of angels

- (h) put to Mr M's school

PWB 6: The son was only ten years of age when, says Malkin, "he was put to Mr. Pars' drawing school in the Strand ..."



- (i) how did he do

*PWB 9*: At the very end of his life, in his manuscript notes to Wordsworth he wrote, "Natural objects *always did and do* weaken, deaden and obliterate imagination in me."

- (j) <sup>8</sup>Almost might I say \$/\

*PWB 9-10*: "... Historical designing is one thing, and portrait painting another ... Happy would be the man who could unite them!" Almost might these words have been written of his experience while a student at the Royal Academy.

*FW 410.06 47483-36 JJA 57:170 #260300*

III\$1A.5/1D.5//2A.5/2B.2/2C.5

*dr*: I have nothing in view to look forward <sup>[5]</sup>[at and] at. Almost might I say<sup>5]</sup> I am now <sup>[5]</sup>becoming<sup>5]</sup> about fed up

- (k) W(illiam) B(lake) Yeats

*PWB 14: Poetical Sketches: by W.B., London; Printed in the Year 1783*

- (l) \$E & \$A rub noses / /\$T & \$I.1 brows/

?*PWB 21*: Throughout, his wife worked with him, and sustained him. She worked with him by day, and also by night

230

- (a) tempera (egg yolk) / glue

*PWB 23*: his pigment, mixed, not as in true tempera-painting with yolk of egg, but with a solution of glue

- (b) its empire \$E

[not found in *PWB*]

- (c) \$[ preaches to student

[not found in source, but probably suggested by the following:]

*PWB 29*: [Godwin and Paine] exalted Reason, which to him was barrenness and the sign of Fallen Man. He exalted Jesus Christ as the Poet-Prophet-Saviour sent to men; *PWB 31*: Friends had come to his help, and found him pupils to whom to teach drawing

- (d) [civic/

[not found in *PWB*]

## (e) portly

*PWB* 31: Thus he became, while at Lambeth, says Tatham (with Mrs. Blake at his elbow), "even in person, although far from gross, round and comfortable, and at one time nearly what may be called portly."

## (f) graver / burin

*PWB* 36 [Blake writing to George Cumberland on the failure of *Night Thoughts*]: since my Young's *Night Thoughts* have been published, even Johnson and Fuseli have discarded my graver.<sup>6</sup>

## (g) °to [mew]

*PWB* 41-2 [Blake was persuaded to move to Felpham, where Flaxman and Hayley sought to help him with commissions from the local gentry]: There is a pitiful humour in seeing these kindly attempts to mew an eagle, in order that it might be sure of eating bread.

*FW* 036.23 47472-139 *JJA* 45:55 #270000

*I.2§2.3/3.3*

*dr*: Hence my [<sup>3</sup>nationwide] no-nationwide<sup>3</sup> hotel and general business and [<sup>3</sup>for the honours of our mewmew mutual daughters<sup>3</sup>] I am [<sup>3</sup>woowoo<sup>3</sup>] willing

## (h) \$T royal Tutor (WB)

*PWB* 33: Blake now found himself recommended to an appointment as tutor to the Royal Family

## (i) Urthona spirit } / Luvah emotion } / Urizen reason } / Tharmas body } \$X

*PWB* 43: It was clear to him that the chief personages of his mythological system (such as Urthona, the spirit, Luvah, the emotion, and Urizen, the reason) were three of the Four Beings of the Revelation. Yet he was not satisfied, for the fourth was lacking ... He added a new personage in Vala, wanting to make the four Regents, and entitled it Tharmas, from the Hindu Tarmas, meaning "desire," to represent the body, so to complete a new Fourfold Man.

<sup>6</sup> The unit 'burin' does not appear in source, but the *OED* defines 'graver' (3c) as 'An engraver's tool; a burin.'

231

- (a) secretary, author in Eter

*PWB* 52: In July of the same year [1803], in another letter to Butts, he wrote: "I hope ... to speak to future generations by a sublime allegory, which is now perfectly completed into a grand poem. I may praise it, since I dare not pretend to be any other than the secretary; the authors are in eternity

- (b) Blake & Dragone / \$T

*PWB* 57-8: [The well-known story of Blake and the Dragoon. Blake was enraged to find a Dragoon called Schofield in his garden. Without waiting to find how he had got there (he had been invited by the gardener), Blake angrily drove him out. The Dragoon brought false charges against Blake of speaking seditiously against the King and Blake was brought to trial. He was acquitted but took revenge by use of Schofield's name in *Jerusalem* and *Milton*.]

.../...

232

- (d) \$X { full of eyes / { - - stains / { - - holes / { - - buttons / { - - medals

*PWB* 43: Now as he read John's *Revelation* new matter was unfolded before him. He perceived that the four mysterious "beasts," "full of eyes before and behind," ... were not "beasts" at all; but that the Greek word meant "beings," or "Living-Ones." He went back to the Four Living Creatures of Ezekiel's vision (the watercolour drawings he made for Butts, the only buyer of his work, reveal the track of his thoughts)

- (e) watermark \$[s letter

*PWB* 44n1: [evidence for dating the MS of *Vala*] the drawing paper bears the watermark of 1794 — but, then, Blake would not be the first, or the last, to use paper six years old from the mill.

- (f) <sup>8</sup>fetid spirit

[not found in *PWB*]

*FW* 436.21 47483-114 *JJA* 57:181 #260300

III§1A.5/1D.5//2A.5/2B.2/2C.5

*dr*: <sup>15</sup>[Raw spirits] Fetid spirit<sup>51</sup> is the thief of <sup>15</sup>[time.] purities.<sup>51</sup>

- (g) livid smile  
[not found in *PWB*]
- (h) crosshatching  
*PWB* 90: When the school of Blake's great preceptors reached its maturity, it discarded cross-hatching for its shading

## **INDEX TWO(b): V.I.C.13**

[Draft usage: *blue*-deleted units appear in II.3:4.\*2/6A.\*2 (1937); *green*-deleted material appears in II.4:2.6/3.8' (Separately revised pages of *Transatlantic Review* 1; July 1938).<sup>7</sup>]

023

- (c) <sup>s</sup>Urthona<sup>s</sup> spirit } >  
*FDV* 318.17<sup>s</sup> 47481-65v *JJA* 56:130 #380700  
 II.4§2.6/3.8'  
*dr*: And where do you leave <sup>6</sup>[Matt?] Matt, the grand old Urthonian?<sup>6</sup>  
 They were all so sorry for poorboir Matt in his saltwater hat
- (d) <sup>s</sup>Luvah<sup>s</sup> emotion } >  
*FDV* 318.12-13 47481-65 *JJA* 56:129 #380700  
 II.4§2.6/3.8'  
*dr*: Lucas. <sup>6</sup>For the luvah the lauds Lucas.<sup>6</sup> And, O so well they could remembore at that time
- (e) <sup>s</sup>Urizen<sup>s</sup> reason } >  
*FDV* 318.08-9 47481-63v *JJA* 56:126 #380700  
 II.4§2.6/3.8'  
*dr*: Johnny. <sup>6</sup>From the urizen of speeches.<sup>6</sup> Ah well sure that's the way (up)
- (f) <sup>s</sup>Tharmas<sup>s</sup> body } \$X  
 [VI.B.13.230(i)]  
*FDV* 318.10-11 47481-64 *JJA* 56:127 #380700  
 II.4§2.6/3.8'

---

<sup>7</sup> See *JJA* 56:109.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *FW* 392.14.

*dr*: Marcus. <sup>[6]</sup>Tharmaz syphon Mark. <sup>[6]</sup> And after that, not forgetting,  
there was the Flemish Armada

024

- (a) <sup>b</sup>\$X {full of eyes / {- - stains / {- - holes / {- - buttons / {- - medals  
[VI.B.13.232(d)]

FW 339.19f 47480-9v JJA 55:18 #370000

II.3§4.2/6A.2

*dr*: (his stareseers razzledazzlingly full of eyes, full of balls, full of  
holes, full of buttons, full of stains, full of medals, full of blickblack-  
blobs)

- (c) <sup>b</sup>livid smile

[VI.B.13.232(g)]

FW 339.25 47480-9v JJA 55:18 #370000

II.3§4.2/6A.2

*dr*: (his spent fish's livid smile giving allasundery the bumfit of the  
^[doult] doped^)

- (d) <sup>8</sup>crosshatching

[VI.B.13.232(h)]

FDV 318.14 47481-65v JJA 56:130 #380700

II.4§2.6/3.8'

*dr*: and now, tell the truth, <sup>[6]</sup>crosshatching or no, <sup>[6]</sup> there were faults on  
both sides

— GEERT LERNOUT

— VINCENT DEANE

## ROBERTS' PROVERBS OF WALES

Roberts' *The Proverbs of Wales* was sent to Joyce in July 1923<sup>1</sup>. This was almost certainly the 1909 edition, a revised and shortened version of a collection first published in 1885 (an examination of both books has not revealed any evidence of use of this earlier text). It consists of a short introduction, extolling the 'healthy moral tone' characterising Welsh proverbs, followed by some nine hundred alphabetically-listed proverbs in Welsh, with interlinear English translations, and concludes with a short list of 'Proverbial Similes'. Interestingly, Joyce seems to have ignored the originals and contented himself with the translations.

The irregular chronology of Index One would suggest that Joyce began by transferring material directly from his source, which after all was already divided, notebook-like, into discrete sorted items. Eventually the dullness and repetitiveness of much of the collection may have led him to abandon this method and compile the list which we find, under the heading *An Encounter*, on the VI.A pages.

PW: T.R. Roberts. *The Proverbs of Wales: a selection of Welsh proverbs with English translations*. pp. xii, 94 (London: Francis Griffiths, 1909).

**INDEX ONE: ENTRIES WITH NO KNOWN NOTEBOOK USAGE**

[Draft usage: II.4§2.² (Fair copy, ink, October 1923); I.2§3.⁰ (First draft, pencil, of the 'Rann', October - November, 1923); I.7§2¹ (Second draft, pencil, January or February 1924); III§1A.²/1D.²//2A.²/2C² (Fair copy, pencil, May 1924).]

- (a) PW 18: I know milk though I am not used to it.

FW 390.27f 47481-17 JJA 56:51 #231000

II.4§2.²

---

<sup>1</sup> Letter from H.S. Weaver, BL Item 57347-72.



*dr:* <sup>2</sup>their ^[favourite proverb] orthodox proverb^ that ^old^ fellow knows milk though he's not used to it.<sup>2</sup>

- (b) *PW* 27: Seek the nest of evil in the bosom of a good word.

*FW* 189.28 47471b-69v *JJA* 47:384 #240141

I.7§2<sup>1</sup>

*dr:* Seeker of ^the nest ^of^ evil in the bosom of a good word

- (c) *PW* 59: The butter is in the cow's horns (that is, when she gives no milk).

*FW* 045.23 47471b-12v *JJA* 45:40 #231041

I.2§3.<sup>0</sup>

*dr:* I'll go bail like the bull of the Cow / All your butter is / in your horns

- (d) *PW* 86: In the bird's lodging (to spend the night under a hedge).

*FW* 449.17 47482b-30 *JJA* 57:61 #240500

III§1A.<sup>2</sup>/1D.<sup>2</sup>//2A.<sup>2</sup>/2C<sup>2</sup>

*dr:* I'd ask no kinder fate than to stay where I am this moment ^in the bird's lodging ...^

## INDEX TWO: VIA [SCRIBBLEDEHOBBLE]<sup>2</sup>

[Draft usage: *blue*-deleted material appears in II.1:6ACE.2+ (addition to TS, 1931/32); *orange*-deleted material appears in II.2:4.<sup>1</sup> (Fair copy, ink, 1932)]  
037

- (q) <sup>b</sup>Singabed cries / before sleep,

*PW* 16: He who sings in bed will cry before he sleeps.

