

James Joyce

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THE LOST NOTEBOOK

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Edited by Danis Rose & John O'Hanlon

Foreword by Hans Walter Gabler

JAMES JOYCE

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NEW EVIDENCE ON THE GENESIS OF *ULYSSES*

Edited by Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon

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Published by  
Split Pea Press  
57 Morningside Drive  
Edinburgh EH10 5NF

First published 1989  
ISBN 0 9512899 2 6

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Preface & Commentary © Danis Rose & John O'Hanlon, 1989  
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## Contents

Foreword <i>by Hans Walter Gabler</i>	vii
Preface	ix
Commentary	xi
Key	xxxix

*The Lost Notebook*

## FOREWORD

Between James Joyce's months in Rome in 1906 when he conceived the original idea for a *Dubliners* story to be called "Ulysses" and the morning of his 40th birthday in 1922 in Paris when he held the first copy of *Ulysses* in his hands lay a good fifteen years. These years saw Joyce rearrive in Trieste from Rome, going thence in 1915 to Zürich, returning briefly in 1919 to Trieste, and, ultimately, departing for Paris, where he planned to spend a few months, and, as events fell out, where he stayed virtually for the rest of his life. During those fifteen years, we believe, *Ulysses* was seldom far from his mind. He thought about it – even as he was still writing (until late 1913/early 1914) *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and, later, his play *Exiles*. He thought it out as a whole and in its parts and researched it before eventually beginning to write the book.

Ample materials from the *Ulysses* workshop have survived; yet, when we look more closely, almost nothing remains from the novel's first ten or eleven years of gestation. How did Joyce lay the book's foundations? How did he dovetail it in with the works in his oeuvre already achieved? How – with the notion that the myth of Odysseus was to provide the necessary sequel to the myth of Daedalus – did *Ulysses* come into its own? How did it progress from the idea to the plan to its composition in writing?

What we know of Joyce's working habits in the early phases of conception and composition of a work in progress, we know or can deduce mainly from the materials in the richly-stored workshop for *Finnegans Wake*. Tracing an investigative path backwards via *Ulysses* to *Exiles* and, tentatively, to *Portrait*, we find indications that there were changes in procedure and practice over the years, but also that certain main patterns remained constant. Among these were those of his note-taking – and of his parsimoniousness with once stored-up material. These, in combination, provide us even today – as the monograph before us demonstrates – with fresh and essentially new insights into the genesis of *Ulysses*.

It may be an accident that the notebook posthumously endowed with the Buffalo signature VI.D.7 should have been the one of a lot – the others being mainly *Finnegans Wake* notebooks – handed to Madame Raphael for legible transcription of its unused materials, thereafter to disappear in the original. If included by design, its companion *Ulysses* notebook VIII.A.5 ought to (and, one fears, would) have shared its fate.

Yet, as the survival of VIII.A.5 suggests, it may not have been an accident that the two notebooks were preserved so long into the Paris and *Finnegans Wake* years. Taken together, they give the appearance of having been foundation stones for *Ulysses* – and, as foundation stones, to have encapsulated a key and legend to the building. This, to me, is the significance of Danis Rose's and John O'Hanlon's recovery of the remnants of VI.D.7 from the Raphael transcription. From their tracing of the surviving notes back to their sources, hypothetically and in part recovering their lost

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

surroundings, and interpreting the evidence in the broad context of Joyce's writing between 1907 and 1917, we now know more about, and may understand better, the beginnings, and their reverberations in the finished work, of *Ulysses*.

Hans Walter Gabler,  
Munich,  
*17th March, 1989.*

## PREFACE

In the middle years of the 1930s, while James Joyce was working on the text of what eventually became *Finnegans Wake*, he handed over for transcription to a Frenchwoman – a friend, Madame France Raphael – a batch of his old scribbled-in notebooks, notebooks from which (for the most part) he had already extracted lexical elements for interpolation and integration into his ‘work in progress’. He requested Madame Raphael to copy out for his convenience in her own particularly legible handwriting, in new notebooks, all of and only those words and phrases that he had not as yet used, which in practice meant all entries not crossed out in crayon. To her credit, and despite the vicissitudes of her own life (which included an automobile accident in the midst of the period in question), Madame Raphael carried out and completed this task; and if, as she indeed did, she made many mistakes in her transcriptions, these can be attributed to the scrawled handwriting in the originals. The originals and the transcriptions were then returned to Joyce, and, a generation passing, they eventually ended up in the collection of the Poetry and Rare Books Department of the University Libraries, State University of New York at Buffalo. Peter Spielberg, who examined the notebooks and catalogued the collection in the early 1960s, showed that among the transcriptions were those of seven notebooks the originals of which were not included in the collection and which, therefore, had been lost, mislaid, stolen or destroyed some time ‘whilst loitering in the past’ (Joyce 1939, p.114).<sup>†</sup> Our entire knowledge of these seven notebooks lies in the transcriptions of the unused parts of them so usefully made by Madame Raphael. It is a task of textual scholarship to try to reconstruct from this evidence the original notebooks, to determine and delimit their contents, and to establish how and when they were first used. The present monograph begins that process.

Curiously, two of the seven lost notebooks were originally compiled not with *Finnegans Wake* in mind at all, but with *Ulysses*. They predate ‘work in progress’. One is late, being probably the last collection of notes gathered for *Ulysses*; the other is early, being as far as we can tell the earliest gathering of notes specifically for use in *Ulysses*. It is, significantly, the model for the entire range of *Finnegans Wake* notebooks. Because of its importance, this latter, earlier notebook, compiled in or about 1917 while Joyce was living in Zürich, is the subject of the present investigation. By comparing the contents of the transcription with the original sources from which Joyce drew the contents, and by collating these same sources and the transcription with other extant *Ulysses* manuscripts, we have been able to restore in our reconstruction of the notebook many of the ‘virtual’ deleted entries, as well as, as a matter of course, to correct most of the mistranscriptions made by Madame Raphael. It must be emphasised, however, that the reconstruction of the notebook which forms the basis of the present study is not, nor could it possibly be in the absence of the original, total and complete, nor is it everywhere accurate; it is the optimum that we have been able to do given the limited materials to hand.

In the Commentary below we give an account of the liminal place occupied by the notebook in

<sup>†</sup> All references are to the *Bibliography* pp.xl-xli

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

the complex genesis of *Ulysses*, and we give a brief description of the contents of the notebook and of the use that Joyce put them to.

### *Acknowledgements*

This edition grew out of work done in furtherance of the Critical and Synoptic Edition of *Ulysses* (1984) and we are thereby indebted to the editor, Hans Walter Gabler, his associates and his assistants. For similar reasons, we should like to thank Michael Groden and our co-workers on the *James Joyce Archive* (1977-78). Particular thanks are due to patient and helpful librarians, especially Robert Bertholf at Buffalo, Lori N. Curtis at Tulsa, and Shelley Cox and Alan Cohn at Carbondale. In addition, thanks are due to Fritz Senn for inspecting on our behalf the catalogues of the Zentralbibliothek Zürich, and to Harald Beck for researching the Berlin equivalents to Thom's *Dublin Directory*. For permission to publish this edition of the lost *Ulysses* notebook, we are indebted to the Society of Authors on behalf of the Estate of James Joyce and to the Poetry/Rare Books Collection of the University Libraries, State University of New York at Buffalo.

## COMMENTARY

Although the seven lost notebooks are by definition not part of the collection of Joyce papers at Buffalo, Spielberg (1962) has included them in his *Catalogue* on the grounds that their (partial) transcriptions are in the collection and, in any event, he wished to account for and give a brief description of them. Thus the *Ulysses* notebook, the subject of the present study, concealed itself among the *Finnegans Wake* items and was classified as MS VI.D.7. Apart from attaching to the title its true provenance, we shall follow Spielberg in this designation of the notebook. *Ulysses* MS VI.D.7 was not the first notebook that Joyce ever compiled, nor was it the earliest compiled of those which contain elements which were ultimately transferred into *Ulysses* in progress; nevertheless, all of the extant documents which predate it, and which were resorted to while Joyce worked on his new text, properly and originally were constituted with other and earlier works in mind: *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Exiles*, or *Giacomo Joyce*. For example, the so-called 'Alphabetical Notebook' (presently part of the James Joyce Collection, Department of Rare Books, Cornell University), which dates at least in part from 1909, was primarily intended for *Portrait*; rather significantly, it exhibits no entry for Alfred H. Hunter, the original 'Ulysses'. For this reason, we are justified in asserting that MS VI.D.7 is the earliest known document of the textual record of *Ulysses* devoted exclusively to that book, predating as it does the hitherto presumed earliest known document: the pre-faircopy draft of the 'Proteus' episode. MS VI.D.7, moreover, chronicles one of the most important periods in Joyce's artistic development – the point at which the scheme for *Ulysses* crystallised in his mind – and, finally, it features the earliest traceable references both to the day of the novel, 16th June, 1904, and to its hero, Leopold Bloom.

*Ulysses in Progress*

Much critical attention has been brought to focus on the manifest change which affected the nature of *Ulysses* quite late in the course of its development; a change whereby Joyce phased out the so-called 'initial style' (whose best-known feature is the famous interior monologue of both Stephen and Bloom) and introduced in its stead the exploitation of 'style' itself as an integral part of the narrative strategy: in other words, when the information was carried not in the content alone, but also in the form. Groden (1977), building on the pioneering work of Litz (1961), has qualified this bifurcation by introducing the notion of a transitional middle period (which, purely by chance, coincided with the writing of the middle episodes of the book: 'Wandering Rocks' through 'Oxen of the Sun') intermediating the extremes of the 'initial' and 'final' styles. In this sense, *Ulysses* can be regarded as a mosaic bearing the visible imprint of its change in direction and intention in the years 1914 to 1922. The three phases as defined by Groden can be approximately dated as 1914 to the end of 1918, 1919 to mid-1920, and mid-1920 to 1922. Little emphasis, on the other hand, has been put on an earlier, equally significant turning point in the genesis of *Ulysses*, which, like Groden's transitions, is readily discernible in the published text: namely, at a certain point in the seven years of composing his epic Joyce ceased concentrating on fashioning a sequel to *A Portrait*

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

*of the Artist as a Young Man* (that the sequel was to be called 'Ulysses' is neither here nor there) and began to write an essentially new and radically different book describing experiences and emotions, circumstances and reflections quite unknowable to the egocentric aesthete, Stephen Dedalus: a book no longer centred on this character's reactions to his environment, but on those of a much more credible, commonsensical, down-to-earth man-in-the-street going by the name of Leopold Bloom. The change, furthermore, was not so much a change in style as a radical transformation of worldview from intense, expectant and serious (almost neurotic) to resigned, comic and even affectionate. This transformation, we submit, took place in Zürich in 1917.

In October 1916 Joyce had written to Harriet Shaw Weaver:

I thank you also for your kind enquiry about the book I am writing. I am working on it as well as I can. It is called *Ulysses* and the action takes place in Dublin in 1904. I have almost finished the first part and have written out part of the middle and end (*Letters*, II, 387).

To understand what Joyce is referring to in this letter ('the book') we must go back to the very beginnings of *Ulysses*. While living in Rome in 1906, Joyce had entertained the notion of penning a short story to be called 'Ulysses' (since a child he had greatly admired Homer's wily seafarer) to be based on an incident which befell him two years earlier, when a putative Dublin Jew (Alfred H. Hunter) had picked him up inebriated out of a gutter somewhere in the metropolis and in orthodox Samaritan fashion had taken him home with him and generally bucked him up somewhat with a restorative cup of cocoa or whatever. A striking feature of this seemingly unremarkable incident is that it exhibits on the surface only the very flimsiest connection with any theme in Homer's *Odyssey*. Similarly, when in 1914 he began to write *Ulysses* as a 'sequel' to *Portrait*, he appears to have intended only a vague, symbolic connection with the *Odyssey*. In 'Telemachus', for example, we can view Stephen acting out an intellectual Telemachos, though with a few waxed feathers still adhering to him, while his mother May Dedalus (or is it the Muse?) plays a not very convincing Penelope, with Mulligan and Haines constituting the baleful suitors. Ithaca, of course, would in this scenario be represented by the Martello Tower at Sandycove. It should seem, then, that in the beginning Joyce was experimenting with a very different and lukewarm sort of correspondence with the Homeric prototype than that one which eventually came to dominate and shape the book. It should seem, also, that he had not as yet decided what precisely to do with the Hunter character (or, more importantly, what to make of him as a man) beyond having at the back of his mind the notion of his stepping in from the wings somewhere along the line and rescuing Stephen from the predations of the usurpers (the between-the-scenes in Westland Row station?) and restoring him as a prince in his natural right. This concept of *Ulysses* as a sequel to *Portrait*, it should be emphasised, accords with how Joyce himself described his work in several letters written during 1915. By October 1916 when he wrote to Harriet Weaver, he had written, we surmise, eo-versions of 'Telemachus', 'Nestor', part of 'Proteus', the 'Hamlet' episode (later 'Scylla and Charybdis') and a sketch (possibly brief) of 'Eumaeus' (which may at the time have included incidents subsequently transferred to 'Circe' and 'Ithaca'); in short, the Stephen-oriented episodes.

With the young man now thoroughly developed as a character, Joyce had to turn his attention to the problems posed by the middle-aged Hunter. He had also plausibly to interface the parallel themes of fatherhood and sonship, and to develop and give a meaning to his Ulysses' peregrinations. As he wrote principally out of his own character and experience, he had, in short, to invent himself anew. Perhaps not surprisingly, he had at about this time what was described by his physician as a 'nervous breakdown' (*Letters*, I, 97), and he took upon himself a 'rest cure' (*Letters*, II, 387). As if seeking direction, he embarked upon a course of research beginning, logically enough, with the Greek language. He compiled on loose sheets and in small notebooks lists of words and short sentences, he transcribed bits and pieces from newspaper reports, he tried out sample business letters, and he examined aspects of the grammar. (Was this, we may ask, how he himself taught English to his private students?) The latest such entry can be dated April 1917. The documents involved were conserved and are now among the Joyce papers at the State University of New York at Buffalo (MSS VIII.A.1, 2, 4 and 6 in Spielberg's *Catalogue*); they are described in some detail by Owen (1983). Although the Greek is modern Greek, it is clear that one of Joyce's purposes was to facilitate a systematic study of the *Odyssey*; it enabled him, firstly, to transliterate Homeric quotations, and, secondly, we know that around this time he had ideas about correcting 'mistranslations' in Homer (Ellmann, 1982, p.426). During this period, too, something happened, the importance to *Ulysses* of which should not be underestimated: from Slack, Monro, Saw & Co., a firm of London solicitors, he received a letter:

Dear Sir, We are instructed to write to you on behalf of an admirer of your writing, who desires to be anonymous, to say that we are to forward you a cheque for £50 on the 1st May, August, November and February next, making a total of £200, which we hope you will accept without any enquiry as to the source of the gift (*Letters*, II, 389).

The admirer, of course, turned out to be Harriet Weaver, and her timing was impeccable. For the first time in his life James Joyce had real cash in his pocket, a lot of it, and with it an assurance of even more yet to come. Overcome with relief, he felt himself accepted in a practical sense by the world, and he gladly reciprocated this acceptance. He was increasingly transformed, in a sense, into Leopold Bloom: a man-about-town the equal of any other, and no longer an outcast weighed down by a suffocating poverty. Much of what we have come to know and love about *Ulysses*, we contend, has its source in that happy event. In changed circumstances, then, and encouraged by his realisation through his studies that the Homeric myths could be viewed as concerning real men in real times, Joyce began to prepare himself to reconstruct the real Dublin on a real day – Thursday, 16th June, 1904 – and for this purpose he began to assemble specific material relating to that day and to the everyday language spoken on the streets at that time. What he wished to create was a world for Leopold Bloom to live in, a world quite unlike that melancholy limbo inhabited by Stephen Dedalus. In this task, *Ulysses* notebook VI.D.7 played a pivotal role.

In the sections of this Commentary that follow, we give brief accounts of the contents of the notebook. Apart from the first one (which is somewhat atypical), these are given in the order in

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

which we believe they were inscribed. The numbers in parentheses appended to the section titles refer to the pages of the reconstruction of the notebook that follows the commentary.

### *Fragments for 'Proteus' (28, 31)*

#### *Stephensday: the Stephen Hero - Dubliners - Portrait - Ulysses Nexi.*

With the exclusion of the present notebook (MS VI.D.7) and (probably) Buffalo MS VIII.A.5, the earliest document that relates *exclusively* to the composition of *Ulysses* is a rough version of the 'Proteus' episode drafted by Joyce in late 1917 while he was at Locarno, and faircopied almost immediately thereafter. Both drafts are extant: the former (catalogued MS V.A.3) is among the Joyce papers at Buffalo; while the latter comprises the 'Rosenbach' faircopy of that episode. In writing out the proto-draft Joyce demonstrably utilised MS VI.D.7 for elements for integration into the episode and for general compositional notions. Lacking the original document (to our great loss) we cannot now ascertain precisely the extent of this usage as only faint traces pointing to it persist in Madame Raphael's transcription. These specifically 'Proteus' related elements in MS VI.D.7, interestingly enough, appear to be among the very last clusters of units entered in the original, and possibly were made more or less contemporaneously with the 'Proteus' draft.

On page 252 of MS VI.C.16 (Spielberg's *Catalogue* number for the transcription), which corresponds to page 28 of our reconstruction, the amanuensis wrote:

SD in Marsh Library  
hears again tells.

We suggest that the original inscription (written in Joyce's rather illegible private hand) was

SD in Marsh's Library  
< deleted text >  
heard again bells.

and was the proto-note occasioning the passage on page 5 of MS V.A.3 (now 'Proteus' 107-27) dealing with Stephen's recollection of his researches in Marsh's Library. It was not Stephen, of course, but Dan Occam who acoustically re-heard the abstruse tinkling of the Eucharist bells; and we can posit intermediate text in the original notebook (possibly crossed out by Joyce with a large 'X' which did not quite take in the top or the bottom line). It is of interest to record here that Joyce went to Marsh's Library in Dublin on the 22nd and 23rd October, 1902, shortly before departing for the libraries and the cheaper eating-places of Paris, and that he signed his name in the visitor's book (McCarthy, 1980). The particular scholastic tome which he fingerpondered is still there today; it is part of the Bouhéreau Collection and boasts the sesquipedalian title of *Vaticinia, sine Prophetiae Abbatis Joachimi & Anselmi Episcopi Marsicani, cum adnotationibus Paschalini Regiselmi, Latine et Italice*. Printed in Venice in 1589, the Library's copy of this rare work is

imperfect and mutilated ('fading' is Joyce's word). The Library itself is indeed 'stagnant' in that by legal will of its founder no volumes may be added to or removed from the collection. Joyce evidently took personal notes while reading (notes which presumably lie behind the memorandum in MS VI.D.7 of his visit), as he asked his brother Stanislaus to send these to him in a letter of August 1906 (*Letters*, II, 148).

Two entries on page 254 of the transcription (page 31 of our reconstruction) also relate to 'Proteus'. The first and most intriguing simply reads:

wrist. 1902/4

This, we conjecture – on the basis of the form that the word must have had in Joyce's notebook hand – is probably a 'Raphaelism' (miscopying) for:

arrest 1902/4

and signalled what appears on the surface to be Joyce's revision of the time co-ordinates of Stephen's movements in the interval between *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses*. According to both the manuscript draft V.A.3 and the base text of the Rosenbach faircopy of 'Proteus', Stephen was in Paris, in irrational fear of being arrested on a charge of murder, in February 1902. This surprisingly early date has been noted by Gabler (1980) who argues that 'the events of the final chapter of *A Portrait* occur in the spring in term-time of what could be conceived of as Stephen's first and only year' at University College. Thus, it would have been Spring 1901 'according to *A Portrait's* overall implicit chronological framework ... permitting Stephen to be thought of as living in Paris in February 1902'. This thesis is convincing and, as we shall show, is supported by further argument and evidence. Continuing his argument, Gabler contends that the manuscript year '1902' may well be 'a vestige of an abandoned time-scheme linking *A Portrait* in progress with the opening of a proto-*Ulysses* for which the date 16 June 1904 was not fixed'. What needs further clarification here is (a) the precise status of the proto-*Ulysses* envisaged; (b) when and why the time-scheme was introduced; and (c) if, when and why it was abandoned.

Regarding the first two points, it may well be that, at the time that the 1901-02 chronology came into being, the 'proto-*Ulysses*' was not as yet fully detached from *Portrait*, but, rather, formed part of a projected extension of that novel beyond the point at which it now concludes. It is common knowledge that in *Stephen Hero* Joyce intended a novel more strictly autobiographical than *Portrait* eventually became. He wanted it to close with Stephen's embracing of 'voluntary exile' (*Letters*, II, 84). That is, *Stephen Hero* was to terminate on 8th October, 1904: the day he quit Ireland, essentially for good. This day was supereminently important to Joyce. In a letter written to Stanislaus (*Letters*, II, 176) he described it as 'the day of my espousals and ... the day of the gladness of my heart'. He continued to celebrate it (apparently privately, for it has yet to enter the official calendar of his feastdays) as his anniversary even in the years following his legal (which he intriguingly called his 'second') marriage on 4th July, 1931. One such occasion is mentioned

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

in a letter of 16th October, 1934, to Giorgio and Helen Joyce, and is memorialised in *Finnegans Wake*:

Thanks for your wire on the 8th. We and Jolas drove to Rapperswil for tea and then round the lake. At night I gave a dinner in the Kronenhalle to the Gideons [sic] and Mr and Mrs Rosenbaum. He is a Russo-Swiss lawyer. A 30-year wedding should be called a 'findrinny' one. Findrinny is a kind of white gold mixed with silver. (*Letters*, I, 348)

If you only were there to explain the meaning, best of men, and talk to her nice of guldenselver. The lips would moisten once again. As when you drove with her to Findrinny Fair. (*FW*, 28.10-13)

When he came to reshape *Stephen Hero* as *Portrait*, the 'autobiographical' scenario must have caused him considerable difficulty. The period in question, after all, included the death of his mother and within the tight structure of *Portrait* he could not satisfactorily accommodate this. In the first place, such a traumatic event would have introduced a violent tangency to the otherwise gradual spiritual development of his hero and, secondly, it might have adumbrated a more contingent and mundane, and less volitional and bohemian, reason for Stephen's eventual flight to Paris. His initial solution was not, we suggest, simply to end *Portrait* on the eve of his first departure for Paris, but rather to backdate all of the events he had intended for *Stephen Hero* to the period before the death of his mother, accordingly projecting this into the unactualized future. This would explain the telescoping of the events of his University College career into what can be conceived of as a single year and explain why, in any version of *Portrait*, Stephen should have been allowed to be in Paris in February 1902. Finally, it sheds some light on an abandoned (though cannibalised) fragment of *Portrait* now in the British Library (Add MS 49975; reproduced in *JJA* 10, pp.1219-22).