*FW* 256.33 47477-122 *JJA* 51:121 (#)312032

II.1§6ACE.2+

*dr:* Singabed cries before sleep.

---

<sup>2</sup>These pages are in handwriting 'D'

038

- (a) feed either cat or mice,

*PW 22: He who will not feed his cat, let him feed his mice.*

- (b) duck proud in rain, ~

*PW 23: Proud are ducks in the rain.*

- (c) <sup>b</sup>thick / bread & thin butter, ~

*PW 25: A mother-in-law's slice of bread and butter — thick bread and thin butter.*

*FW 256.35 47477-122 JJA 51:121 #312032*

*II.1§6ACE.2+*

*dr: Light at night has alps on his pectus ^Thick bread and thin <butter.> butter?^*

- (d) hold at / edge of knife, ~

*PW 26: To keep at the edge of the knife (to keep on short allowance).*

- (e) borrowed so / much he had 0 to pay,

*PW 28: Hateful is he who borrows so much that he has nothing to pay.*

- (f) sleep in a green bed, ~

*PW 33: To sleep in the green bed (in a field).*

- (g) advice / of pillow, ~

*PW 33: The advice of the pillow.*

- (h) forgetful walks / twice as much, ~

*PW 40: The forgetful are apt to have two journeys.*

- (i) <sup>o</sup>little grey / nuns, ~

[Not found in *PW*]

*FW 278.10 47478-247 JJA 52:156 #320000*

*II.2§4.\*1*

*dr: but her true line ^as the little grey nuns will show her without fuss or muss either for today is thine but whose tomorrow^ is to beg 2 makes*

- (j) °no fuss or muss,  
     [Not found in *PW*]  
     *FDV* 150.06 47478-247 *JJA* 52:156 #320000  
     II.2§4.¹1  
     *dr*: [see 038(i)]
- (k) nailgloss, ~  
     [Not found in *PW*]
- (l) °today is thine / whose tomorrow, ~  
     *PW* 55: To-day is thine, whose to-morrow?  
     *FW* 275.25-6 47478-247 *JJA* 52:156 #320000  
     II.2§4.¹1  
     *dr*: [see 038(i)]
- (m) child's / hiccup growth, ~  
     *PW* 56: A child's hiccup, growth; and old man's, weakness.
- (n) cat plays / only 1 year, ~  
     *PW* 66: A cat will not play after she is a year old.
- (o) like a bark / to the tree, ~  
     *PW* 92 [Proverbial Similes]: Like the bark around the tree.

—VINCENT DEANE

—ROLAND MCHUGH

## REVIEW

C George Sandulescu *The Language of the Devil: Texture and Archetype in 'Finnegans Wake'* (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe / Chester Springs, PA: Dufour Editions, 1987). Cloth \$35.00

The title of this study came upon Sandulescu — 'epiphany-like' — in the Royal Library at Stockholm, as he was staring at an illuminated page in the *Dvāvulsbibeln* (*Devil's Bible*) while holding a copy of Joyce's 'The Cat and the Devil' and musing about the texture of *FW* (vi). This series of coincidences — more a scenario than an Epiphany — contributes relatively little to the technique or theme of this work. There is an impish demon from the 13th Century Codex reproduced on the front of the book's jacket, and on the back is Joyce's holograph list of forty languages written in two columns at the end and on the other side of the 'handwritten text to pages 628 and 629 [should read '624']' of *FW* (64). In his discussion of this highlighted list, Sandulescu promises far more than he delivers: there is in fact not an *Appendix* devoted to it (as indicated on 64); in a text awash with detailed flow-charts, the author muddies the waters considerably when he states that for this catalogue of Joyce's 'conscious and deliberate use of a set of languages', 'it is not at all certain that [the] list *does* enumerate languages' (67, his emphases); although this manuscript page (47488-180)<sup>1</sup> is called Joyce's 'most important', its treatment here is analytically and taxonomically superficial. Moreover, he fails to mention another, similar list of 16 languages (47472-147v),<sup>2</sup> which does include Danish and terminates with a surprising 'Anglo-French'.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *JJA* 63:343.

<sup>2</sup> *JJA* 45:186.

<sup>3</sup> The shorter list was probably written in 1923. Did Joyce's language pool increase more than two-fold by 1938? Furthermore, Sandulescu's initial reference to Joyce's linguistic prowess as that of 'a British Frenchman, largely self-taught in Trieste and Zurich' (3) slights Joyce's impressive formal education in Latin and Romance languages.

It would be unfair, however, to judge a book by its covers, especially since one is occasionally reminded that the jacket-motifs are meant to be far more integral to the work than mere prefatory gimmicks. More substantial problems are raised by the quality of the writing. Sandulescu's virtuoso competence in various European and 'more remote languages' cannot be doubted, but his English prose is too frequently awkward and addled. In addition, the model-sources for a number of his 'Axioms' and 'Principles' are modern linguistics, crystallography, and physics; none of these disciplines holds a privileged position for grace of expression or clarity of exposition for a lay audience. As if to compensate for this pseudo-scientific obscurantism, Sandulescu frequently attempts a contemporary allusion or analogue; most of them are inappropriate, some are embarrassing: the Irish time-bomber (24, cf. 249-51), 'benelux' and 'mulatto phenomena' (35), 'Saturday afternoon wrestling on American television' (98), 'Holinshed's girlie magazines' (120), Joyce as a 'three-stage rocket' (263), his great-aunt's honeymoon on a tandem bicycle from the Black Sea to Paris (255). For a critic concerned with the texture of language and cultural archetypes, these are not minor defects.

The most significant flaw in the book is the fact that it fails to supply an intended 'methodology for reading *FW*' (v), a program-chart for readers to orient themselves in Joyce's Pandemonium of language. I do not mean that Sandulescu's *Interlinear Four* and *Interlinear Five* are still in the process of being developed; rather, that the samples of both presented on 223-243 do not seem to me to offer any advance beyond more conventional analyses or formats, such as those used by Benstock in *Joyce-Again's Wake* (long excerpt quoted on 193-195) or by McHugh in *The FW Experience* and *Annotations to FW*. In short, Sandulescu's computer-generated procedures and printouts neither supply nor organize any more basic data or interpretative insights than previous ways of presenting critical work-in-progress on *FW* — and the sigla employed are no less confusing (at least to those who are not fluent in various compiler languages) than the notorious notational apparatus to Gabler's edition of *Ulysses*.

What about the theoretical bases of Sandulescu's new methodology ('the Black Devil's Black Box' [8]) for decoding *FW*? I find it no more impressive than — and just as cumbersome as — the sample printouts. The section on 'Axioms' (3.2) is a verbatim repeat (except for a paraphrase of the two on Space-Time) of Atherton's list in *The Books at the Wake* — no problems here. On the next level of the 'four-stage hierarchy' (105) comes 'Principles' (3.3), largely a mélange of modern linguistic conundrums, with a smattering of well-known propositions by Hart and Kenner — a mixed bag, with some potentially useful terminological distinctions represented by 'TYPE, TOKEN, TEXT' (136, cf. 178, 251). The 'Maxims' (3.4) and 'Rules' (3.5) are, in my opinion, unnecessarily complex reductions into computo-*resque* jargon and notation of the interpretative gropings which experience (and frustration) dictate to any reader of *FW*. Neither of these latter two categories of 'Regularities' seems likely to make its mark on Joyce studies, theoretical or practical.

Several examples of specific problems will illustrate and conclude my judgment of basic dissatisfaction with the study.

Sandulescu is aware of the potential contributions of (and constraints on) genetic research into the text of *FW* (50, 82, 144), but, with a single exception (200-207), he does not use that method. His theoretical grounds for dismissing this source of information are too facile (98). For many of Joyce's perplexingly polyvalent *seman-temes* (= the 'little rocks and pebbles' that constitute the 'Man-made Mountain' [107-108] of the *Wake*), exploration of archival material is more useful than the application of the formulaic 'Rules'. For example, the notebook entry γελα ... yellaughter' (VI.B.18.137) underscores the initial presence of the Greek word for 'laughter', and inter-lingual element which is not readily apparent in the semi-Germanized version which Joyce finally used in the text of *FW*, 'yellachters' (*FW* 092.02-3) — also note its Latinate companion 'hilariohoot' *FW* 092.06). Isolated linguistic analysis would probably gloss 'necknoose aureal' (*FW* 568.20) as a 'golden (LAT) necklace'; genetic research would offer another angle: 'aureole round neck (S. Denis)' (VI.B.2.47) is an archival entry which would in turn promote a textual crossreference to 'aureoles round our nekkandcrops' (*FW* 306.01-2).



The key to this 'archetype' (or is it a 'cartouche'?) is the fact that the martyred St Denys was a cephalophore: he carried his severed head in his hands. Hence, with magnificent hagiographic logic, a halo (aureole) circles his neck.

Finally, Sandulescu reproduces (and gives a transcription, full Latin version, and French translation of) the pact signed by Satan and other devils with Père Urbain Grandier at Loudun in 1634 (150-153). The purpose of these documents is to provide a catchy and titularly appropriate precedent for the 'Principle of Transposition' (Section 3.3.2.8). Nicely done, since the devil's pact is in fact written in reverse. Whether or not this bit of historico-literary trivia was known to James Joyce is not discussed by Sandulescu. Yet, granted his penchant for *obiter dicta* of every sort, it is strange that he did not devote at least a footnote to the phrase 'renounced urbiandorbic' (FW 096.36-097.01). This lack of notice is all the more surprising in the context of Sandulescu's exhaustive citation and dissection of the 'Paternoster archetype' (43-55).<sup>4</sup> Token 12 in his catalogue of this motif is 'and renounce their ruings, and denounce their doings, for ever and ever, and a night. Amin!'

---

<sup>4</sup> A bit of genetic research might also have encouraged Sandulescu to speculate on Joyce's familiarity with what could be described as an elaborate *Pater Noster* palindrome:

SATOR  
AREPO  
TENET  
OPERA  
ROTAS

Though I cannot detect the transfer of any of the elements into the final text of *FW*, this famous square does appear in Joyce's notebook (VI.B.12.182).

(*FW* 139.27-28). This passage is *not* an echo of the Lord's Prayer; it is a Joycean rewriting of the final exorcism at Baptism, in which the godparents, on behalf of the infant, thrice renounce Satan, all his works, and all his pomps (cf. 'renownse the devlins in all their pumbs' [*FW* 243.21-22]). Certainly Joyce was aware of this ceremony and its emphatic verb. In 'urbiandorbi', then, he has woven together not only the baptismal name (Urbain) of the wizard-curé of Loudun, but also the Latin formula of the Pope's special blessing *urbi et orbi* (to the city [of Rome] and the world). This neat collocation of linguistic items and cultural opposites seems to me to say more about Joyce's vision and practice in *FW* than Sandulescu's 337 labored pages.