The importance of this fragment is threefold. Firstly, it demonstrates that Joyce not only envisaged but drafted episodes which appear to postdate Chapter V of *Portrait* as it now stands; secondly, it shows how Joyce, revising to a greater or lesser extent, later re-used the raw material in *Ulysses* (he was incorrigibly parsimonious of past composition); and, thirdly, the narrative content itself of the fragment helps to corroborate the hypothesis outlined above. In the piece, 'Doherty' (an early version of Buck Mulligan) invites Stephen to live with him in the Tower: 'Dedalus, we must retire to the tower, you and I. [Let us go then!] Our lives are precious. I'll try to touch the aunt. We are the super-artists. *Dedalus and Doherty have left Ireland for the Omphalos.*' This is followed by a scene set in Stephen's kitchen and a discussion with his mother. The clear implication of this congruence of events is that Joyce had shifted or had intended to shift the Gogarty-Tower episode to the period preceding the death of his mother.

Clearly contemporaneous with the preparation of the final holograph manuscript of *Portrait*, the fragment, by virtue of its non-incorporation into the text, bears witness to the birth of the idea of *Ulysses*, at the time (and for some years after) thought of principally as a *sequel*. The idea had

important consequences for Joyce: he would cut off *Portrait* early (on the eve of Stephen's departure for Paris for the first time), re-use the abandoned material in the sequel and, by a deft stroke, kill off the mother in the interregnum between books. This scenario brought in its wake fresh and unavoidable problems, problems accentuated by the proximity of the now conceived *Ulysses*, and problems which, there is ample reason to believe, Joyce never quite fully resolved. It is reasonable to assume that Joyce, as soon as he had decided upon *Ulysses*, intended to place the events of that book in 1904, the true 'autobiographical' year, though of course the precise date need not have been June 16. The compression into a single year of Stephen's University College career in Chapter V of *Portrait* remained, and this necessitated a long interval to pass before the action of the sequel commenced; action, moreover, which had at least in part been planned (and perhaps drafted) as a direct continuation of the events of *Portrait*. What then are we to make of the 1901 ending of the earlier novel? Did Joyce surreptitiously move forward the close from 1901 to 1902, to 1903 or to 1904? Did he in so doing finally abandon the possibility of Stephen being in Paris in February 1902? Gabler (1980), following a thread spun by Hugh Kenner (1980), believes so. Kenner's argument is as follows. The diary entries at the close of Chapter V of *Portrait* cannot refer to 1902 because in that year the March 30 talk on the Library porch would have taken place on Easter Sunday when the building would have been closed to the public. Although Kenner ruled out 1901 on other grounds, a similar argument against it can be adduced: on March 24 Stephen is described as crossing 'his' green and entering the Library. In 1901 this day fell on a Sunday; but the Library was closed every Sunday. On these and other grounds not quite so clearcut, Kenner and (after him) Gabler have concluded with unquestioning faith in Joyce that the close of *Portrait* must logically be 1903. But there is more. The diary entry for April 3 describes Stephen encountering his friend Davin wielding a hurley stick on his way to a 'meeting'. Meetings of the Gaelic Athletic Association were at the time by tradition (as Joyce would have been aware) held on a Sunday, the Lord's day being the sole day in the week on which Irish workingmen and their agricultural brethren had time for toeing up muck in playing-fields. The only possible contending year in which April 3 fell on a Sunday is 1904. Thus, if the calendar argument has any merit, it implies that Joyce moved forward the close of *Portrait* not to 1903, but to 1904; and, accordingly, to within months of the action of *Ulysses*. Furthermore, as Kenner notes, the diary entries span a 'canonical' period of 40 days. This is hardly casually so. Yet March 20, the date of the first entry, occurring as it does prior to the Spring Solstice, could *in no year* have been Easter Sunday. A straightforward and tidy Easter Sunday - Ascension Thursday pattern is therefore ruled out. Nevertheless, the impression of a canonical or Paschal interlude persists. If this is intentional, then at the very least March 20 should fall on a Sunday; and this, again, occurred only in one contending year: 1904. 20th March, 1904, moreover, was Passion Sunday, the 40th day in Lent and the first day of that period set aside, according to the Catholic Missal, for the 'Contemplation of the Man of Sorrows' – altogether a most agreeable and appropriate date. Finally, to clinch the argument, there is the suggestion of a Joycean 'cork-frame' touch in the propinquity of the 'Dublin, 1904' dateline immediately below the last diary entry.

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

If we accept the above arguments and allow that the dates at the close of *Portrait* refer to 1904, this would imply that, at least temporarily, Joyce intended the following chronology:

April 28 - Summer 1904 : Stephen is in Paris  
Midsummer 1904 : Death of May Dedalus  
Autumn 1904 : *Ulysses*.

This chronology is neat and accords with many of the impressions that we receive on perusing the early chapters of *Ulysses*: that Stephen has been to Paris only once; that he is not long returned, having done so on receiving word of the impending death of his mother; and that, when we first meet him, his mother is not long in the grave. There are, other than these, a few more inconsistencies in the book as published. To begin with, in the text of *Ulysses* the date of the action is introduced in a manner so artificial and, for Joyce, so heavy-handed that it suggests a late interpolation. Towards the end of 'Proteus' Stephen, weak at mathematics, nevertheless performs a rapid, though not easy, Bloomian calculation: 'next what is it Tuesday will be the longest day' ('Proteus' 491; see also MS V.A.3 where this indirect specification of the week before 21st June, 1904, coexists with the 1902 Paris date). The precise day of the week can be derived by referring back to the schoolboy's announcement: 'Yes, sir. Hockey at ten, sir ... Half day, sir. Thursday' ('Nestor' 92-3). Even allowing that it is reasonable for the boys to have need to remind Stephen what day of the week it is, it is strange that Thursday should be a half-day (Wednesday or Saturday would be more regular in Dublin) and that 10 a.m. should be the hour for hockey (after the lunch break would be more likely and hence the expression 'half day'). Thursday, furthermore, is an odd day on which to be paid, even if it is the 16th (which, despite the received tradition, is not the middle of the month) – about as odd a day, to hark back to 'Telemachus', as one on which to pay the milkwoman. Indeed, if we did not have these coruscating carrots of information dangled from a stick before us, and if we had to deduce the day of the week of the action of the book from the 'Telemachiad' alone, we should with every justification conclude that the day was in fact a *Saturday*, that Stephen left school around noon and, taking into account the train journey and the stroll on Sandymount Strand (or, alternatively, the might-have-been liquid lunch at the Ship), the timing would have been about right for the 'Hamlet' episode directly to follow 'Proteus' as, there is reason to believe, was Joyce's original plan.

So, let us presume for the sake of argument: a Saturday in the autumn of 1904. And what more appropriate Saturday was there than October 8: the day of Joyce's espousals and of the gladness of his heart, the very same day with which he had intended to close *Stephen Hero*. So that, on the day on which Stephen Dedalus walked round Dublin in borrowed brogues, grieved with inwit's agenbite and rotting teeth, James Joyce and his redheaded paramour were decisively *en route* out of the paralysis, their backs to the old sow, in final and true fulfilment of the prophecy of the close of *Portrait*. Indeed, Richard Ellmann's thesis (1982, pp.155ff.) regarding the appositeness of June 16 for Bloomsday can be seen to apply with greater force and less incertitude to October 8. What did this idea, this proto-*Ulysses*, that emerged (in 1913 or in 1914?) to enable Joyce to complete *Portrait*, consist of, and did it induce any echoes in the earlier novel in progress? The

answer to the first question is that the fragments provided an opening and the setting of the scene for the unwritten story from *Dubliners*: that of Stephen/Joyce falling or being knocked down and subsequently being picked up by Hunter/Ulysses. The answer to the second question is that, as first pointed out by Hans Walter Gabler (1989), an erasure and the replacement of a reading twice, in parallel, in the *Portrait* manuscript (*JJA* 9, p.45) re-instituted the day on which Wells shouldered Stephen into the square ditch at Clongowes as the 77th before Christmas. This was Thursday, 8th October, 1891. A double resonance was accomplished by the fact that Parnell had died two days earlier, on October 6. His body, brought back to Ireland to be buried, arrived at dawn on Sunday, October 11. This, fictionally, is the morning that Stephen revives from a fever. In 1904 on October 11, also at dawn (in real life), James Joyce and Nora Barnacle arrived in Zürich at the Gasthaus Hoffnung. Let us then christen October 8 *Stephensday*. On Stephensday, Stephen was shoved into the square ditch, Joyce and Nora crossed over the Irish Sea, and (in an impossibilised version of *Ulysses*) Stephen fell or was pushed into a gutter. Perhaps, perhaps too (are numbers charms?), there is an echo of those earlier arrivals/revivals in Bloom's vision at the propitious moment of little Rudy, who lived 11 days, in fancy aged 11 years.

Eschewing this straightforward (and perhaps too easily discernible) patterning, at some subsequent date Joyce chose (re-chose?) a midsummer day for *Ulysses*, in the process wreaking havoc (never fully repaired) on the time-mesh of his two books. To recap: by its internal chronological consistency, *Portrait* closes in 1901; by the historical validity of the dates of the diary entries, it ends in 1904. By 30th June, 1915, Joyce had plumped (re-plumped) for the former date: in an unpublished letter of that day to Ezra Pound (see Ellmann 1982, p.383), just after he had re-arrived in Zürich from Trieste, he wrote that he had 'written the first two episodes' of *Ulysses* and that the new book was 'a continuation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* after three years' interval blended with many of the persons of *Dubliners*'. Perhaps by that time he had finally decided on June 16 as the day of the action (the famous postcard dated 16th June, 1915, to Stanislaus, while not strictly evidence, nevertheless springs to mind). That June day was chosen, we suggest, on the grounds of a convergence of resonances (not all of which are perhaps yet known); it was *not* the day that they set sail but it was only a few days after he had met Nora (Ellmann's thesis that June 16 was the first day that they went walking has never been proven), and it was a Thursday, as it was on a Thursday that Stephen was shouldered into the square ditch. Thus the link with *Portrait*, though diluted, persists. It may even be pertinent that Joyce was born on a Thursday. He had, indeed, far to go.

With *Portrait* backdated, if necessary by *fiat*, to 1901, the presence of the recollected 1902 Paris date (we have returned, most patient reader, to our starting point) in the early 'Proteus' draft is no longer impossible; and thus a question mark can be re-imposed on the validity of the change of that date from 1902 to 1904. The manuscript evidence for the authority of that change rests on two flimsy items: the first is the presumed 'arrest 1902/4' notation in the present notebook (MS VL.D.7); the second is a pencil-mark on the Rosenbach faircopy which may or may not be an authorial alteration of the '2' to a '4'. The date '1904' is the reading in both the *Little Review* and the 1922 edition versions of 'Proteus' and it can be inferred that it was the reading on both

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

exemplars of the typescript (made from the Rosenbach faircopy) which were the bases for those versions. While neither item is on its own particularly persuasive, put together they make a reasonable case that the change was authorially intended. Gabler's (1980) arguments as to the reason the change was made require modification, although his principal conclusion – that the 1904 Paris date implies that Stephen must have been in Paris on two separate occasions – remains sound. The duration of Stephen's first sojourn in Paris, however, must now be considered to extend over a two-year period (1901-1903) – a far cry from the mere five-week stint as was unavoidably indicated by the untenable 1903 dating for the close of *Portrait*.

The other 'Proteus' related entry on page 31 of our reconstruction of the notebook reads: 'acatalectic'. It was transferred as a revision to the base text of the MS V.A.3 draft. The word was, as if by magic, subsequently repeatedly altered by scribes and amanuenses (who could hardly have been familiar with this technical term) into the more correct (in context) 'A catalectic', and equally repeatedly re-altered by a recalcitrant author, bent on his error, back to 'Acatalectic': the erroneous but authorial final form as accepted into the new critical edition (Joyce 1984) by the editor, whose dactyls were tied behind his back by the inexorable strictures of his profession.

### *Thomas Fitzgerald (1-2)*

That James Joyce, himself a 'dresser' (when he could afford it), should have taken the trouble to look up 'Silken' Thomas Fitzgerald (1515-37), the Lord Offaly and tenth Earl of Kildare, in the *Dictionary of National Biography* is an indication of the importance he attached at the time to the notion of inlacing a Fitzgerald thread into *Ulysses*. Thomas is manifestly a Telemachos figure and, accordingly, an avatar of the shabbily-attired Stephen Dedalus. It quietly amuses then, when in reading *Ulysses* we first encounter him in the company of three *bona-fide* usurpers: Edward Bruce, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. Fitzgerald was not, historically, a pretender in the sense that these three gentlemen were. In February 1534 he was appointed Deputy-Governor of Ireland on the occasion of his father's last and ill-fated journey to England. Early in June of that year a mendacious rumour was bruited in Ireland that Thomas's father had been summarily executed in the Tower of London. On hearing of this, the indignant son, temporarily dispossessed of his reason, energetically entered the chamber at a meeting of the Council in St Mary's Abbey on St Barnaby's day (June 11); divested himself of his robes of office; cast down the sword of state upon the council table; and forcibly renounced his allegiance to the English King. This rash gesture of defiance, like Stephen's shattering of the lamp in 'Circe' and his trenchant remarks to the two redcoats, led by way of Irish history to his downfall.

Joyce scattered references throughout *Ulysses* not only to Thomas but to several other members of his illustrious family. The latter allusions possibly derived from the book *The Earls of Kildare and their Ancestors* (Kildare 1864) mentioned at the end of the *D.N.B.* article and noted by Joyce. And not merely noted, for the character that pops up in Mary's Abbey in 'Wandering Rocks' is depicted as combing Dublin (like many *Ulysses* scholars and Joyce biographers after him)

ferreting out material for a monograph on the subject. (One of the authors of the present Commentary here somewhat peachfacedly, although semi-anonymously, confesses that he – in seeking out the source of the Thomas Fitzgerald notes in MS VI.D.7 and before stumbling upon the *D.N.B.* – while temporarily dispossessed of *his* senses – went through the catalogue in the National Library, Kildare Street, seeking a pamphlet on the Fitzgeralds penned by one *Love*, Hugh C.)

### *Bloom's Dates (front cover verso)*

As remarked above, the earliest traceable reference to Leopold Bloom which has come to light is the entry written, we surmise, on the front cover verso of MS VI.D.7. In her transcription (MS VI.C.16, p.232) Madame Raphael wrote:

'LB. le 18[7]65'.

Clearly, the 'le' is a mistranscription for 'b' (born). Madame Raphael appears to have misread the first '6' as a '7' and then to have corrected it; it is as likely as not, also, that her '5' should be a '6', knowing hindsightedly as we do that Leopold Bloom was born in 1866. If, on the other hand, the '5' was not a mistranscription, then this would imply (see below, page xxvi) that the entry predated mid-July 1917. It should seem that Joyce originally jotted down a fuller chronology – which would have been the source of the chronologies appearing in MS V.A.8 (front cover verso) and in MS VI.D.4 (the lost 'last' *Ulysses* notebook transcribed into MS VI.C.7) – which, once copied, he crossed out with a large 'X' while in the process missing the top line which was thus faithfully (and fortuitously) copied by his amanuensis into MS VI.C.16.

The year of Bloom's birth is first referred to directly in the text in 'Lotus Eaters' 198-99: 'Year before I was born that was: sixtyfive'. This appears in the Rosenbach faircopy, which can be dated March 1918. A significantly earlier, though oblique, reference (also in the Rosenbach faircopy and dated December 1917) occurs in 'Nestor' 300-04: 'Framed around the walls images of vanished horses stood in homage, their meek heads poised in air: lord Hastings' *Repulse*, the duke of Westminster's *Shotover*, the duke of Beaufort's *Ceylon*, *prix de Paris*, 1866. Elfin riders sat them, watchful of a sign'. Watchful of signs, we can note that *Ceylon* won the *prix de Paris* at Longchamps on Sunday, 27th May, 1866 – a somewhat more mundane phenomenon than that of the star of second magnitude which appeared in and disappeared from the constellation of the *Corona Septentrionalis* 'about the period of the birth of Leopold Bloom' (see 'Ithaca' 1125). A few weeks earlier, on Thursday, 19th April, 1866, *Repulse* had won the 1,000 Guineas at Newmarket. To complete the picture, *Shotover* won both the 2,000 Guineas at Newmarket and the Derby at Epsom, on 26th April and 24th May, 1882, respectively, in the signal birthyear of Stephen Dedalus. That last-named young man's weak eyes would not have noticed it, but it is likely that the same elfin rider, in different colours, none of them King's (or Queen's as the case would have been), sat all three horses; for all four victories were due to the same jockey: Tom

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

Cannon (1846-1917). Those interested in the paternity and equine themes in *Ulysses* and in life should note with relish that Tom Cannon had two sons well-known to the racing fraternity: the elder, Kempton (named after a racecourse), emulated his father's 1882 coup by winning in 1904 (on *St. Amant*) the 2,000 Guineas and the Derby; the younger, Mornington (named after a racehorse), rode the favourite, *Zinfandel*, in the 1904 Gold Cup at Ascot, but lost to a 20 to 1 outsider named *Throwaway*.

For more on this fascinating subject see the end of the next section.

### *Deconstructing Bloomsday: Joyce's use of Newspapers (3-23)*

Since 1975, when Clive Hart and Leo Knuth published their comprehensive *Topographical Guide*, it has been a commonplace of *Ulysses* scholarship that Joyce in distant Zürich was enabled to recreate the topographical, static Dublin of 1904 (that is, the names and addresses of the citizens, their houses, shops, pubs, parks, public urinals and offices, the tortuous layout of the streets, lanes, avenues, ways and walks, tramlines and railways, and even such minutiae as the positions of pillar letterboxes and cellarflaps) not from the exercise of an eidetic memory but rather by surreptitious reference to a copy in his possession of Thom's bulky *Dublin Directory* for 1904. (Precisely at what time and in what circumstances he acquired his copy of Thom's tome and what became of it in later life remain challenging but largely unanswered questions.) His spectacularly large cast of unpaid extras now *in situ*, Joyce next had to determine what did regular knockabout Dubliners actually do on 16th June, 1904 – about what did they converse? What was going on in the city? What was the weather like? Who was doing what to whom? In two nutshell, what happened? 'Better find out in the paper' ('Calypso' 543).

The surest way to answer such questions – to recapture the transient flavour of a real day – is to read the newspapers for that day or, better still, for the day after, or, for background information, for the days that went before. This is exactly what Joyce set out to do: to read the papers. Understandably in World War Zürich, backnumbers of Irish newspapers were rather thin on the ground, and Joyce had to make do with what he could lay his hands on: viz, with the more widely disseminated London *Times*. He devoured the June 1904 issues of this great organ edaciously, drawing copious notes from them and entering these into MS VI.D.7. Many of the major and minor themes which permeate the all-too-Irish *Ulysses* derive ultimately from the all-too-English *Times*. Before discussing these, however, a few paragraphs should be written on the general subject of newspapers in *Ulysses*.

The theme of newspapers (and, coincidentally, Joyce's use of them for background information) was initiated in earnest in the 'Lotus Eaters' episode, in which we encounter Bloom with a copy of the 16th June, 1904, issue of the *Freeman's Journal* folded into his sidepocket. As with Joyce's Thom's, just where and when he picked it up we cannot know. We do know that he perused column 1 of page 1: (a) to ascertain (in the interstice between 'Calypso' and 'Lotus Eaters') the time

scheduled for Patrick Dignam's funeral; (b) 'idly' to read ('Lotus Eaters' 144-147) the suggestive advertisement for Plumtree's Potted Meat; and (c) to scan ('Hades' 157-63) the list of the recently deceased. He dug no further. It is surely odd that Bloom, a canvasser for advertisements for that very daily, should evince no more than a casual interest in the product. One sufficient reason for this nonchalance is that that ultra-stickler for verisimilitude, James Joyce, did not himself have to hand a copy of the *Freeman*. All of the cited names of the deceased parties are fictitious, the advertisement for the potted meat did not appear; and even Bantam Lyons, who greedily scanned its sports page, 'really' derived his information from the following day's *Times*.

Indeed, with one exception, no material taken directly from Irish newspapers appeared in the text in progress of *Ulysses* prior to June 1919, when Joyce started work on the 'Cyclops' episode. The exception relates to the theatrical activities of Bloomsday. On the Rosenbach faircopy of 'Lotus Eaters' (dated March-April 1918) we find: 'Leah tonight. Mrs Bandmann-Palmer.' Bloom is reading from a multicoloured hoarding. Later, on the Rosenbach faircopy (April-May 1918) of 'Hades', Bloom again eyeing hoardings, is added: 'Eugene Stratton, Mrs Bandmann-Palmer. Could I go to Leah tonight? Or the Lily of Killarney? Bright bills for next week. *Fun on the Bristol*.' Further detail (suggesting the acquisition of more information) was introduced into these passages (now 'Lotus Eaters' 194-96 and 'Hades' 184-87) several years later, first appearing on the printer's copy of the typescript and on the first placards, respectively. When he penned the faircopies, Joyce either had access to an Irish newspaper (but, if so, why did he not use it more extensively? – for instance in the 'Aeolus' episode which, as it happens, includes hardly anything at all of what really went on and was talked about in the offices of the *Freeman's Journal* and *Evening Telegraph* on that day), or, more likely, he may simply have written to a contact in Dublin asking to be apprised of what was on in the theatres on 16th June, 1904. It is possible that his curiosity was occasioned by the notes he jotted down from *The Times* on the entertainment available in London: Mr Tree in *Twelfth Night*; Miss Sarah Bernhardt in *La Sorcière* (from next Monday); Vecsey, a nice little boy violinist; and, last but not least, the great Kubelik! Alas, he really could not use any of that in *Ulysses*. In any event, the accounts given in the biographies are patently absurd. Gorman (1939) reports Joyce discussing with Claud Sykes the 'possibility' of 'Mrs Bandmann-Palmer playing *Leah, the Forsaken* in Dublin in 1904'; Whereas Ellmann (1982) describes him 'quizzing' Sykes one afternoon about the possibility of Bandmann-Palmer 'having played *Leah* in Dublin in 1904'. It should be quite evident that Joyce knew that she had. What possibly, probably transpired, we modestly conjecture, was that Joyce spent the best part of the afternoon in question trying to inveigle Sykes (who had joined Mrs Bandmann-Palmer's company several years after 1904) into admitting that he, Sykes, had been there at the Gaiety on the night during the performance that Bloom did not attend.