—R J SCHORK

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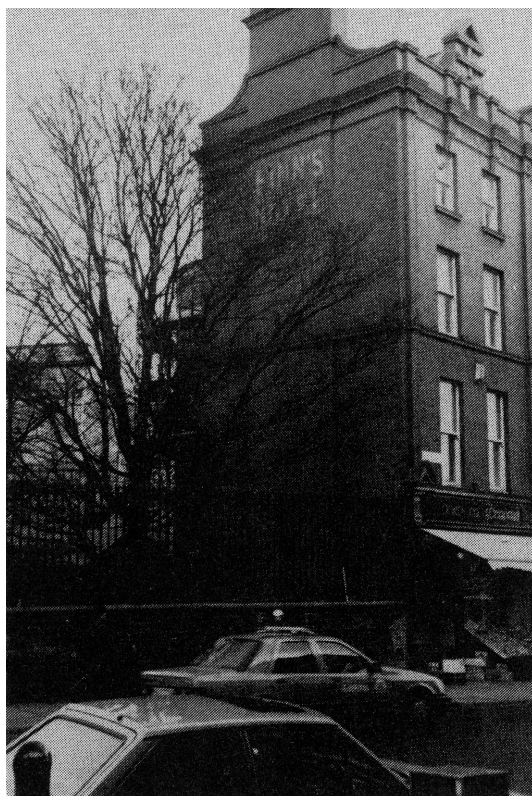
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*Editor*

Vincent Deane

*Editorial Advisors*

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Laurent Milesi

Ian MacArthur  
John O'Hanlon

Roland McHugh  
Danis Rose

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*Cover from a photograph taken by John O'Hanlon.*



## THE NAME OF THE BOOK

There is another story. Once upon a time and a very good time it was there was a Swedish sailor coming down along Nassau street and this Swedish sailor who was coming down along Nassau street met a nicens redhaired girl named Nora Barnacle.<sup>1</sup> He was James Joyce. The redhaired girl lived down at the end of the road at Numbers 1 and 2, Leinster street, South, in a redbricked establishment named Finn's Hotel, a place where she had found work as a chambermaid. He suited her because she suited him and *vice versa*. Within a short time he had won her love and she his; and he bore her away with him on a boat over the green sea. The tides rose and the tides fell, the sea shoaled and the saw squalled, and, after many travails and much wandering, they found themselves well, and living well, in Paris, France. He had, in the exilic meantime, become the greatest writer in the World: Homo Faber, *he* was the Author of *Ulysses*. Even so, he had not yet fulfilled his destiny: to write the book that was to be the wroughting of the uncreated conscience of his race.

As had happened to a precursor, Saint Patrick, the voice of the Irish called to him in his dreams. He thought of it and he thought about it and he thought over and through it; but it persisted in being difficult to get going. Finally, some delicate thing stirring within him, he began to write the book, slowly at first, then with increasing confidence; in fits and starts, then with a determined flow.

When Joyce had thought of the book's title to be, he said to Nora: Nora, the name of this new book of mine — are you ready? — is *Finn's Hotel*. But this is to be strictly between the two of us. You are not to breathe a word of it to a sinner. Can you promise me that, a cuishla?

---

<sup>1</sup> James Joyce and Nora Barnacle met for the first time on June 10, 1904. He was wearing a yachting cap, and, for this reason and from his skyblue eyes, for a moment she took him to be a Swedish sailor (*JJII* 156). Later in life she was fond of telling that story.

An argument follows.

On the 24th of March, 1924, James Joyce sent to his patron Harriet Shaw Weaver a list of the signs he had invented for the greater convenience of his notetaking. Only the last of these need concern us here, the sign \$[ ].

\$[ ] This stands for the title but I do not wish to say it yet until the book has written more of itself. (*Letters*, I, 213)

Three years later, in an attempt to revive Miss Weaver's interest in *Work in Progress* — she had lately and much to his distress expressed her reservations —, he began to play a kind of game with her. He wrote to her (*L*, I, 251) that he was, that what he was doing was, making an engine with only one wheel. And no spokes, man, to speak of, of course. And this wheel was a perfect square! It appears that he was here talking about his little sign \$[ ]. It further appears that Miss Weaver knew what he was hinting at, for she replied on the 26th of April, 1927, with her first two guesses for the undisclosed title of his new book: *Wheeling Square* and *Squaring the Wheel* (*JJII* 597). Two days later — did their respective letters pass each other in the post? — he wrote asking her specifically by what name or names would she designate \$[ ].<sup>2</sup> A quiz ensued.<sup>3</sup>

*Hint* (12 May 1927): The title is very simple and is as commonplace as can be. It is not Kitty O'Shea as some wit suggested, though it is in two words.

*Guess* (19 May 1927): *One Squared*.

*Hint* (20 May 1927): JJ and S (the colloquial Irish for John Jameson and Son's Dublin whiskey) would be a nice lettering under the title.

---

<sup>2</sup> British Library Add. MS 57349 fol. 44.

<sup>3</sup> The information for the following summary has been gathered from Joyce's letters to Miss Weaver, from Richard Ellmann's biography of Joyce, and from Jane Lidderdale and Mary Nicholson's *Dear Miss Weaver* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970). We include crucial elements omitted from the versions published in the latter two books and, unlike those versions, we do not presuppose the wrong answer. The hints are Joyce's and the guesses Miss Weaver's. For the sake of greater clarity, some of Joyce's comments have been paraphrased slightly.

*Hint* (31 May 1927): The title is more commonplace and accords with the JJ & S and AGS (Arthur Guinness Sons) & Co sign and it ought to be fairly plain from a reading of \$E. The sign in this form means H.C.E. interred in the landscape.

*Guess* (13 Jun 1927): *Dublin Ale*.

*Hint* (23 Jun 1927): Your guesses get nearer, but \$[] is the name of a “place where”; not that of a “thing which” or of a “person who”.

*Guess* (28 Jun 1927): *Ireland’s Eye; Phoenix Park; Dublin Bay*.

*Hint* (10 July 1927): Phoenix Park is rather close but it is a place not built by hands — at least not all — whereas \$[] is. *Hint* (14 Aug 1927): As to ‘Phoenix’. A viceroy who knew no Irish thought this was the word the Dublin people used and put up a monument of a phoenix in the park. The Irish was: *finn uisge* (pron. *finn ishge* = clear water) from a well of bright water there.

*Guess* (undated): *Finn MacCool*.

*Hint* (30 August 1927): The first word of your guess is right with an apostrophe ‘s’, so I suppose you can finish it.

*Guess* (17 Sep 1927): *Finn’s Town; Finn’s City*.

Had Miss Weaver known in richer detail the minutiae of Joyce’s early life, or had Joyce wished to continue the game, she would perhaps have finally guessed right, with unknown consequences for the title-page of the book that was published nearly twelve years later.

As it fell out, it was also on 30 August 1927 that Joyce announced the completion of his work on the drafts and the proofs (for *transition*) of I.6, the “Quiz” episode of *Work in Progress*.<sup>4</sup> It should seem that he was (as usual) playing a double game. In that “nightly quisquiquock”, the pertinent question (for our immediate purposes) is Question No. 3. On her receipt of it, had Miss Weaver studiously examined the faircopy<sup>5</sup> she would have noticed the telling sign \$[] squatting squarely in the mar-

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<sup>4</sup> British Library Add. MS 57349 fol. 74.

<sup>5</sup> See JJA 47, page 68.

gin, postillated, opposite the question, and the curious use of the word “title” in the question itself, one which posed the problem of the name of Earwicker’s pub. The name of the book and the title of the pub, she might correctly have construed, were one and the same: Finn’s Hotel!

Before continuing with this discussion of the Quiz, however, we should return to the beginning. Although he started taking notes for a new book at the end of October 1922,<sup>6</sup> and began drafting preliminary sketches in March of the following year, it was not until the summer of 1923, while he was on holiday in the south of England, that Joyce really knuckled down to serious work, revising and expanding the primeval sketches, and both planning and writing new ones. During this vacation (he was staying at a guesthouse in Bognor in Sussex), he compiled notebook VI.B.25. On page 81 of this copybook there appears the earliest manuscript reference to Finn’s Hotel, the simple “Finn’s Hotel”. This is followed on the next page by its first use as a referent: “Finn’s Hotel / House that Finn Built”, and, “Finn’s Hotel / ... / they rifle wardrobes”.<sup>7</sup>

It is possible that it was at this time if not earlier that he spoke to Nora and told her the title, for we know that it was while at Bognor that she confided to her sister Kathleen (in what tone of voice we can scarcely imagine): “He’s on another book again” (*JJII* 554).

In the three notebooks that he filled during the next six months — VI.B.2, VI.B.11 and VI.B.6 —, “Finn’s Hotel” appears several times as a referent, usually in the form of the sigla “F.H.”,<sup>8</sup> but written out in full twice. Examples of the former

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<sup>6</sup> See, for further details, Danis Rose and John O’Hanlon, “A Nice Beginning: on the *Ulysses* / *Finnegans Wake* Interface” in *‘Finnegans Wake’: Fifty Years*, edited by Geert Lernout, volume 2 of *European Joyce Studies* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1990), pp.165-173.

<sup>7</sup> *JJA* 35 pp.17-18.

<sup>8</sup> We here use the term “sigla” in its strict sense, and not in the sense of “sign”, for which (modestly) we use the term “sign”. This was Joyce’s practice. Thus, the sigla “H.C.E.” (see *FW* 33.14), but the sign \$E.

include: "F.H. W talk from / various stages / (the curtains) / children play in courtyard", "Boat stopped by weir (F.H.)", "all tongues in F.H./ tower of babel", and, for an example of the latter, the structural note: "Introduce Finn's Hotel".<sup>9</sup> For reasons of consistency and of convenience, however, as much as of discretion, in or around February of 1924 he invented the sign \$[], which henceforth (except in very rare cases) took the place of "Finn's Hotel" or of the sigla "F.H.". \$[] is introduced in a prophetic manner on page 66 of notebook VI.B.1:<sup>10</sup>

competition for / name of \$[].

The sign \$[] appears many times, generally (though not always) prefixed or suffixed to an allusion to a public building of some sort, in the forty-odd notebooks that Joyce compiled between 1924 and 1939. Thus, to quote some examples, we have such entries as:

- VI.B.5:1      \$[] — temperance hotel
- VI.B.9:102    \$[] lunatic / asylum
- VI.B.19.105   guard outside \$[] / — new tenant
- VI.B.8.29     Old House \$[]
- VI.B.20.95    Daily Mail / tells story of / \$[]
- VI.B.17:5     the persons in the \$[] / story
- VI.B.18:50    theatre in \$[]
- VI.B.18:86    KS tells story of \$[]
- VI.B.26:63    how to forget / all dreams in / \$[]<sup>11</sup>

Of more immediate interest are the rare appearances of "Finn's Hotel" in the later notebooks. On page 48 of VI.B.20 (compiled in the Spring of 1926), we find: "Kitty O'Shea = F.H.", which perhaps adds point to Joyce's first hint as listed

<sup>9</sup> *JJA* 29 pp.134, 166, and *JJA* 30 pp.123, 125.

<sup>10</sup> *JJA* 28:35.

<sup>11</sup> See *JJA* 30:2, *JJA* 31:52, *JJA* 33:260, *JJA* 30:308, *JJA* 33:372, *JJA* 33:4, *JJA* 33:85, *JJA* 33:103, and *JJA* 35:58. Other examples can be found (*passim*) in the notebooks, or, for a foreshortened view, see Roland McHugh, *The Sigla of 'Finnegans Wake'* (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), pp.113-118.

above; and on page 89 of VI.B.18, written in May of 1927 just at the time he was beginning the game with Miss Weaver, he wrote down the answer (plainly, with no allusion attached), possibly intending to include it (should Miss Weaver guess?) in Question 3 of I.6: "Finn's Hotel".<sup>12</sup>

Since she never did guess it, Joyce contrived that neither should the reader, or at least not easily, and so not a name but rather a version of the motto of the City of Dublin ("The Obedience of the Citizens is the Felicity of the Town") is the answer given in the text to Question No. 3. This is not too surprising given the ambiguity (abetted by the author) of the questioner, "Jockit MacEreweak", who asks: "Which title is the true-to-type motto-in-lieu for that Tick for Teac thatchment" (*FW* 139.29f.). In the summation of the results of the quizzing with which the details of the quiz are prefaced, the answerer's slip-up is underlined: "He misunderstruck an aim for am ollo of number three of them". Meaning, interaliatedly, that he misunderstood a motto for a name in No. 3. This is a clear hint to seekers of the true title, as also is the long list of wrong answers tendered, "not Whichcroft Whorort ... not Houseboat and Hive ... not Wohn Squarr Roomyeck ... not the Arch not The Smug not the Dotch House not The Uval ..." etc. (*FW* 139.33ff.). The quest for the name of the "tit tit tittlehouse" of the "great grandhotelled" (*FW* 17.34) is continued elsewhere in the book.<sup>13</sup> Joyce, like the Shem of I.7 with his riddle, even offers a prize: "who guesses his title grabs his deeds" (*FW* 137.10). He will do more: "And oil paint use a pumme if yell trace me there title to where was a hovel not a havel (the first rattle of his juniverse)" (*FW* 230.36ff.).