By June 1919 Joyce somehow contrived to get hold of the 16th and 17th June, 1904, issues of *The Irish Independent*. Clusters of notes taken directly from these newspapers appear on 'Cyclops' notesheets 3, 4 and 7 (Herring 1972). The argumentative 'Cyclops' episode, oddly enough, is the most newspaper-like episode in *Ulysses* in that huge tracts of it were taken directly from real newspapers: not only from *The Irish Independent* but, to an even greater extent, from *The Times*.

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

The Citizen's cynical asides about *The Times* are therefore somewhat ironic, as his fictive existence is at least partly due to excerpts from it. (We concede that, as Michael Cusack, he also has an independent existence which included his own newspaper, appropriately and unimaginatively entitled *The Celtic Times*.)

The last of Joyce's newspapers, the pink edition, sporting extra, of *The Evening Telegraph* for 16th June, 1904, made its earliest recorded appearance in the text in progress of *Ulysses* on the pages of the pre-faircopy working draft (MS V.A.21, dated late 1920) of 'Eumaeus'. Joyce most definitely did have access to this paper; for both Bloom and Stephen read it, and the account of what was on which page is more or less accurate. There are some deviations from strict verisimilitude, but these can be explained. Mr. Deasy's epistolary masterpiece on the foot and mouth disease, for starters, was not in the 'real' newspaper; nor was the letter from His Grace, William +. (Both of these letters originated, we might recall, in the Irish-newspaperless days of the 'Nestor' and 'Aeolus' faircopies.) The report on the funeral of Patrick Dignam was not there either, though it was undoubtedly based on the account in *The Evening Telegraph* for 13th July, 1904, of the funeral of Mr Mat Kane which, according to the report, was attended by, *inter alia*, Alfred H. Hunter, John S. Joyce, James A. Joyce, B.A., John Wyse Power, J. H. Menton, Alfred Bergin, Adam S. Findlater, Daniel O'Connell, Geo. Washington (no less), and a certain semi-anonymous body called '-Croakley' who was as given-nameless as the pseudonymous '-M'Intosh'. (It is not an absurd supposition to conjecture that Joyce had preserved a clipping of that memorable event.) Joyce copied the account of the Gold Cup race ('Eumaeus' 1276-89) – which Bloom reads – from page three of the 16th June, 1904, *Telegraph* into MS V.A.21 and from there, without significant alteration, he recopied it into the Rosenbach faircopy. He improved the newspaper account in one particular: of the sentence 'Secured the verdict cleverly by a length', only 'cleverly' derives from the *Telegraph*, the rest was lifted from Heinrich Baumann's *Londinismen* (discussed below). Much earlier, he had copied out the far more detailed *Times* account into the pages of MS VI.D.7 and, later, recopied part of this onto 'Eumaeus' notesheet 5. It should be noted that this notesheet was demonstrably *not* the source of the original MS V.A.21 inscription, though it was the source for the elaborations and additions ('b.h.', '5 yrs, 9 st 4 lbs', 'got long lead', 'chestnut colt', 'bay filly' and '2 mile course') entered onto the first placards which subtly transformed part of Bloom's *Telegraph* into the thundering *Times*.

<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

A short list of the many items from *The Times* utilised in *Ulysses* would include: (a) the Ascot Gold Cup and related horseraces (a major theme); (b) the Gordon-Bennett motorcar race, once possibly considered as a major theme but subsequently, perhaps reluctantly (Joyce having had a personal interest in it as he had reported the 1902 event and based a telling story 'After the Race' on its aftermath), reduced to a few scattered references – it took place on the 17th after all; (c) cricket (very minor); (d) the General Slocum disaster; (e) for the 'Cyclops' episode: the lively adventures of the Alake of Abeokuta, the matter of the Royal Hungarian Lottery, the scandal of Corporal Punishment in the Royal Navy, etc.; (f) the Reverend John Alexander Dowie; (g) the visit of the Lord Lieutenant to open the Mirus Bazaar in aid of Mercer's Hospital; and (h) divers small facts sprinkled over the text. Among the many items in *The Times* which he did not notice

(or so it appears) is a delicious reference in the Court Circular of June 8, 1904, to ‘Sir James Joicey, M.P., and Lady Joicey’ having attended a function.

Joyce’s pilfering in *The Times* did not cease with the June 1904 numbers. He did after all while in Zürich read that very paper – its current issues – assiduously. A prodigious bout of work and a prodigious amount of reading remain to be done to determine what – and it may turn out to be little – he took for *Ulysses*. We have traced one item, an obituary, which appeared on 14th July, 1917, and which competes with MS VI.D.7 for the earliest datable ‘document’ specific to *Ulysses*, though it may well be that the notes Joyce took from it were written into MS VI.D.7, used, and then crossed out. Because of its curious importance, we cite it here in full:

*Death of Tom Cannon, Sen.*  
Veteran Trainer and Jockey

Mr. Tom Cannon, sen., the veteran trainer and jockey, died at his residence, Springfield House, Stockbridge, yesterday morning, after a long illness.

Tom Cannon, who for many years suffered from delicate health, and gave up riding at a relatively early age, lived in the days of great jockeys – George Fordham and Frederick Archer, with scarcely less-brilliant contemporaries – and held his own with the best of them. It may be doubted whether a more accomplished horseman was ever seen.

Cannon, who was born at Eton in 1846, was apprenticed early to Mr. Sextie, who trained horses, and was also an admirable artist. Cannon became associated with John Day, of Danebury, at that exciting period of turf history when the Duke of Beaufort and Lord Hastings were patrons of the establishment, and married the trainer’s daughter.

Tom Cannon’s skill was well recognized from the first, and he soon made his mark. In 1866 he won his first classic, the One Thousand Guineas, on Lord Hastings’s Repulse, and the Grand Prix de Paris – which had been in existence only three years – on the Duke of Beaufort’s Ceylon. The latter was the first of five winners that he rode in the great Paris race, the others being Mr. Marshall’s Trent in 1874, Prince Soltykoff’s Thurio in 1878, the Duc de Castries’ Frontin in 1883, and the same owner’s Little Duck in 1884. Cannon took the One Thousand Guineas a second time on Lord Lonsdale’s Pilgrimage in 1878, and again on Mr. Baird’s Busybody in 1884. He rode four winners of the Two Thousand Guineas – Pilgrimage in 1878, the Duke of Westminster’s Shotover in 1882, and Mr. Douglas Baird’s Enterprise and Enthusiast in 1887 and 1888.

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

The Oaks, like the Two Thousand Guineas, fell to him four times – on Sir Frederick Johnstone’s Brigantine in 1869, on Mr. James Merry’s Marie Stuart in 1873, Lord Stamford’s Geheimness (whom the earl had purchased from his jockey) in 1882, and on Mr. “Abington’s” (Mr. G. A. Baird’s) Busybody in 1884. Tom Cannon trained this filly, and she would in all probability have won the St. Leger had she not broken down in the summer. He was in request among French owners, and won the French Derby for Baron de Rothschild on Kilt in 1876, and for the Duc de Castries on Little Duck in 1884.

His pupils distinguished themselves greatly. Tom Cannon, jun., his eldest son, soon grew too heavy to ride, but Mornington did notable service, heading the list of winning jockeys for many years, and Kempton was consistently prominent. John Watts, W. Robinson, and S. Loates, three of his apprentices, were also conspicuous, all three securing classic races on various occasions.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the above. The images of vanished horses (spurred on by the shouts of vanished crowds) were not nailed up on the walls of Mr Deasy’s office before mid-July 1917, though the hammer came out shortly after. From Joyce’s choice of horses, there can be no doubt other than that the oblique references to the birthyears of Stephen and Bloom are simply *not* coincidental. We can be certain, also, that Bloom’s birthyear had been selected by (at the latest) mid-July 1917; and we can perhaps speculate that the year 1866 was chosen because in that year (which was, we concede, in the right ballpark – or rather racecourse – to make Bloom in or about an appropriate age in 1904) Tom Cannon’s career got off to a flying start. But why the bold Tom Cannon in the first place? Possibly because it was, in mid-July 1917, a mere short space of time since Joyce had entered notes on the 1904 Gold Cup in MS VI.D.7 and he recalled that a jockey named Cannon (Mornington, that was, Tom’s son) had sat the favourite, *Zinfandel*.

### *Eloquence and Loquacity of Hoi Polloi (48-42, 24-28)*

Dublin, Ireland; 16th June, 1904. A place where; a time when; but also, of course, a manner how. Other than Stephen and his cronies, most of the characters that navigate round the rocks of *Ulysses*, Bloom not excepted, are much of a kind, bordering on middle class and middle age. Their real-life counterparts were in the main the friends and acquaintances, high and low, short and tall, of that voluble larger-than-life man-about-town, Mr John Joyce. To transpose these – warts, dripping noses, weak buccinator muscles, illfitting trousers and all – into a literary text and not excessively to distort their identities in the process, James Joyce had to represent their style, their mannerisms, their dress, their speech patterns, their vocabulary and the probable parameters of their knowledge, interests and concerns. While his critical ear and celebrated memoriousness made the undertaking workable in the first place, it seems that he also had need of wordbooks of contemporary slang. He was not himself the sort who indulged habitually in the vulgar idiolect

of that turn-of-the-century era: listen to Stephen, who has evidently swallowed several more serious dictionaries, talk!

So: slang-lists. Joyce probably had a copy of his namesake's, P.W. Joyce's, *English As We Speak it in Ireland* (1910) from which he no doubt derived the occasional word ('spaug' meaning a big clumsy foot, for example – 'Aeolus' 448) and, more significantly, the fox riddle that Stephen articulates in 'Nestor'. The verse, which he modified somewhat in transposition, is as follows:

Riddle me, riddle me right:  
 What did I see last night?  
 The wind blew,  
 The cock crew,  
 The bells of heaven  
 Struck eleven.  
 'Tis time for my poor soul to go to heaven.

Answer: the fox burying his mother under a holly tree.

P. W. Joyce asserts this to be the finest riddle that he has ever heard. Stephen, sensing in himself a vulpine furtiveness and cunning (exemplified in *his* covering his traces by replacing 'mother' with 'grandmother'), shares with the fox a more remarkable trait which P. W. mentions in passing: namely, an aversion to saying grace or any other prayer. Anecdotal and interesting as it is, P. W. Joyce's book was not quite what our author needed. By 1904 it was already somewhat antiquated and altogether too Celtic and provincial. Dublin was, after all, the Second City of the Empire and not some one-horse clutter of *tigeens* in outermost Mayo (God bless the mark), and Dubliners picked up much of their slick slang less from out-of-town farmyard manure than from the pockets of the English soldier-boys, civil servants and businessmen billeted in the city.