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<sup>12</sup> See *JJA* 33, pp.104 and 349.

<sup>13</sup> Earwicker's pub (and it should be noted that in Ireland an hotel is always also a pub, though not the other way round) goes by some quite other names also in its metamorphoses from page to page of the masterpiece, from *Nancy Hands* to *The Hole in the Wall* to the *Mullingar Inn* and from Blackhorse Road to Bristol and back. But that is another matter. Our inn is the inn-in-itself. Inn inn! Inn inn! Where.



As the Quiz was written in the first place the better to balance Parts I and III, we should expect to find in \$/c, the third watch of Shaun, an echo of Question No. 3. As, indeed, we do, at *FW* 501.02ff:

— Hello! Tittit! Tell your title?

[...]

— Tit! What is the ti...?<sup>14</sup>

To which “SILENCE” is the stern reply. Or so it should seem. Thirteen pages on (at *FW* 514.28), in a context to which we shall shortly return, there appears the following cryptic reply:

— .i..’ .o..l.

This, of course, is “Finn’s Hotel”, with its bowels out (the final stop, like Freud’s cigar, stands for no more than itself).<sup>15</sup> It is, furthermore, a suitable point to introduce *Finnegans Wake*.

We do not know at what point in the composition of his book Joyce decided to change the title. It was not, as might easily but wrongly be surmised, when he wrote into the first few pages very clear allusions to the (American) music-hall bal-

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<sup>14</sup> For the sake of this article, we are accepting the three dots of the *transition* 15 version; this variant seems the most sensible and appears to be a consequence of a correction made on the first proofs. Two economic dots appear in the *Finnegans Wake* galley proofs. This, it seems, is the result of an error on the part of the compositor. In his first draft of the passage, Joyce (carelessly?) wrote down four dots. When this was typed up, a generous five dots appeared, to be increased (for no reason) to a magnanimous six in the first proofs for *transition*. Between this document and the second proofs, the famous “large typescript” intervened, in which, majestically, no fewer than seven dots appear. In his *Concordance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963), Clive Hart has suggested “time” as a possible explanation for the doubledotted first edition version; he, presumably, not having delved any further back into the background of the matter. If so, it was not the original intent, in that “Tell your title!” and “What is the ti...?” were simultaneous and clearly associated revisions. See in this context *JJA* 58, pp.222, 257, 289, 351; *JJA* 59, p.20; *JJA* 61, p.71; and *JJA* 62, p.129.

<sup>15</sup> This first appears as a revision on the marked pages of *transition* 15 (in which, see above, three dots appear after “ti”; see *JJA* 61:71). There is no question but that here Joyce carefully counted his dots!

lad “Finnegan’s Wake” and to Mr Finnegan himself (*FW* 4-5). Those pages were written in 1926, several months before his game of guess-the-title with Miss Weaver. There are, admittedly, several other references in the book to “Finnegan’s Wake”, as indeed there are a few to “Finn’s Hotel”,<sup>16</sup> but none of these are found in a context which would lead one to conclude that they refer to the title of the book itself. An alternative (and rather extreme) theory might be that he never decided at all, but serendipitously allowed the name guessed by Eugene Jolas in the Summer of 1938 to appear on the title-page, much as he had earlier adopted Ford Madox Ford’s *Work in Progress* as a temporary working title. We should rather look for the moment of change in the decade 1927 to 1937, for it was in the Summer of the latter year, at a time when he was revising the galleys of Part III, that we find the earliest (to date) datable — and yet not entirely undebatable — reference to *Finnegans Wake* qua title. On galley 199,<sup>17</sup> just before “.i..’ .o..l”, Joyce added the phrase: “Name or redress him and we’ll call it a night!”, the second part of which he derived from page 2 of notebook VI.B.44 (which he was compiling around this time). The phrase appears to betoken a signal for a change of a name and/or of an address. (“Finn’s Hotel”, one should note, is both.) It may be, also, that he had (at least for a moment) intended to change the line that followed — “.i..’s .o..l” — for we find on page 45 of that same notebook (VI.B.44),<sup>18</sup> after one misformulated and deleted attempt the cryptonym:

.i..e.a.’. a..

That is “Finnegan’s Wake”, with its consonants and one vowel out, and the really curious thing about it is that it still retains the apostrophe. The final disapostrophised version can only have come later.

<sup>16</sup> For example, “Finn’s Hot.” among the addresses for the letter (*FW* 420.25), and “eloping for that holm in Finn’s Hotel Fiord” (*FW* 330.24). The latter reference is part of a revision dating from the end of 1936 and derives from VI.B.37, p.97.

<sup>17</sup> *JJA* 62:147.

<sup>18</sup> See *JJA* 39:302.

Richard Ellmann reports (*JJII* 708) that it was over dinner on the 2nd of August 1938 that Eugene Jolas uttered the words “Finnegan’s Wake”. Joyce responded, almost sadly: *Ah, Jolas, you’ve taken something out of me*. But he quickly became merry again. (Thinking perhaps that his first secret was now as safe as houses.) The following morning he brought over his prize, instructing the Jolas daughters to serve it to their father at his lunch. It was not a set of deeds, not a bittersweet crab, neither a joe nor a dinar, not a poem, nor even a portrait of an apple: it was a big bag full of coins.

To conclude. The argument of the present article is that for at least four — and for at most fourteen — years, the secret title of what we now call *Finnegans Wake* was *Finn’s Hotel*. Under this sign he conceived his book. While it is too soon to discuss in any detail the consequences of this thesis (which must surely be considerable, given the immense baggage that “Finnegans Wake” carries in its trail) for our interpretations, a few comments might not be amiss. The most likely reason for the change in the title is that the book was no longer quite the same book that Joyce had envisaged when he began to write it. We know that in the beginning he planned to write a history of Ireland and the world as seen and as heard by the aged Irish hero Finn MacCool lying in death beside the river Liffey. The early sketches do indeed represent a skeletal patterning along these lines. In this scenario, Finn’s Hotel is the microcosm of Ireland, past and present, with its successive incursions of “strangers” pressing in waves upon its shores.<sup>19</sup> Yet, not long into the writing, the book took on a life of its own, obliging Joyce to lay aside the sketches. The old title, it should seem, was too simple and not quite right. Its echo nevertheless sur-

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<sup>19</sup> Prehistorically, there were no aboriginal “Irishmen” — that is, no people in the place at all. Not a Neanderthal man. Ireland, as yet unnamed, lay at the edge of the world, an uninhabited island ruled over by cloudcapped mountains from which queenly streams arose and descended, a seagirt emerald isle richly embowered with ancient woods and endowed with ancient stone, its thick vegetation teeming with myriad lifeforms fed by a zealous sun, fickle winds and the long rain. This is why in Joyce’s novel H.C.E. is, aboriginally, a mountain and the primeval A.L.P. a stream, their twin sons a tree and a stone, their girlchild a little cloud. Not yet had the strangers come: neither the dark, nor the light. All was as yet of ancients.

vives: *Finn's Hotel*, with its subterranean connections with the day of *Ulysses*, seems to struggle restlessly under *Finnegans Wake* for the light. It is as if beneath the wooden plaque another, yet more ancient name was carved in the stone.<sup>20</sup>

Today, if perchance you should take a stroll down Nassau street, along by the wall of Trinity College, you would see in front of you, were your eyes open, half-hidden by a tree, fading but still perceptible, the truly eerie eponymous words "Finn's Hotel" painted on the redbricked wall. Many many years ago, on December 10, 1909, during a visit to Dublin, Joyce called on this (which he thought a very Irish) establishment, and persuaded the waitress to show him Nora's room. He was very moved. Writing that same evening to Nora he compared his terribly personal and intense experience to that of the Kings of the East paying homage at the stable in Bethlehem:

They had travelled over deserts and seas and brought their gifts and wisdom and royal trains to kneel before a little new-born child and I had brought my errors and follies and sins and wondering and longing to lay them at the little bed in which a young girl had dreamed of me (*SL* 188).

Though constrained by the presence of a witness, in his heart's deep core he knelt down on the hard floor by the little bed and shed sweet and bitter tears: *for here youth had an end.*

—DANIS ROSE AND JOHN O'HANLON

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<sup>20</sup> In the book itself, of course, we are familiar with words hiding differing, ever opposed nes-yo meanings; but this dichotomy is qualitatively different, it is of a higher order.

### SAMSON THE NAZARITE IN VI.B.32

Notes on pages 74-76 and 80-88 of VI.B.32 derive from Cyrus Brooks' translation of *Samson the Nazarite*, by Vladimir Jabotinsky, the noted Russian Zionist leader.<sup>1</sup> Jabotinsky first published his historical novel, *Samson the Nazarite*, in the Russian weekly, *Rasswyet*, during 1926 and it appeared as a book the following year. A German translation came out in 1928 under the title *Richter und Narr* and the English translation was published by Secker in 1930. As a biblical novel in the tradition of *Quo Vadis* (anticipating by some five years Thomas Mann's *Joseph* trilogy) Jabotinsky's *Samson* enjoyed considerable, though short-lived, success at the time of its publication.<sup>2</sup>

In May 1932 Joyce went to Zürich for an eye operation, performed on the fifteenth by the highly-recommended Professor Vogt.<sup>3</sup> While he was recuperating he had Helen Fleischman write on his behalf to Harriet Shaw Weaver with a request for Jabotinsky's book. Helen Fleischman's letter is dated May 28.<sup>4</sup> On the first of June she wrote again, thanking Miss Weaver for receipt of *Samson*, adding that 'Mrs Joyce was reading it to [Joyce] today and he seemed very much interested.'<sup>5</sup> It is therefore extremely probable that the p.43 entry was made very shortly prior to the first letter, while the notes were taken before mid-June, when Joyce left for Paris. Much of VI.B.32 shows evidence of eye trouble: many units have been entered

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<sup>1</sup> Most of the information in this article comes from Joseph B. Schechtman's book *Fighter and Prophet: the Vladimir Jabotinsky Story* (New York, 1961).

<sup>2</sup> The film rights were acquired by Paramount and it was later to form the unlikely basis of Cecil B. de Mille's *Samson and Delilah*, starring Victor Mature and Hedy Lamarr.

<sup>3</sup> See Richard Ellmann *James Joyce* (New York & London: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp. 622-3.

<sup>4</sup> British Library Add. MS 57350-42.

<sup>5</sup> British Library Add. MS 57350-45.

haphazardly, sometimes upside-down, sometimes over earlier entries, and the spelling of some units ('Zara' on p. 76, for example) suggests that their original was heard rather than seen. The dating of the notebook, for which Danis Rose and Roland McHugh had conjectured *ca.* 1925-1927,<sup>6</sup> should be revised to *ca.* May 1930.

Much of the novel's interest is the result of what the *Times Literary Supplement* praised as 'the author's scholarly and intimate knowledge of Palestinian folk-lore'.<sup>7</sup> As Joyce did not make much use of his notes, they are generally more important for an understanding of VI.B.32 than for the finished text of *FW*. However, they do help us clarify a few otherwise obscure details. Not every schoolboy will have heard of the goatish ways of the Jebusites, and even Mink failed to locate the River Jarkon.<sup>8</sup> In the latter case the problem was aggravated by the Germanic transliteration: the Jarkon is better known in English-speaking countries as the Yarkon, which flows through northern Tel-Aviv (just a few blocks beyond Jabotinsky Street).

Although uncrossed entries were transcribed, with some interesting errors, by Mme Raphael into VI.C.6.264-5, no use was made of these transcriptions, so they are not reproduced here.

I am grateful to Marilyn Reizbaum for useful information. I would like to thank Stephen J. Joyce for permission to quote from the unpublished letter of June 1st 1930 from Helen Fleischmann to Harriet Shaw Weaver, which was granted exceptionally because of its importance in establishing the date of VI.B.32.

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<sup>6</sup> *JJA* 36:xvii

<sup>7</sup> *TLS* 6 March, 1930, p. 186.

<sup>8</sup> L. O. Mink *A Finnegans Wake Gazetteer* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 57.



**VL.B.32**

[Draft usage: *orange*-cancelled material appears in II.1§2.1+ (retyped pages of 2.1; probably November 1930-January 1931),<sup>9</sup> I.8§1.17 (marked pages of *ALP* for the printer of *FW*; probably mid-1930s),<sup>10</sup> and II.1§4.2 (typescript; January 1931).<sup>11</sup>]

043

- (d) Sampson the [Zaratite] / Secker

SN : [Title / Publisher]

074

- (a) [dumgfries]

[not found in SN]

- (b) °bawd = landlady

SN 9: At that time the inns were kept by women of the unattached prostitute class; the words “inn-keeper” and “bawd” were synonymous.

FW 227.03 47477-55 JJA 51:049 (#)301142

II.1§2.1+

- (c) Moph = hellebore

SN 12: “Perhaps one or other may have need of my love potion, which comes from Moph. It is as sure in its effect as hellebore, and almost as speedy.”

- (d) Danite

SN ?14: never in my life have I seen such a Danite as you

[Danites occur *passim*. Samson himself belongs to the tribe of Dan: see 075(d) below.]

- (e) dolts

SN 14: Our neighbours of Zorah are a doltish, peasant folk

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<sup>9</sup> JJA 51:013.

<sup>10</sup> JJA 48:329.

<sup>11</sup> JJA 51:091.

075

- (a) Tayish (becco)<sup>12</sup>

*SN 15*: a certain Tayish. (The he-goat? — What droll names they have, thought the Levite.) [Tayish is a name adopted by Samson: see also 075(c) below]

- (b) jackal /Eckor/

*SN 16* "His companions call themselves 'jackals', not 'sharks'," replied another. "They work on dry land."

- (c) °Jebusite / (hegoat)

*SN 20* "Jebus?" said Ahtur. "Isn't that where the people worship a he-goat?"

*FW 240.28 47477-75 JJA 51:095 #310100*

II.1§4.2

- (d) tribe of Dan

*SN 21* [Samson:] "I am not a Philistine. I belong to the tribe of Dan."

076

- (a) Zara

*SN ?21*: [Samson:] "In Zorah I am a Nazarite"

- (b) /money/ / small change of / Philistia

*SN 22* Rings, armlets, pendants — the small change of Philistia — passed from hand to hand...

.../...

080

- (f) 1 guest / 20 hosts

*SN 16*: "Here is a riddle for you: Twenty hosts and one guest. Who is it?" ... "Our host pays ... with the money he has won from us at play."

.../...

---

<sup>12</sup>It. *becco* = billygoat.

081

- (a) °R jarkon

*SN 52: the waters of Jarkon [are] richer than the canals of Sichem*

*FW 198.18 47475-78v JJA 48:350 #302036*

*I.8§1.17*

.../...

.../...

083

- (a) coastal / Derkeeto, agrees / to marry Baal if / without swords

*SN 62: According to the Philistine tradition, Derketo, the Astarte of the coastal lands, had said to Baal: "I will be thine if with bare hands thou canst conquer men armed with swords."*

.../...

084

- (a) Benjamin is / strong & cunning

*SN 65: Benjamin is strong and cunning.*

088

- (a) the Danites

*?SN : [Danites are mentioned frequently (Samson is a Danite), but this could come from some other source.]*

—VINCENT DEANE

### THE GREEN PASTURES

Marc Connelly's play, *The Green Pastures*, an idealised view of Old Testament History as seen through the eyes of a small black community in Louisiana, was first produced in 1930 and appeared in print the same year.<sup>1</sup>

Joyce's notes only extend as far as the first five of the play's eighteen scenes. These include the opening scene, set in Sunday-School, which functions as a prologue; Scene II, described in the stage directions as a '*pre-Creation Heaven with compromises*', where the angels hold a fish fry; Scene III, the creation of Eve and the fall of Adam, and Scenes IV and V, in which Cain slays Abel and removes to the 'Parish of Nod'. Usage is usually too fragmentary to function allusively, although the spiritual sung by the angels in Scene II is a salient exception:

Is you been redeemed?

Certainly, Lawd.

Is you been redeemed?

Certainly, Lawd.

Is you been redeemed?

Certainly, Lawd. Certainly, certainly,  
certainly, Lawd.

Do you bow mighty low?

Certainly, Lawd.

Do you bow mighty low?

Certainly, Lawd.

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<sup>1</sup> Marc Connelly *The Green Pastures* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc.). The text I have reproduced is taken from this edition, which is dated 1929, but which gives the cast of the 1930 first performance. *The Green Pastures* appeared also in the anthology *Six Plays* (London: Victor Gollanz, 1930), and page references for this follow those for the Farrar & Rinehart edition.

Do you bow mighty low?  
 Certainly, Lawd. Certainly, certainly,  
 certainly, Lawd.<sup>2</sup>

Joyce's use of Connelly was first noted by Atherton in the appendix to *The Books at the Wake*<sup>3</sup>. Atherton also cites two passages for which no notebook source has been found, but which indubitably derive from *The Green Pastures*. These are listed at the end. No use was made of the C.6 transcription, so it has not been reproduced.<sup>4</sup>

### VI.B.33

[Draft usage: *black*-deleted material appears in II.1§2.1+ (retyped pages of first typescript; probably November 1930-January 1931);<sup>5</sup> *blue*-deleted material appears in II.1§1.8/2.6/3.7/4.9/5.7/6.7/7.6 (pages from *The Mime* revised; probably late 1937);<sup>6</sup> *orange*-deleted material appears in III§3A.10 (*transition* pages, revised for the printer of *Finnegans Wake*, possibly begun in 1933-34 and 'completed' by 1 July 1936).<sup>7</sup>]

007

- (a) trainsgressor

GP 5/22: Yo' wanter grow up an' be a transgressor?

- (b) on count of

GP 5/22: Dey wasn't nobody in N'Orleans on count dey wasn't any  
 N'Orleans.

---

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.* 20

<sup>3</sup> James S. Atherton *The Books at the Wake* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959), p243.

<sup>4</sup> JJA 42:40-1.

<sup>5</sup> JJA 51:13.

<sup>6</sup> JJA 51:199.

<sup>7</sup> JJA 61:1.

- (c) mammy angel

*GP 10/25: MAMMY ANGEL*

- (d) sister

*GP 12/26: De trouble wid you, sister, is you jest got minny fishin' on de brain.*

- (e) <sup>b</sup>sinbook

*GP 13/27: You wanten be put down in de sin book?*

*FW 229.32 47477-159v JJA 51:222 (#)370009*

*II.1§1.8/2.6/3.7/4.9/5.7/6.7/7.6*

- (f) slender / angel

*GP 13/27: SLENDER ANGEL*

008

- (a) lardy angel

*GP 13/27: STOUT ANGEL*

- (b) <sup>bk</sup>wingweary

*GP 16/28: Nowadays Heaven's free of sin an' if a lady wants a little constitutional she kin fly 'til she wing-weary widout gittin' insulted.*

*FW 232.29 47477-62 JJA 51:059 (#)301142*

*II.1§2.1+*

- (c) the big Boss

*GP 17/29: Now who de big boss?*

- (d) <sup>bk</sup>certainly, Lode

*GP 19/30: Certainly, Lawd.*

*FW 232.23 47477-62 JJA 51:059 (#)301142*

*II.1§2.1+*

- (e) <sup>bk</sup>Do you bow / mighty low?

*GP 20/31: Do you bow mighty low?*

*FW 232.22 47477-62 JJA 51:059 (#)301142*

*II.1§2.1+*

- (f) <f>fermanent

GP 24/33: It [the custard] needs jest a little bit mo' firmament.

009

- (a) rear back & / pass a / miracle

GP 25/33: I'll jest r'ar back an' pass a miracle.

- (b) plenty too / much

GP 25/33: Dat's *plenty* too much firmament.

- (c) <sup>bk</sup>is you?

GP 27/35: You ain't going to let dat go to waste is you, Lawd?

FW 232.21 47477-62 JJA 51:059 (#)301142

II.1§2.1+

- (d) field hand

GP 30/36: [ADAM] *dressed in the clothing of the average field hand.*

- (e) enjoy yourself

GP 30/36: [ADAM] *almost laughs in his enjoyment*

010

- (a) wars I you,

GP 38/40: But I do say was I you I'd jest git myself down de road

- (b) a trusty male

GP 39/41: Knock me down for a trustin' baby!

- (c) taken

GP 39/41: If I thought you was tryin' to mash me, I'd call de police  
an' git you taken to de first precinct.

- (d) °cooling myself / in the element

GP 40/42: CAIN: What was you doin' in dat tree?

CAIN'S GIRL: Jest coolin' myself in de element.

FW 526.31 47486a-111 JJA 61:083 #332036

III§3A.10



- (e) beautiful

*GP* 41/42: Where you boun' for, Beautiful?

### **ENTRIES WITH NO KNOWN NOTEBOOK USAGE**

[Draft usage: II.3§6B.\*1 (second draft, drafted early 1937);<sup>8</sup> II.3§6.5 (typescript, 1938).<sup>9</sup>]

- (a) *GP* 20/31: Is you been redeemed? / Certainly, Lawd.

[see opening comments and *GP* 20/31 citations above]

*FW* 363.12 47480-159 *JJA* 55:279 #370001

II.3§6B.\*1

- (b) *GP* 21/31: Let de fish fry proceed.

*FW* 356.16 47480-216v *JJA* 55:374 #380000

II.3§6.5

—VINCENT DEANE

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<sup>8</sup> *JJA* 55:267 gives 'early 1938', corrected in the errata list to the *Archive* in Michael Groden, *James Joyce's Manuscripts* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1980), p.170.

<sup>9</sup> *JJA* 53:335.