The first really usable lexicon that Joyce came across in Zürich (as is evidenced in MS VI.D.7) was, perhaps appositely, a German work: *Londinismen* (Baumann, n.d.). From the fact of his entering material from this *Wörterbuch* in reverse page order in the notebook, we can establish (by noting the patterns in sequence) where one notebook page ended and the next began. As Madame Raphael transcribed only undeleted and therefore unused material into MS VI.C.16, by estimating the quantity of the notes that would have filled a page we find that about half of the notes must have been transferred by Joyce into the drafts and notesheets for *Ulysses*. To pinpoint the specific words and phrases so utilised is rather a complicated business, as one cannot with any degree of certainty identify precisely which slang words appearing in *Ulysses* – of which there are a great many – derive originally from *Londinismen*. Only in those cases where clusters of units from the notebook were transferred into extant notesheet listings can we be quite emphatically sure and can incorporate these elements in our reconstruction. Nevertheless, it may be of some passing interest to cite here a sample list of expressions from *Londinismen* that might well have been included in the notebook:

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

- *on the (strict) q.t.* : on the quiet; ‘Lestrygonians’ 100, entered R; ‘Eumaeus’, entered V.A.21, not in R.
- *rhino* : money; ‘Cyclops’ 303, entered V.A.8.
- *sky-pilot* : clergyman; ‘Cyclops’ 694, entered R.
- *staggering bob* : newborn calf or meat therefrom; ‘Lestrygonians’ 724, entered R; ‘Oxen of the Sun’ 1292, 1297-9, entered R; ‘Circe’ 3360, entered R.
- *thimblerrigger* : player of the game of under which thimble is the pea; ‘Nestor’ 310, entered R.
- *tweak* : to tweak a person’s nose; ‘Nestor’ 388, entered R (see *Letters*, II, 415, where Joyce implied to Claud Sykes in a postcard that he had this word written on a ‘stray bit of paper’).
- *wheeze* : trick, gambit; ‘Lotus Eaters’ 178, entered R.

Some time later, when the compilation of MS VI.D.7 was nearing completion, and that of another notebook (MS VIII.A.5) well in train, Joyce came upon another dictionary of slang: *Passing English of the Victorian Era* (Ware, n.d.). As if to balance his concentration on the last part only of Baumann’s tome, Joyce appears to have taken notes principally from the beginning of Ware’s book, entering these, where space permitted, into the middle of MS VI.D.7 and, to a lesser extent, into MS VIII.A.5. A sample of expressions possibly deriving from Ware *via* VI.D.7 follows:

- *argol-bargol* : argumentation; ‘Cyclops’ 1580, entered R.
- *beanfeast* : picnic; ‘Lestrygonians’ 1146, entered B.
- *blue o’clock in the morning* : twilight of dawn; ‘Wandering Rocks’ 553, entered R.
- *buncombe* : bunkum; ‘Cyclops’ 877, entered V.A.8; ‘Eumaeus’ 1286, entered I.
- *off his chump* : off his head or off his food; ‘Lestrygonians’ 314, entered R.
- *n.g.* : no go; ‘Calypso’ 108, entered R; ‘Circe’ 154, entered R.
- *U.P.* : ‘up’ spelt out to make the word more forcible – meaning ‘finished’; ‘Lestrygonians’ 257, entered R; and elsewhere.

### **Troy (40-38)**

MS VI.D.7, the first *Ulysses* notebook, is doubly illuminating in that, while at one end Joyce collected excerpts (from *The Times*) toward the recreation of a June 1904 Dublin day, at the other end he copied notes (avidly, more than he needed or could reasonably have expected to use) from Walter Leaf’s reconstruction of daily life in ancient Troy. Significantly, the first five chapters of *Troy: A Study in Homeric Geography* (Leaf, 1912) with their emphasis on archaeology, excavations and ruins, do not appear to have quickened Joyce’s pulse, for (it seems) he took no

notes; instead, it was Chapter VI, 'The Allies and the War', which interested him, and which must have struck him – trapped in Zürich in the midst of a later, not terribly dissimilar war – as a revelation. In this chapter Leaf paints a picture of a very modern Troy at the centre of a vast trading empire: an empire, furthermore, looked upon with impatient, envious Greek eyes. His main thesis is that the principal cause of the war was economic. Beginning with a discussion of the sources of Troy's wealth – its position as toll-taking waystation and chief market-town for several trade routes – Leaf goes on to list the various groups of traders (Troy's 'allies') and the merchandise and foisons of the field they brought thither with them (a list Joyce transferred in a much abbreviated form to the notebook: see pages 41-40). The Greeks were obliged to deal with these merchants through Trojan middlemen at the 'annual fair' at Troy. Leaf describes the fair in colourful detail. It began, he writes, in July and ended in September, whereupon Troy's tent-town was folded up and Priam and his cohorts retired to the castle to belch away the winter. Leaf's study ends (as does, more briefly, Joyce's notetaking: see pages 39-38) with an account of the Greek warplan which was to keep the Trojans besieged in their fortress until, fair-less, toll-less and penniless, they went bankrupt and collapsed, and of the various futile attempts in later years to revive the doomed city.

There are two further points of interest in this particular sourcebook. Firstly, it is probable that it was only shortly after reading it that Joyce had the following conversation with George Borach (quoted in Potts, 1979):

J.J. thinks: "... Odysseus didn't want to go off to Troy; he knew that the official reason for the war, the dissemination of the culture of Hellas, was only a pretext for the Greek merchants, who were seeking new markets ..." (1st August, 1917).

Secondly, although Leaf disagreed with Victor Bérard's theory that Troy was situated on an isthmus (and for that reason was in its tolltaking position), he did note it, and gave a reference. This, the first unit from Leaf copied into MS VI.D.7, signals the beginning of Joyce's acquaintance with Bérard and his theories. It matches precisely his 'discovery' of Heinrich Zimmer's theories about Finn MacCool, which we have elsewhere (Rose and O'Hanlon, 1980) traced to a similar fortuitous reference in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It is worth once again quoting from Joyce's 1938 letter to Louis Gillet (*Letters*, I, 401):

There has come to light a strange parallel with the case of *Ulysses* – Victor Bérard. His Homeric study came to confirm my theory of the semitic nature of the Odyssey when I had already written three-quarters of the book. Now I find my theory of the Scandinavian nature of my hero Finn MacCool ... confirmed through the researches of a German scholar, Zimmer.

One thing is clear: Joyce once again greatly overstretched the simple truth in claiming that he had written 'three-quarters' of *Ulysses*, and he neglected to mention the considerable use he made, in writing his book, of Victor Bérard's theories.

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

### *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée (24-37)*

There can be little doubt but that Joyce first read Victor Bérard's *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée* (1902) in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich. On the front cover verso of MS VI.D.7, the unit 'P &' represents the title, and 'ZG 116/117' are the call numbers in the library for the two volumes of the work. It is, furthermore, very likely that it was in the same library and from the same actual volumes that he copied out the units which appear in the present notebook, as well as those in the sister notebook, MS VIII.A.5. His fascination with Bérard's book, however, and his recommending it in later life to friends mean that we cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that he forked out for a copy of his own, though where that copy is is anybody's guess. It is not in the Paris collection (now at the University of Buffalo) where we should expect to find it.

While the spread of the Bérard units throughout the two notebooks is complex, a pattern in their dispersal and an order of composition can be inferred. The first point to note is that Joyce entered material for very nearly all of the episodes of the *Odyssey*. This clearly indicates that he was engaged in a wide-ranging study and had not as yet decided precisely how he was going to incorporate the material into *Ulysses*. Secondly, Joyce's notetaking must have taken up a great deal of his time (the Bérard volumes are very large) for he seems to have interrupted it for respites: brief forays (and further notetaking) in Restoration plays and in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. A full analysis is included below in the section entitled 'The Order of the Inscription'; for the moment, a brief summary should suffice. Joyce began writing down entries from Bérard into MS VI.D.7, continued into MS VIII.A.5, and then oscillated back and forth between the two notebooks. The material in MS VI.D.7 relates principally, though not exclusively, to the early chapters of *Ulysses*.

For further information on the background in Bérard to the units Joyce selected, the reader should consult the original sourcebook. The relationship between *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée* and *Ulysses*, on the other hand, has been copiously treated in the scholarly literature, so we shall not elaborate upon it. Recent studies include Groden (1977, p.76-91) and a more general and speculative full-length account by Seidel (1976). Groden concentrates on the genetic history of *Ulysses* and his discussion of Joyce's use of Bérard is both straightforward and illuminating, although his suggestion that the notes in MS VIII.A.5 (he was not aware at the time, understandably, of MS VI.D.7) resulted from Joyce's second or later rereading of Bérard must from the evidence of the present notebook be revised. This conclusion casts some doubt (at least for the early episodes where the book's so-called north-west axis is first established) on one of Seidel's theses: that is, that Joyce determined the relative locations for the action of *Ulysses* by superimposing Bérard's Phoenician map of the Mediterranean (with its Odyssean loci marked out) onto Dublin. If Joyce did so, he must have done it rather late in the day. No documentary evidence is extant, and he does not seem to have mentioned it to Stuart Gilbert, the first expositor of the Homeric allusions in *Ulysses*.

Gilbert's (1930) treatment of Homer owes a great deal to *Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée*. By his own account, following a broad hint from Joyce he 'at once procured a copy of that bulky work, and

found it fascinating reading'. This, like most such stories one hears about Joyce, leaves out the best part: the details. We have collated all the references to Bérard in Gilbert with the entries in the two notebooks, and have found that in the vast majority of cases they pair; in other words, nearly everything in Gilbert can be found (though often in briefer, more cryptic form) in the notebooks (and not the other way round). This would suggest that in preparing his book Gilbert had to hand the two notebooks. There are, however, serious problems with this hypothesis: Gilbert would have had to be inexplicably blind to the other material in the notebooks. Nowhere, for example, does he mention Joyce's use of *The Times*, the Troy book, Roscher, or the lists of slangwords. Furthermore, the units in the notebook do not have appended to them page and chapter references to *Les Phéniciens*, references extremely difficult to recover given Joyce's method of notetaking, and it is quite clear that Gilbert did know the correct contexts for the units. The probable truth of the matter is that the Bérard sections in *James Joyce's Ulysses* were the result of a collaboration between Gilbert and Joyce. It is known (Ellmann 1982, p.616) that the Joyces and the Gilberts spent a month together at Torquay in the summer of 1929. During this time Joyce helped Gilbert to finish his book, listening to it being read chapter by chapter. He must have had with him the two notebooks, and these then served as mnemotechnic devices by which he, Joyce, without handing over the notebooks, could guide Gilbert in locating the relevant passages in his, Gilbert's, copy of *Les Phéniciens*. The upshot was, and is, that Gilbert's idea of the influence of Bérard on *Ulysses* goes very little farther than an analysis of the allusions in the notebooks, and this, coincidentally, gells very neatly with every other known case of Joyce's use of sourcebooks.

In the table below we indicate the page numbers and the episode titles in Gilbert (1930) where references to Bérard are made. These are followed by the page numbers in the two notebooks where equivalent units are to be found. Brackets indicate very few, if any, relevant notes. The Table updates the matches in MS VIII.A.5 noted by Herring (1977).

*Table One*

<i>Gilbert</i>	<i>Episode</i>	<i>Notebook VI.D.7</i>	<i>Notebook VIII.A.5</i>
[98f.	Telemachus	–	–]
108f.	Nestor	37	–
113-20	Proteus	34	–
136ff.	Calypso	29,26,25	–
148f.	Lotus Eaters	–	3
161f.	Hades	36,35	17
179f.	Aeolus	–	15
[202	Lestrygonians	–	–]
217f.	Scylla & Charybdis	–	10,11
[246	Sirens	32,33,26	–]
263ff.	Cyclops	–	–

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

*Table One (cont.)*

<i>Gilbert</i>	<i>Episode</i>	<i>Notebook VI.D.7</i>	<i>Notebook VIII.A.5</i>
[281	Nausicaa	–	–]
291,296	Oxen of the Sun	–	11
310f.	Circe	–	18,19
351f.	Eumaeus	–	4
[363	Ithaca	32	–]

It is clear from the above Table that apart from ‘Cyclops’ (there is nothing in Gilbert from Bérard on ‘Penelope’ or ‘Wandering Rocks’) all of the episodes of *Ulysses* have been accounted for. As Joyce did use MS VI.D.7 at the time of drafting ‘Cyclops’, it is possible that a section of units matching those in Gilbert – and all crossed out and thus not in the transcription – were there written down. Finally, a word of caution: the above Table concerns only the Bérard material in Gilbert; there are, for example, substantive listings for ‘Lestrygonians’ and ‘Nausicaa’ in MS VIII.A.5 not in Gilbert, as can be gleaned from Table Two which is included in the ‘Order of the Inscription’ section of this Commentary. Also, of course, in the period that Joyce compiled the notebooks, it is thought that he had not yet decided to include the ‘Wandering Rocks’ episode (see *Letters*, I, 113).