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# Zurich James Joyce Foundation

Augustinergasse 9

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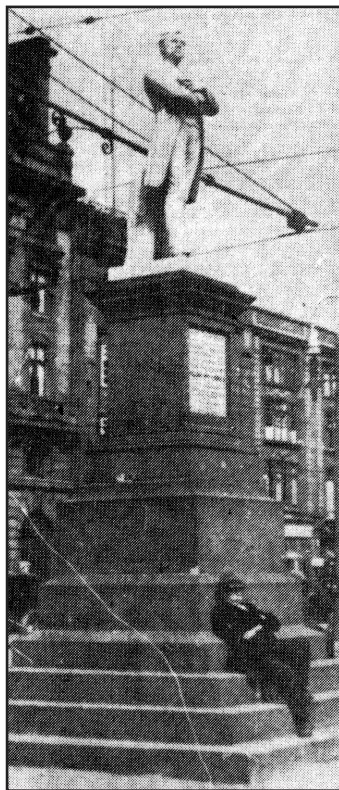
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A MOVING STATUE

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*Editor*

Vincent Deane

*Editorial Advisors*

Geert Lernout  
Laurent Milesi

Ian MacArthur  
John O'Hanlon

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## RECYCLED HISTORIANS: MICHELET ON VICO IN VI.B.12

Joyce's accumulation of Vichian material progressed in fits and starts, as did his note-taking from other *Wake* sources. The following notes from Michelet's 'Discours sur le système et la vie de Vico' were taken in mid-1926 in VI.B.12:13-15, several years into the Wakean project.<sup>1</sup> Shortly before making the list (on 21 May 1926), Joyce wrote the following much-quoted and tantalising paragraph to Harriet Weaver:

Have you read Saint Patrice? There is a book on Bruno (though not on Nolan) by Lewis McIntyre (Macmillan). I do not know if Vico has been translated. I would not pay overmuch attention to these theories, beyond using them for all they are worth, but they have gradually forced themselves on me through the circumstances of my own life. I wonder where Vico got his fear of thunderstorms. It is almost unknown to the male Italians I have met. (*Letters*, I, 241).

Probably Joyce wished to instruct Miss Weaver on the developing Vichian dimension of *Work in Progress*: he was also in the process of sending her a first typescript of Book III, so the specifically Vichian elements in question may well have been the elaborate fourfold structures of Book III chapter 4, which built upon the traces of fourfold patterning in the earlier-drafted II.4.

The translation of Vico probably refers to a possible English language version (which didn't in fact exist) for the benefit of Miss Weaver, rather than to Michelet's French translation, which Joyce was already aware of much earlier (see below). It seems likely that Joyce had written an earlier letter to Miss Weaver giving an account of 'these theories' of Vico and Bruno (and possibly Czarnowski, author of

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<sup>1</sup>David Hayman suggests a span for Buffalo VI.B.12 of 'May-July, or, at the latest, August' (*JJA* 31:xvii); he also notes the presence of 'a chart of Vico's system' as one of the 'curiosities' of the notebook. Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon have suggested to me that Hayman's dates can be narrowed down to June to August 1926, and those of the Michelet list itself to early to mid-June 1926.

the anthropological *Saint Patrick*, as well).<sup>2</sup> Be that as it may, the Michelet list itself seems to represent a new phase of Joyce's interaction with Vico, since (see below) it is connected with later genetic developments in the yet-to-be drafted Book II. The 'thunderstorms' of Joyce's letter are very much in the air in the summer of 1926: he mentions thunder repeatedly in this period. Whether this pattern indicates a deeper anxiety about the sin of writing and Joyce's concurrent plans for the start of systematic publication of the *Work in Progress*, is an open, but interesting, question.

Earlier notes on Vico in VI.B.1 were taken several years before, probably from an Italian source, perhaps even the *Scienza nuova* itself.<sup>3</sup> Michelet's 'Discours' is an introductory exposition originally attached to his *Principes de la philosophie de l'histoire* (1827), an abridged translation/adaptation of the *Scienza nuova*. The 'Discours' was republished in *Oeuvres choisies de Vico* (1835), an expanded version of the *Principes* also containing most of Vico's minor works. The edition I have used below is the *Oeuvres choisies de Vico*, since this is the one reproduced in the modern *Oeuvres complètes de Michelet*.<sup>4</sup> In Joyce's 1926 list, the mediation of Michelet makes little immediate impact on the reader. Minor traces of French appear in certain spellings and choices of vocabulary: see below, 'The school (Aquín) \$[' and 'mountainy mots' (B.12.013); '12 the rapsods' and '\$[ né speaks in verse' (B.12.014). But none of the above notes appears in the Michelet essay verba-

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<sup>2</sup> Stefan Czarnowski *Le culte des héros et ses conditions sociales: St. Patrick, héros national de l'Irlande* (Paris: Alcan, 1919). A transcription by Geert Lernout of Joyce's notes from this source will appear in a forthcoming *Circular*.

<sup>3</sup> My article, 'Histories of Sexuality: Joyce, Vico, and Roman Law', forthcoming in *James Joyce: Scribble*, no.3, edited by Jean-Michel Rabaté (Paris: Minard), discusses the relevant notebook material in VI.B.1.

<sup>4</sup> See *Oeuvres complètes de Jules Michelet*, I, 283-301; henceforth, *Michelet*. References to the *Scienza nuova* are by paragraph, as found in Bergin and Fisch's revised translation of the 1744 edition, published as *The New Science of Giambattista Vico* (Cornell U.P.: Ithaca, 1968), henceforth abbreviated NS.



tim.<sup>5</sup> The identification of the source consequently only emerges, as is the case with other lists, through repeated comparison of notebook and source, a process which eventually reveals a near-identity in the ordering and distribution of the elements in each.

Despite the 1926 date of the notebook list, Joyce was already familiar with the Michelet essay in 1922 at the beginning of the *WiP*, and even seems to have owned one or other of the two versions of Michelet's Vico translations at that point. Constantine Curran recalls Joyce showing him a particular passage from the 'introduction', and then being lent the copy of 'Michelet's translation of the *Scienza Nuova*', (which as Mary Reynolds has pointed out, appears in none of the catalogues of Joyce's personal libraries).<sup>6</sup> Joyce was still recommending Michelet's translation to friends in 1927.<sup>7</sup> As suggested above, there is also evidence that Joyce made use of other Vichian material elsewhere in the notebooks.

The 1926 reading of Michelet, then, confirms J.S. Atherton's early speculation that Joyce used the 'Discours', but it also extends and qualifies our sense of what that use consisted of.<sup>8</sup> What it seems to signal is less the central encounter with Vico Atherton suggests, than a new escalation of the *Wake's* interaction with Vichian linguistics. See for example the three-part table: '6 to 11, mute language divine / 11 to 12, — emblems / 12 to 6, — articulate' (B.12.013), which appears to make the first systematic linkage of the *Wake's* Book-divisions with Vico's three linguistic

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<sup>5</sup> However, note that where Joyce has 'the school (Aquin)' and Michelet has 'comme le dit l'école' Vico's source passage cites Aristotle (*NS* §363). This suggests that Joyce, working from Michelet and not from Vico here, inferred Aquinas (reasonably, though incorrectly) as the author of the citation.

<sup>6</sup> C.P. Curran, (OUP: London and NY, 1968), 86-87; Mary T. Reynolds, 'The City in Vico, Dante, and Joyce', in *Vico and Joyce*, edited by Donald Phillip Verene (SUNY Press: Albany, 1987), 120.

<sup>7</sup> See Mary and Padraic Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce* (Doubleday: NY, 1958), 122.

<sup>8</sup> See J.S. Atherton, *The Books at the Wake* (Southern Illinois U.P.: Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1959), 267.

epochs. The list continues to reveal the impact of this linguistic schema in later entries. See, for example, '1st words gestures' (B.12.013), which appears to be an immediate source for *FW* 036.16-17: '(by ancientest signlore his gesture meaning: ☐!)', an aside which ostentatiously builds Vichian Divine language into *FW* Book I.

Again, shortly after the Michelet list in VI.B.12, Joyce began early conceptual notes for the geometry lesson of *FW* II.2, which becomes the prime location of Joyce's Vichian language of 'emblems'.<sup>9</sup> The second of Vico's three languages was thus one of the starting-points for Book II, since the geometry lesson, if we discount the 'sidepiece' of the early 'Mamalujo' sketch, initiated Joyce's work on Book II.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, not all the list's elements can be assimilated to a neat structural schema. Note, for example, the complex genesis of 'human historic brute' (*FW* 418.12-13), which involves a characteristically Wakean displacement and condensation of two distinct source passages from Michelet, and which consequently subverts the Vichian schema Joyce was originally taking note of at VI.B.12.013 (see below). Note also the interruption of the list at VI.B.12.014 by a list of Japanese pronouns (see below): Vico discusses Japan as a modern example of a culture still fixed in its Heroic or Divine age (*NS* §§542, 549, 1091). He also treats Chinese ideograms as versions of his Divine age 'hieroglyphs', and, separately, speculates that all languages must have begun with the formation of pronouns (*NS* §§462, 450). But the eventual destination of this Japanese material in *FW* is Book III, not the more schematically appropriate Books I or II.

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<sup>9</sup> See for example: '\$[ describe a circle/ \$\wedge\$ bisect a line /|cuts| / \$[ does theme for \$\wedge\$' (VI.B.12.21).

<sup>10</sup> Joyce began the first draft of the geometry lesson in July 1926, immediately following the early drafts of *FW* III.4 (see *JJA* 52:vii).

Finally, it is worth observing that the notes in VI.B.12 are from a different section of the 'Discours' than the one Joyce had shown earlier to Curran.<sup>11</sup> The identification of a source for the notes, then, leads not so much to a definitive as to a more complex, more interesting, yet still unsettling experience of the published text.

My warmest thanks to Leonor Comet for reading and commenting on my translations from the French and to the Zürich James Joyce Foundation, whose generous support and scholarly resources have facilitated revisions and improvements.

### INDEX ONE: VI.B.12

[Draft usage: *orange*-cancelled material appears in I.2§2.3/3.3 (first typescript; revised early 1927),<sup>12</sup> I.3§1.3/2.3/3.3 (typescript; revised early 1927),<sup>13</sup> I.4§1A.3 (first typescript; revised 1927-1927);<sup>14</sup> *blue*-cancelled material appears in III§3A.8/3B.8 (typescript specially prepared for Joyce as his diminished sight prevented him working on first *transition* 15 proofs; December 1928-January 1929).<sup>15</sup>]

013

- (d) theocratic obscure >
- (e) heroic fabulous >
- (f) human historic

*Michelet* 289: Dans le développement de la société humaine, dans la marche de la civilisation, on peut distinguer trois âges, trois périodes: âge divin ou théocratique, âge héroïque, âge humain ou civilisé. A cette division répond celle des temps obscurs, fabuleux, historiques.  
(In the development of human society, in the course of civilisation,

<sup>11</sup> Curran cites passages dealing with Vico as a thinker and a stylist, rather than the specific details from the *Scienza nuova* noted by Joyce in VI.B.12.

<sup>12</sup> *JJA* 45:045.

<sup>13</sup> *JJA* 45:169.

<sup>14</sup> *JJA* 46:001.

<sup>15</sup> *JJA* 58:305.

three ages or periods can be distinguished: the divine or theocratic age, the heroic age, and the human or civil age. The division of times, into the obscure, the fabulous and the historic, corresponds to this.)