### *Aristotle (30)*

That Joyce consulted *La Rhétorique d’Aristote en français* (Cassandre 1733) when he was compiling MS VI.D.7, as well as MS VIII.A.5, is confirmed by the presence on the (presumed) front cover verso of MS VI.D.7 of the Zentralbibliothek Zürich call-number for that particular edition. All of the units in the present notebook, evidently entered first, derive from Book I, Section ii, while those in MS VIII.A.5 come from Book III, Sections viii-x. There is no direct evidence of specific use in *Ulysses*. Of further interest (perhaps in relation to Stephen’s philosophising in the ‘Telemachiad’) is the reference also on the front cover verso to the title of *de Coloribus*, a treatise on colour ascribed to Aristotle but not generally held to be his work (let alone his masterpiece).

### *Wycherley (34)*

Joyce’s presumably brief perusal of and notetaking from William Wycherley’s tedious play, *The Plain Dealer* (1677), is clearly associated with his parallel use of the plays of Thomas Otway as evidenced in MS VIII.A.5 (see Herring 1977, pp.8-9). Wycherley (?1640-1716), like Otway, was a ‘Restoration’ playwright. Based on Molière’s *Le Misanthrope*, *The Plain Dealer* deals somewhat heavy-handedly with the time-honoured theme of cuckoldry. The manly hero, Manly, is a sea-captain who returns to London after the sinking of his stout ship to find to his horror that

his mistress, Olivia, has not only been free with and done away with his fortune, but has found herself a husband into the bargain. Coolly, he determines to avenge himself on her avarice and cupidity by cuckolding her husband, and decides to go about this by pretending under cover of night to be a young friend of his, Fidelia, desired by Olivia, though 'he', Fidelia, is in reality a young woman, desirous of Manly, got up as a man.

### *Miscellaneous (passim)*

A small number of items in the notebook have not yet been accounted for. A few, such as 'to swear death' (p.15), 'Wiseteerly' (p.17), and 'seer's waves' (p.34), may be unresolved Raphaelisms. The cluster of units on page 33, and the reference 'Gilgamesh (Assyrien) / Jensen' on page 37 to Peter Jensen's (1900) translation of the Gilgamesh epic have all the appearance of having been derived from Bérard, although we have not been able to confirm this. On page 6, the cricket notes taken from *The Times* include the term 'back stop' which does not seem to be in the newspaper. The 'back-stop' or 'long-stop' is the fieldsman stationed a few yards behind the wicket-keeper to stop the ball if it passes that player; the position has been obsolete in first-class cricket since before the turn of the century. It is of interest to note that when Joyce prepared a cricket index in 1929 for use in the penultimate chapter of *Finnegans Wake*, he again included the term 'back-stop' (MS VI.B.24, page 158) which, again, we cannot find in his source, on this occasion the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

Finally, the notebook contains two names and addresses. The first appears on page 18 in the midst of *The Times* material:

Reverend C. Voysey  
Annesley Lodge  
Hampstead  
London N.W.

This is the name and home address of Charles Voysey, the founder of the Theistic Church. Where Joyce got it, and why he wrote it down in his notebook, is a complete mystery. Voysey died in July 1912, so that Joyce could hardly have been corresponding with him in 1917, and certainly not at his earthly address. *The Times* did announce his Services, along with many others, each Saturday in June 1904, but invariably gave as address the Theistic Church, Swallow Street, Piccadilly, London W.

The second name and address follows the end of *The Times* material on page 23 and, therefore, it was written in later, probably on a blank space at the bottom of a page. It is intriguing:

Hella Elzholz  
Lugano c/o P.O.  
Berlin - Steglitz  
Schloss-str 69

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

Does this not signify yet another of Joyce-Bloom's scortatory epistolary romances, love by letter? Ellmann (1982, pp.418-9) recounts the story of how Joyce while in Locarno in late 1917 met a young German doctor, Gertrude Kaempffer, and attempted to entrap her into an intimate correspondence with him, using as his address the *poste restante* in Zürich. Was Hella Elzholz another young innocent that the monogamous author met and propositioned? It would appear that she was staying at the time in Lugano, having come thence from Berlin. The Berlin street-directories of the time indicate that a 'Rosa Elzholz' lived at the Berlin address. Was Rosa Hella's mother or sister? Perhaps we shall learn some day.

### *The Order of the Inscription*

From the limited evidence that we have, that of the transcription, it is yet possible to posit an order of sequential inscription of the items in the notebook. On the first few pages, it seems, Joyce wrote down the notes culled from the 'Thomas Fitzgerald' entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Having done this, he began a systematic study of the background to Thursday, 16th June, 1904, by reading and jotting down pertinent facts derived from the pages of *The Times*. He looked first into the 17th June, 1904, issue and worked systematically backwards as far as June 1, in the process glancing over a couple of issues of the *Times Literary Supplement*. As these notes were written down in normal sequential page order it is not possible to identify for this part of the notebook the original page breaks. Leafing over to the end of the notebook and writing in reverse page order (a fact which does permit us to locate the original page breaks) he entered a selection of words taken from Heinrich Baumann's *Londinismen*. (Joyce flicked through Baumann's lexicon backwards; this, happily, does not eradicate the evidence for the page breaks.) Thereafter, continuing at the end of the notebook, and continuing to write backwards (but now at least reading forwards) he recorded notes from Walter Leaf's *Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography*. It was while studying this monograph that Joyce was first made aware of Victor Bérard's potentially significant *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, a copy of which he subsequently read in some detail. Returning to the first blank page after *The Times* material, he wrote down (probably in ink, as are the parallel notes in MS VIII.A.5) a few entries from the first part of Bérard's book. He continued this notetaking (we surmise) on the inside of the back cover and on the first page of a new notebook, MS VIII.A.5. At this stage his use of the two notebooks becomes concurrent, and their contents to a certain extent begin to overlap. The middle pages of the first notebook, VI.D.7, were next filled. (We shall later try to analyse in more detail the order of the inscription of the Bérard material; for the moment it suffices to say that the Bérard notes in MS VI.D.7 relate principally to the early episodes of *Ulysses*.) At around this time, Joyce recorded notes from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and from William Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer*. Slang words from J. Redding Ware's *Passing English of the Victorian Era* were next entered, and this material too spilled over into MS VIII.A.5. A small number of the original page breaks in this middle section of the notebook can plausibly be inferred. Mixed in with these last units and presumably entered at around the same time are the notes for 'Proteus'. Finally, as the Leopold Bloom dates appear to have been written

on the front cover verso, it is not possible to ascertain at what point in the compilation, early or late, they were entered.

Table Two lists in more detail the contents and the order of inscription as we deduce it of the material in the notebook (MS VI.D.7), as well as, for the sake of completeness, the material in MS VIII.A.5.

**Table Two**

Description of Contents	VI.D.7	VIII.A.5
1) <i>D.N.B.</i> 'Fitzgerald'	1 - 2	
2) <i>The Times</i> & <i>T.L.S.</i>	3 - 23	
3) Slang: Baumann	48 - 42	
4) <i>Troy</i> : Leaf	41 - 38	
5) Bérard I.i 'L'Étude des origines Grecques'	24	
6) Bérard I.ii 'Les lieux et les noms'	24, b.c.r.	1
7) Bérard VI.i 'La Course' (beginning of Vol.II)		1 - 2
8) Bérard II.i & II.ii 'La Telemakheia'	37	
9) Bérard IX.ii 'La Nekyia' (Hades)	36 - 35	
10) Bérard VII.i 'Les Lotophages'		2 - 3
11) Bérard XI.i & XI.ii 'Ithaque' (Nostos)		3 - 5
Roscher II (general notes)		5 - 6
Bérard XI.ii (continued)		6
Rocher III (Penelope)		7
Bérard XI.ii (continued)		7 - 8
Rocher III (continued)		8 - 10
12) Bérard X.ii 'Charybde et Skylla'		10 - 11
13) Bérard X.iii 'L'Ile du Soleil'		11 - 12
14) Bérard VIII.ii 'Les Lestrygons'		13 - 14
15) Bérard VIII.i 'L'Ile Aioliè'		15 - 16
Zentralbibliothek call-number for Otway's <i>Plays</i>		16
16) Bérard IX.i 'L'Épervière' (Circe)		16 - 19
17) Bérard V.i 'L'Ile du Croiseur' (Nausicaa)		19 - 20
Otway		20 - 22
Bérard V.i (continued)		23
18) Bérard VI.ii 'Les Contes Égyptiens' (Proteus)	34	
Wycherley	34	
Bérard VI.ii (continued)	34	
19) Bérard XII.ii 'Procédés et Invention' (general)	33 - 31	
20) Bérard III.i 'Les Marines Primitives et Leurs Établissements' (Calypso)	31 - 30	
Aristotle <i>Rhetoric</i>	30	23 - 25

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

*Table Two (cont.)*

Description of Contents		VI.D.7	VIII.A.5
21)	Otway (continued)		25
22)	Bérard III.iii 'L'Ile de la Cachette' (Calypso)	29 - 28	
	Fragments for 'Proteus'	28, 31	
	Slang: Ware	27 - 24	1, 50
	Bérard III.iii (continued)	26 - 25	
23)	Roscher I (Hades)		26
	de Vries receipt		27
	Roscher I (continued)		28 - 29
24)	<i>Odyssey</i>		30 - 31
25)	Roscher I (Circe)	_____	32 - 33
26)	Notes		49 - 48

### *Dating the Notebook*

In the preceding section we have listed what we consider to be the probable order of inscription of the material in the notebooks, MSS VI.D.7 and VIII.A.5. It remains only to determine when precisely the material was entered. Because of the nature of the evidence, it seems best to begin at the end of the compilation process, with MS VIII.A.5. Item 23 of Table Two refers to information on 'Hades' taken from Roscher (1884), and as this is interrupted in mid-train by a receipt dated 12th May 1918, it is clear that these particular notes were written down on or about that date. We know, further, that at this time Joyce was drafting the faircopy of 'Hades' (by May 18 it was being typed up; see *Letters*, I, 113) so that we can easily reconstruct what took place. Working on 'Hades', Joyce felt he needed more 'Homeric' information, and so, taking his notebook with him, he returned to Roscher's lexicon. It follows that these 'Hades' notes, garnered as they were for a specific episode while that episode was being drafted, form a special case. The great bulk of the material in the two notebooks, by contrast, does not fit such a pattern, and it is not so amenable to precise dating. Passing next to Item 22 of our list, which is a mixture of notes from Bérard on 'Calypso', slang from Ware's dictionary, and proto-notes for 'Proteus', we can plausibly infer (from, for instance, the inclusion of Molly's Gibraltar provenance) that Joyce had the Bérard material to hand in drafting 'Calypso' in January-February 1918; we know, also, that he took some Ware material from MS VIII.A.5 for the 'Hades' faircopy; but, most importantly, he used the 'Proteus' notes for the early draft of that episode (MS V.A.3) which he began (and probably finished) while he was at Locarno in late December 1917. The implication of all this is that Joyce compiled *all* of MS VI.D.7 and *most* of MS VIII.A.5 before he left Zurich for Locarno in mid-October 1917 and, significantly, before he began the protracted, onerous but stimulating task of drafting and faircopying the individual episodes of *Ulysses* for publication in the *Egoist*

and *Little Review* magazines. The compilations, indeed, can be seen as a preparatory step to that task. *Ulysses* notebook VI.D.7, then, can be dated Summer - Autumn 1917. One cannot be more specific.