(g) brute

*Michelet 290: Mais comment expliquer ce premier pas de l'esprit humain, ce passage critique de la brutalité à l'humanité? (But how to explain this first movement of the human spirit, this decisive transition from brutality to humanity?)*

(h) <sup>b</sup>the school (Aquino) \$[

*Michelet 291: et si, comme le dit l'école, rien n'est dans l'intelligence qui n'ait été dans le sens, les poètes furent le sens du genre humain, les philosophes en furent l'intelligence. (And if, as the schools say, there is nothing in the intellect which had not already been in the senses, the poets were the sense of the human race, the philosophers the intellect.)*

FW 478.22 47484a-254 JJA 58:325 #281241

III§3A.8/3B.8

dr: at the real school

(i) °30 000 gods (Varro)

*Michelet 291: Les signes par lesquels les hommes commencèrent à exprimer leurs pensées furent les objets mêmes qu'ils avaient divinisés. Pour dire la mer, ils la montraient de la main; plus tard ils dirent Neptune. C'est la langue des dieux dont parle Homère. Les noms des trente mille dieux latins recueillis par Varron, ceux des Grecs non moins nombreux, formaient le vocabulaire divin de ces deux peuples. (The signs with which men began to express their thoughts were the same objects they had deified. To say the sea, they pointed to it with their hands; later on, they said Neptune. This is the language of the gods that Homer speaks of. The names of the thirty thousand Latin gods collected by Varro, and the equally numerous ones of the Greeks, formed the divine vocabulary of these two peoples.)*

FW 073.04-5 47472-156 JJA 45:199 #270001

I.3§1.3/2.3/3.3

*dr*: his name of multitude

- (j) °acta legitima >

FW 085.12-13 47472-159 JJA 46:035 #262027

I.4§1A.3

- (k) °first words gestures

*Michelet 291*: Originellement la langue *divine* ne pouvant se parler que par actions, presque toute action était consacrée; la vie n'était, pour ainsi dire, qu'une suite d'*actes muets* de religion. De là restèrent dans la jurisprudence romaine les *acta legitima*, cette pantomime qui accompagnait toutes les transactions civiles. (Since the *divine* language was originally conveyed solely through actions [i.e., gestures], almost all action was considered sacred; life was, so to speak, nothing but a series of *mute religious acts*. From this survived the *acta legitima* of Roman jurisprudence, the pantomime which accompanied all civil transactions.)

FW 036.15-16 47472-139 JJA 45:055 #270143

I.2§2.3/3.3

- (l) <sup>bk</sup>11 to 12 p.m. >

[Not located in FW]

- (m) 6 to 11, <mute> language divine >

- (n) 11 to 12, — emblems >

- (o) 12 to 6, — articulate

*Michelet 291*: Dans l'âge *héroïque*, la langue *divine* subsistait encore, la langue *humaine* ou articulée commençait; mais cet âge en eut de plus une qui lui fut propre, je parle des emblèmes, des devises, nouveau genre de signes qui n'ont qu'un rapport indirect à la pensée. (In the *heroic* age, the *divine* language still persisted, and the *human* or articulate language began; but this age had another one, unique to itself; I mean emblems, devices, new class of signs having only an indirect relation to thought.)

- (p) mountainy mots >

- (q) plain language >



## (r) littoral sense

*Michelet 291*: Le premier principe qui doit nous guider dans la recherche des étymologies, c'est que la marche des idées correspond à celle des choses. Or, les degrés de la civilisation peuvent être ainsi indiqués: *Forêts, cabanes, villages, cités* ou sociétés de citoyens, *académies* ou sociétés de savants; les hommes habitent d'abord les *montagnes*, ensuite les *plaines*, enfin les *rivages*. Les idées et les perfectionnements du langage ont dû suivre cet ordre. (The first principle which must guide us in the study of etymologies is that the development of ideas corresponds with that of things. Now, the phases of civilisation can be mapped out as follows: *Forests, huts, villages, cities* or communities of citizens, *academies* or communities of scholars; men first inhabited the *mountains*, after that the *plains*, finally the *coasts*. Ideas and the development of language must have followed this order.)

## (s) Tarentine = smellyman &gt;

## (t) Hercules = hero

*Michelet 292*: Les anciens Romains disaient un *Tarentin* pour un homme parfumé. Tous les peuples de l'antiquité dirent un *Hercule* pour un héros. (The ancient Romans said a *Tarentine* for a perfumed man. All ancient peoples said a *Hercules* for a hero.)

014

## (a) °12 the rapsods

*Michelet 293*: — *Homère fut pauvre et aveugle* ... dans la personne des rapsodes, qui recueillaient les chants populaires, et les allaient répétant de ville en ville, tantôt sur les places publiques, tantôt dans les fêtes des dieux. Alors, comme aujourd'hui, les aveugles devaient mener le plus souvent cette vie mendiante et vagabonde; d'ailleurs la supériorité de leur mémoire les rendait plus capables de retenir tant de milliers de vers. (— *Homer was poor and blind* ... in the person of [i.e. because he personified] the rhapsodes, who collected popular songs, and travelled from town to town repeating them, sometimes in

public places, sometimes at the festivals of the gods. Then as now blind people had to lead this mendicant and wandering life most frequently; moreover, the superiority of their memory made them more capable of remembering so many thousands of verses.)

FW 043.34 47472-143 JJA 45:061 #270143

1.2§2.3/3.3

- (b) tropes result of difficulty / episode — — inability

*Michelet 293: en supposant qu'un peuple entier ait été poète, comment put-il inventer les artifices du style, ces épisodes, ces tours heureux, ce nombre poétique? ... Et comment eût-il pu ne pas les inventer? Les tours ne vinrent que de la difficulté de s'exprimer; les épisodes, de l'inhabilité qui ne sait pas distinguer et écarter les choses qui ne vont pas au but. (Supposing an entire people are poets, how could they invent the artifices of style, these episodes, these felicitous tropes, these poetic metres?... And how could they not have invented them? Tropes emerged simply from the difficulty of self-expression; episodes, from the inability to distinguish and separate things which come to no conclusion.)*

- (c) \$[ né speaks in verse

*Michelet 293: Partout les vers précédèrent la prose. (Everywhere verse preceded prose.)*

- (d) shapeless hat

[Not found in *Michelet*]

../..

015

- (g) Tights <Tiffius> Liffius

*Michelet 294: Bientôt la famille ne se composa pas seulement des individus liés par le sang. Les malheureux qui étaient restés dans la promiscuité des biens et des femmes, et dans les querelles qu'elle produisait, voulant échapper aux insultes des violents, recoururent aux autels des forts, situés sur les hauteurs. Ces autels furent les premiers asiles, *vetus urbes condentium consilium*, dit Tite-Live. (Before long*



the family was not simply composed of individuals tied together by blood. The wretches who had remained fixed in the promiscuity of goods and women, and in the disputes which this produced, wishing to escape the insults of the violent, resorted to the altars of the powerful up on the heights. These altars were the first asylums, *vetus urbes condentium consilium*, says Titus-Livius.)

(h) a client of hers

*Michelet* 294-95: Ainsi s'organisa la cité: les pères de famille formèrent une classe de *nobles*, de *patriciens*, conservant le triple caractère de rois de leur maison, de prêtres et de sages, c'est-à-dire de dépositaires des auspices. Les réfugiés composèrent une classe de *plébéiens*, *compagnons*, *clients*, *vassaux*, sans autre droit que la jouissance des terres qu'ils tenaient des nobles. (The city was produced in this way: the family fathers formed a class of *nobles*, of *patricians*, preserving the threefold character of kings of their household, of priests, and of sages, that is, of guardians of the auspices. The refugees composed a class of *plebeians*, *labourers*, *clients*, *vassals*, enjoying no rights other than the use of the lands they held through the nobles.)

(i) <sup>b</sup>enemy = stranger

*Michelet* 295: Ces petites sociétés étaient essentiellement guerrières (*polis*, *polemos*). *Etranger* (*hostis*), dans leur langage, est synonyme d'*ennemi*. (These small communities were essentially military (*polis*, *polemos*). *Stranger* (*hostis*), in their language, is synonymous with *enemy*.)

FW 539.23 47484a-290 JJA 58:403 #281241

III§3A.8/3B.8

(j) \$I.3 bendata Justina

[Not found in *Michelet*]

(k) barbarism by reflexion

*Michelet* 298: Cent fois plus barbares dans cette dernière période de la civilisation qu'ils ne l'étaient dans son enfance! la première barbarie

était de nature, la seconde est de réflexion. (A hundred times more barbarous in this last period of civilisation than they were in its infancy! the first barbarism was of nature, the second is of reflexion.)

- (l) °everyone to his taste

*Michelet* 298: Tous les individus de ce peuple se sont isolés dans l'intérêt privé; on n'en trouvera pas deux qui s'accordent, chacun suivant son plaisir ou son caprice. (All the individuals of this people have isolated themselves within private interest; no two will be found in agreement, each following his own pleasure or his caprice.)

FW 079.22 47472-156v JJA 46:032 #262027

I.4§1A.3

- (m) °call out gods from / sieged town >

FW 073.03-24 47472-156 JJA 45:199 #270001

I.3§1.3/2.3/3.3

- (n) °siege of his trousers

*Michelet* 298-9: On appelait hors des murs d'une ville assiégée les saints protecteurs de l'ennemi, et l'on cherchait à dérober de leurs reliques. (One called forth the patron saints of the enemy from the walls of a besieged town, and sought to make away with [or strip away] their relics.); *Michelet* 296: Les hérauts qui les déclaraient, dévouaient les ennemis et appelaient leurs dieux hors de leurs murs. (The heralds who declared them [the wars], consecrated [i.e., cursed] the enemies and called their gods outside their walls.)

FW 061.24-27 47472-151 JJA 45:190 #270001

I.3§1.3/2.3/3.3

## **INDEX TWO: VI.C.6**

[Draft usage: *blue*-cancelled material appears in III§3A.10' + (third set of *transition* 15 pages, keyed to duplicate typescript of second set of additions; probably 1936);<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> JJA 61:300 does not supply dates for this set of drafts; the date given was suggested by David Hayman in *A First Draft Version of Finnegans Wake* (London, Faber & Faber: 1963), p.326.

*red*-cancelled material appears in II.3§2.2 (second typescript; probably December 1936).<sup>17</sup>]

003

- (j) <sup>b</sup>human historic / brute

*FW* 481.12-13 47486b-452 *JJA* 61:435 (#)360000

III§3A.10'+

004

- (a) <sup>r</sup>mountainy mots

*FW* 333.26 47479-190v *JJA* 54:310 (#)361200

II.3§2.2

- (b) <sup>r</sup>plain language

*FW* 333.27 47479-190v *JJA* 54:310 (#)361200

II.3§2.2

- (c) <sup>b</sup>tropes result of difficulty

*FW* 510.04-05 47486b-467 *JJA* 61:469 (#)360000

III§3A.10'+

- (d) <sup>b</sup>Shapeless hat

*FW* 509.07 47486b-342v *JJA* 61:466 (#)360000

III§3A.10'+

—ANDREW TREIP

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<sup>17</sup> *JJA* 54:301.

## A MOVING STATUE

Jacques Mercanton recounts a meeting he had with James Joyce in Lausanne in early September, 1938:

During lunch on a narrow terrace overhanging the lake, he showed me a photograph in the *Irish Times* of O'Connell's statue in Dublin. In it, by chance and probably without his being aware, a tramp leaned with his back against the base in the same pose as the tribune, his arms crossed, his head bent forward, heavy with energy and eloquence. Joyce was delighted with it. "Altogether the meaning of 'Work in Progress': history repeats itself comically; this is our funnaminial world".<sup>1</sup>

The relevant issue of the *Irish Times* turns out to be that of Wednesday, August 31, 1938, and the photograph (which is reproduced on the cover of this issue of *FWC*) appears on page 9. It should reassure those who know Dublin (atop his plinth, the tribune does not have his arms crossed!) to learn that the statue is in fact that of William Smith O'Brien (17 October 1803 - 16 June 1864). Therein hangs a tale. Some years ago, a Japanese professor of English visited Dublin to pay his respects to its most famous citizen. With a copy of *Ulysses* in hand, he was mightily perplexed when, stopping on the corner of O'Connell and Middle Abbey streets, his eyes fixed on W.S. O'Brien. "That statue is in the wrong place!", he was heard to exclaim, and his words were picked up and passed on until the whole metropolis was in a turmoil. He was right. On June 16, 1904, as Paddy Dignam's funeral cortege approached O'Connell bridge, they passed this statue: "Smith O'Brien. Someone has laid a bunch of flowers there. Woman. Must be his deathday. For many happy returns." (*U* 6:226-8). On July 6, 1929, Mr O'Brien was removed from the D'Olier street end of the bridge and, having crossed the Liffey, re-erected at the junction of O'Connell and Middle Abbey streets, where he now stands, his back to Sir John Grey.

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<sup>1</sup> From a translation by Lloyd C. Parks, "The Hours of James Joyce", in Willard Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 1979), 234.

As the original reason for the removal no longer applies (a suitable site on a pedestrian island is available), we would urge all interested parties to write to Mr Noel Carroll, City Hall, Dublin, urging him to use his best efforts to see that Mr O'Brien is restored to his proper place. That would be a far greater mark of respect to James Joyce than any number of misplaced plaques.

—JOHN O'HANLON

### BOUDEVILLE

The Civil War is now almost forgotten. The country is more peaceful than it has ever been in the whole course of its history. On every side are indications of regeneration, in culture, in history, in architecture. The people have undertaken a vast electrical scheme on the Shannon with the assistance of the great German people. With the assistance of Belgians and Czecho-Slovakians, beetroot is about to be manufactured in the country. With the assistance of the French, under M. de Boudeville, the Liffey mud is going to be swept away from the streets of Dublin, lest a future James Joyce might find on its pavements the subject for future epics. Liam O'Flaherty. *The Life of Tim Healy* (London: J. Cape, 1927), p.314.

#### [No known notebook entry]

[Draft usage: Galley proofs, first set, for *transition* 6; early August 1927.<sup>1</sup>]

FW 138.11-13 47473-197 JJA 47:090 (#)270800

I.6§1.4

—VINCENT DEANE

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<sup>1</sup>JJA 47:083.

## BOOK REVIEW

John Gordon. *Finnegans Wake: A Plot Summary*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986. 302 pp. £25.00

In the context of recent developments in critical theory, the very title of John Gordon's book is a conservative programme: there is no room for any kind of doubt that there is such a thing as a plot and that it can be summarized. But that is not all: the seventeen chapters on the different chapters of the *Wake* are preceded by five chapters on Place, Time, the male and female characters, and one entitled "Dreamer(s)". In his introduction, subtitled "Mimesis", the author first explains that the book aspires to the "thoroughly reductive" account he had wished for in his earlier book, *James Joyce's Metamorphoses* (1981). The present book is based on the hypothesis that the *Wake* is as aggressively realist as Joyce's other works and that there has been no change in his aesthetic strategies and in his mimetic intention. What did change was Joyce's growing realization of the paradox at the heart of all mimesis: that the "quest for objectivity becomes the study of subjectivity, or rather the study of how the two interact" (2). *Finnegans Wake* is "a vast symbol-making conjurer, replicating more faithfully than anything else ever written the process by which each individual generates, as opposed to receives, the meanings around him" (3). The author then moves straight into the thick of things and opens his first chapter with the self-assured statement: "*Finnegans Wake* is set in Chapelizod" (9).

The centre of action is the Mullingar House, a three-storey structure with a back-yard. It can still be visited, although modifications have been made since Joyce's time and it is therefore "probably futile to look for exact correspondences between the layout of the present structure and that of the *Wake's* inn" (10). Then follows a room-by-room description of the *Wake's* version of the building. The boys sleep in the northwestern room (one of the Shem figures is called a "northroomer"), Issy in



the southeast: her room has blue wallpaper (*FW* 396.11-12), with white stars decorating the ceiling (*FW* 148.13-14, 627.09, 238.29-30), and Gordon further describes the furnishings (bed, mirror, chamber pot, dresses, counter).

Let us first look at the boys' room: the "northroomer" passage on *FW* 069.32-4 alludes to a "Herr Betreffender" who is staying "at the Rum and Puncheon ... in Laxlip", not the Mullingar House in Chapelizod. The evidence for Issy's blue wallpaper is to be found more than three hundred pages later: "and a firstclass pair of bedroom eyes, of most unhomy blue"; however the subject here is surely Issy's eyes and not her wallpaper. Then to *FW* 148.13-14, "where Issy recalls the 'twinkly way' over her bed" (11). In reality she says: "I wouldn't, chickens, not for all the julettes in the twinkly way! I could snap them winking at me in bed". I don't see the need for the introduction of a ceiling here. The passage at *FW* 627.09 is clearer, there we read: "My great blue bedroom", but unfortunately it is ALP who is talking here, not Issy, who does speak on *FW* 238.29-30, but only about the colour of the sky, not that of her room.

Unfortunately these examples are characteristic of Gordon's use of the primary text. When you use this book, looking up reference after reference, you end up being pleasantly surprised when you encounter a clear and fair paraphrase of any segment of the text. Gordon's arbitrariness is most conspicuous in the first five chapters where he moves across hundreds of pages in one sentence. His detailed description of the house reveals a number of hitherto misunderstood facts: since Issy's room is directly above HCE's, the fireplaces in the two rooms have a common chimney through which voices are carried from one part of the house to another. Gordon also describes the backyard where HCE, like Bloom, has an outdoor privy; special attention is given to the parents' bedroom, which is rendered in painstaking detail over more than twenty pages, culminating in a bird's eye drawing on p. 34. The book's opening is also a clockwise survey of this room:



riverrun [the faucet and basin], past Eve and Adam's [the Adam mantle], from swerve of shore [this one doesn't fit as nicely as the rest, but both shore and door are borders, separating one region from another] to bend of bay [as in 'bay window' ...] brings us by a commodious vicus of recirculation [circling past the commode; with 'swerve', 'bend', and 'recirculation' we are traveling in a circle] back to Howth Castle and Environs [HCE, in his bed] (35).

The next sentence's seven clauses move around the room once more. The parents' bedroom is so central because Gordon believes that it is here that much of the novel's action takes place. The reasoning for this is, as in so many of our theories about the *Wake*, circular: because we believe that there is a central character, we interpret everything in the book as part of his consciousness, yet our decision to use that particular heuristic device must somehow be based on a prior unqualified reading of the text.

As a result a lot is made of precious little: Gordon e.g. posits that there is a bearskin rug in front of the hearth on the floor of the bedroom. We "get an oblique glance at it", Gordon believes, on *FW* 199.34-200.01 [try it!], another one in "HCE's demand that his son 'take the coocomb to his grizzlies' and tell him 'who done that foxy freak of his bear's hairs like fire bursting out of the Ump pyre' (*FW* 516.13-15)". Next, there are the Phoenix Park Zoo animals who turn to rugs as they fall asleep on *FW* 244.15-18, although the animals here are canine ('worewolf', 'Isegrim', 'hound') rather than ursine: the need for a rug is stressed since the bedroom has a linoleum floor, so unpleasant to the step that HCE goes to bed wearing two pairs of socks on *FW* 578.08-09 (poor HCE wears them *in bed*, not necessarily to walk across the room). This is followed by a paragraph on the various characteristics of the bear with references ranging from the *Larousse Encyclopedia of Animal Life* and the *Kalevala* to Goldilocks.

Goldilocks is for Gordon one of the book's neglected heroines, there are no less than eight references to the story in the index and the above first occurrence has not even been included. This is because Goldilocks is the name with which both HCE

and his creator addressed their respective spouses when they first met them, the former between “Williamstown” and “Mairrion Ailesbury”, and the latter on Nassau Street. In the case of the author, Gordon doubles as a biographer here: he simply posits that *FW* 615.19-24 is a version of the Nassau Street encounter and “Pardon me, goldilocks, my heaven on earth” is “probably a fairly accurate account of James Joyce’s first words to Nora” (79) — somewhat unlikely when we recall that it was used in addressing a woman with reddish-brown hair.

Gordon’s approach to time in the second chapter begins as boldly as the first one: “The date of *Finnegans Wake* is Monday, the twenty-first of March, 1938, and the early morning of Tuesday the twenty-second.” The last person I read who was so emphatic about time was Nathan Halper (I have not read Gordon’s *Metamorphoses*, in which his theory was first proposed), who came up with 18 and 19 March 1922,<sup>1</sup> which has the distinct advantage over Gordon’s suggestion that at least the book had not been written yet. Again the Joyce family is brought in since the period between the 21st of March 1938 and the 26th of July of the same year is the only time when all the ages of Joyce’s family members coincided with those of the *Wake*’s main characters. The chapters on the male and female protagonists also move freely all over the book, with excursions to *Ulysses* and Joyce’s biography thrown in, among them the “cruel conclusion” that the *Wake*’s original sin is the act of intercourse which produced Lucia Joyce, as witnessed by the son(s).

This primal scene is also behind the Waterloo scene (“waterloose” on *FW* 008.02-03 marks the presence of Lucia): Willingdone is the father, with phallic “tallowscoop” and a “big white harse”. The “triangular Mont St Jean” (unlike Joyce, Gordon has never been to Waterloo, it seems) and the “living detch” are the mother’s pubic region and the battlefield blood and filth are due to the fact that “the wife is in the habit of stimulating her husband by digging her nails into him”: her limbs and extremities are personified as the “jinnies” and they are responsible for

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<sup>1</sup> Nathan Halper ‘The Date of Earwicker’s Dream’ published in Jack P. Dalton and Clive Hart, eds. *Twelve and a Tilly* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966)

the "thin red lines cross the shortfront". The dreamer, finally, is John Joyce, alas dead in 1938, but he is also his son in Paris, who had, in '38, reached the age his father had when they last met.

The plot summaries themselves follow chronologically and they do not seem to differ all that much from earlier attempts, except that Gordon insists, more forcibly than anybody before him, on arguing for a consistent level of narration that deals with the Chapelizod publican: I.1 e.g. describes what happens to him on the morning after. The morning laxative he has taken on 613.22-25 forces him to visit the outdoor privy, he locks himself out and is let in by Sackerson. Back in bed, he hears the story of the Prankquean, told by Issy through the chimney. Simultaneously, the dreamer is Jim Joyce too, waking up in Paris (in the Avenue Charles Floquet apartment) with a hangover and the noise of traffic in the streets: "Brékkek ... [is] a fair imitation of those old automobile horns that one sometimes hears in movie comedies of the thirties" (108). But in general the Parisian dreamer and his family remain in the background and cede centre stage to the Chapelizod family. Gordon's readings are nothing if not imaginative. Two examples from his summary of I.1: "One eyegoneblack" is juxtaposed with the *Scribbledehobble* note "Mark blind when he sees T & I do it" (117). Is Mark only half-blind here because he only sees one of them or are they only half-doing it? The two periods of forty years the Prankquean disappears "translate into forty-two weeks (Gordon bases this on Louis O. Mink), almost exactly nine months" (119). Yes. Almost.

Gordon's use of secondary sources is liberal, very liberal. He seems to see no need for an evaluation of earlier scholarship and uses or disregards it as he sees fit. The same is true for draft or notebook material: the author refers to *Scribbledehobble* and to Hayman's *First-Draft Version*, but not systematically and certainly not consistently. Like Gordon, I feel Wakeans should concentrate our efforts on those elements of the text we can be fairly certain about and not on the cultivation of a transcendental doubt about everything. The first step in that process seems to be an evaluation of the enormous mass of identifications of words and readings of pass-

ages amassed in the past four decades. Such an evaluation cannot be conducted efficiently without taking into account the evidence in the notebooks and drafts and it is a pity that the enormous amount of energy that Gordon has clearly put into this book was not expended in this field.

—GEERT LERNOUT

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