### *Hypothetical Physical Characteristics of the Notebook*

It is arguable that MS VI.D.7 was of a type similar to Joyce's other Zürich notebooks (MSS VIII.A.1, 2, 3, 4 and 5). On this basis, we suggest a pocket-sized notebook (*ca* 175 x 110 mm) with, say, 24 leaves of ruled or graph paper, and with all pages written on, mainly in pencil, rarely in ink, and with many entries crossed through in variously coloured crayon.

## KEY

The present edition of *Ulysses* MS VI.D.7 is an editorial construct. While every effort has been made to reproduce the text – and the disposition of that text – of the lost original, it should nonetheless be repeated that because the original is lost and has not been seen by the editors the present edition is necessarily incomplete and inexact.

In the edition the text of the notebook is given in roman type, and interpolated editorial matter in *italics*. An angle parenthesis ‘<’ at the beginning of a line of text indicates that *no* version of that line appears in the transcription made by Madame Raphael because, it is conjectured, that line had been crossed out by Joyce in the original. Abbreviated references (a key to which is given below) to the *left* of a line of text denote the source from which Joyce derived the material. If a single textual unit occupies more than one line, a tilde ‘~’ precedes the second and subsequent lines. Where the source is unknown, the left margin is left blank.

Certain lines of text are followed on the *right* by coded references. This occurs when the unit of text in question has been transferred by Joyce onto notesheets and/or the manuscripts of *Ulysses*. The full known history of the migration of the unit through notesheet and/or early draft to the continuous manuscript proper (defined as the Rosenbach faircopy plus the typescripts, placards and proofs for *Ulysses*) is given as well as, where relevant, the episode name and line number in the critical edition of *Ulysses* (Joyce 1984). As a special case, material cited by Stuart Gilbert in his study of *Ulysses* is noted in the same way. If a single textual unit occupies more than one line, the reference follows the last line, earlier lines being followed by a tilde ‘~’.

The lemmas at the foot of each page of the reconstruction of MS VI.D.7 which follows detail the editorial changes that have been made to the transcription of (part of) the notebook in MS VI.C.16, pages 232-274; these take the form:

**line no.** corrected reading ] reading in VI.C.16

### **Key to Abbreviations**

#### *I : Sources*

*BZB* : Titles and call-numbers of books in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich.

*DNB* : *The Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen. London: Smith Elder & Co., 1889.

*T* : *The Times*. London, June 1904. The numbers following *T* denote day in June-page number (e.g. *T16-4* = page 4 of the June 16 issue).

*TLS* : *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 1904.

*Ware* : *Passing English of the Victorian Era*, by J. Redding Ware. London: George Routledge & Sons; New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., n.d. but probably 1909.

## THE LOST NOTEBOOK

*B* : *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, by Victor Bérard. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1902.  
*AR* : *La Rhétorique d'Aristote en français*, trans. François Cassandre. Amsterdam, 1733.  
*PD* : *The Plain Dealer*, by William Wycherley. Edition unknown.  
*L* : *Troy: A Study in Homeric Geography*, by Walter Leaf. London: MacMillan & Co., 1912.  
*Bau* : *Londinismen (Slang und Cant) Wörterbuch der Londoner volkssprache*, by Heinrich Baumann. Berlin: Langenscheidtsche verlagsbuch-handlung, probably the 1903 edition.

### *II : Destinations*

#### *Ulysses* Notesheets

*Cy 6* ('Cyclops' Notesheet 6), *Cy 7*; *Ox 5* ('Oxen of the Sun' Notesheet 5), *Ox 7*, *Ox 8*, *Ox 17*; *Eu 5* ('Eumaeus' Notesheet 5), *Eu 7*. The number following the notesheet title is the line number as given in the transcription in Herring (1972).

#### Manuscripts of *Ulysses*

*V.A.3* : Early draft of 'Proteus', dated late December 1917 to early January 1918.  
*V.A.8* : Early draft of 'Cyclops', dated June 1919.  
*V.A.6* : Intermediate draft of 'Cyclops', dated June 1919.  
*V.A.14* : Intermediate draft of 'Oxen of the Sun', dated February-March 1920.  
*V.A.21* : Early draft of 'Eumaeus', dated January-February 1921.  
*VI.D.4* : Missing late notebook for *Ulysses*, dated 1921-22.  
*VI.C.7* : Transcription of above made by Madame Raphael in the 1930s.  
(All of the above manuscripts – with the exception of *VI.D.4* – are now housed in the Poetry/Rare Books Collection of the University Libraries, State University of New York at Buffalo.)  
*R* : Faircopy of *Ulysses*, the so-called Rosenbach Manuscript, drafted episodically, 1917-1921.  
*(B)* : Overlay on a (missing) typescript exemplar.  
*I-6* : Overlay on the placards and page proofs for *Ulysses*.  
*G* : Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce's Ulysses: A Study*. London: Faber & Faber, 1930.

Readers who wish to trace the units in the notebook to their *in transit* locations in the notesheets and drafts will find *The Ulysses Pagefinder* (Gunn & McCleery, 1988) a most helpful timesaver.

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THE LOST NOTEBOOK  
*Ulysses* MS VI.D.7

**JAMES JOYCE**

ZBZ P & ZG 116/117

ZBZ Ari La Rhetor

~ WF 1247

Arist de Coloribus

1537

L B. b 18765

<

~

*cf. V.A.8 cover verso; VI.D.4/VI.C.7-232*

---

**1** P ] **S** **2** Rhetor ] Rebri **4** Coloribus ] Coloribri **5** 1537 ] *may relate to DNB opposite; see p.1, second line* **6** b ] le

[Front cover verso]

*DNB* Thomas & 5 uncles  
 ~ hung d & d 1537 <sub>1</sub>  
*DNB* < Of stature tall & personable; in *Cy 6-3/V.A.8; V.I.D.4/VI.C.7-221; R/W.R. 930*  
 ~ < countenance amiable; a white face, ~  
 ~ < and withal somewhat ruddy, *Cy 6-3/V.A.8/Cyclops 1009*  
 ~ < delicately in each limb featured, *VI.D.4/VI.C.7-221*  
 ~ < a rolling tongue and a rich utterance,  
 ~ < of nature flexible and kind, very *VI.D.4/VI.C.7-221*  
 ~ < soon carried where he fancied,  
 ~ < easily with submission appeased, *VI.D.4/VI.C.7-221*  
 ~ < hardly with stubbornness weighed;  
 ~ < in matters of  
 ~ importance a headlong hotspur,  
 ~ yet natheless taken for a young *Cy 6-36/Ox 7-116/V.A.14/Oxen 152*  
 ~ man not devoid of wit, were it not  
 ~ as it fell out in the end that a  
 ~ fool had the keeping thereof –  
*DNB* Life by late duke of Leinster  
 ~ in Earls of Kildare

---

**2** hung d ] bay **O 13** hotspur, ] hatpin **14** natheless ] notheley  
**15** wit, ] wit **18** of Leinster ] U hemishere **19** Earls ] earls

## JAMES JOYCE

<i>DNB</i>	< Thomas Fitzgerald	<i>V.A.3/Proteus 314; V.A.8</i>
<i>DNB</i>	< 1534	<i>V.A.8/Cyclops 1861; ~ ; 6/W.R. 409</i>
<i>DNB</i>	< Summer day	~
~	< St Mary's Abbey	<i>Cy 6-2; R/W.R. 408-9</i>
<i>DNB</i>	< Silken Thomas	<i>V.A.3/Proteus 314; V.A.8/Cyclops 1862; R/W.R. 408</i>
<i>DNB</i>	quod defertur non aufertur	
~	duke of Norfolk	
<i>DNB</i>	after attack on Dublin	
~	hid in Grey Friar's Abbey	
~	in Francis Street	
<i>DNB</i>	< All put to the sword	~
~	< Pardon of Maynooth	<i>Cy 6-1</i>

---

6 defertur ] defectur 6 aufertur ] anfertur 7 Norfolk ] Norfol  
9 hid ] bid 9 Grey ] grey

Thursday 16 June 1904 Times

T17-12 < Ascot *R/Lotuseaters 532*  
 ~ the third race on the card was the Gold Cup *R/Lotuseaters 532;*  
 ~ for which Maximum, winner last year, was *R/Aeolus 389; R/Lestry 1008f.;*  
 ~ again in the field but he had a stronger *R/Cyclops 1219;*  
 ~ opposition to face than a 12 month ago when *4/Eumaeus 1276*  
 ~ the infirm Rising Glass was the best of his  
 ~ three opponents. He had to meet this time  
 ~ Zinfandel and Sceptre, who had been first &  
 ~ second in the Coronation Cup at Epsom and as  
 ~ he had not shown to advantage in France this  
 ~ season he had very few friends, the race being  
 ~ regarded as a match between the 2 others;  
 ~ < for little or no attention was paid to ~  
 ~ < the fourth runner, Throwaway, whose chances ~  
 ~ < were regarded as so remote that odds of ~  
 ~ < 20 to one were offered against him. *R/Lotuseaters 534; R/Cyclops 1219*  
 ~ the point of interest was whether Zinfandel  
 ~ would confirm her Epsom running with Sceptre  
 ~ or turn the tables on him and as he looked very  
 ~ well in the paddock he started favourite.

---

4 Maximum, ] Maximus, 4 year, ] year 7 Glass ] Clay 9 Zinfandel ] Zinfandel  
 13 others; ] others.... 18 Zinfandel ] Zinfandel

**JAMES JOYCE**

*T17-12* < The race was a peculiar one for Throwaway  
~ < was allowed to get a long lead, the *1/Eumaeus 1283*  
~ < jockeys of Zinfandel and Sceptre being  
~ < convinced that he would come back to them,  
~ < as the saying goes, and that they would be  
~ < able to beat him for speed. But they delayed  
~ < their efforts too long, and Throwaway was  
~ < never caught, winning by a length from  
~ < Zinfandel, who thus occupied the same  
~ < position that his owner's Rising Glass did  
~ < last year. Sceptre was never dangerous, and  
~ the French horse was last throughout.  
~ < No one can for a moment suppose that  
~ < this was a true run race, and victory ~  
~ < may be in fact due to the admirable ~  
~ < riding of W. Lane, who is in extraordinary ~  
~ < form just now, having ridden four winners ~  
~ < on Wednesday and as many more today. *Ox 8-107/R/Oxen 1137*  
~ < Had he not gone resolutely ahead on Throwaway  
~ he might have been caught & beaten for speed.  
*T17-12* < won in a canter *Ox 8-108/2/Oxen 1138f.*

---

**12** throughout. ] throughout **19** speed. ] speed

T17-12	< The Gold Cup, value 1,000 sovs., with 3,000	~
~	< sovs. in specie in addition, added to a	~
~	< sweepstakes of 20 sovs. each, h ft; weight	~
~	< for age, with allowances; the second	~
~	< received 700 sovs. and the third 300 sovs.	~
~	< Two miles and a half.	~/1/Eumaeus 1284f.
~	< Mr F. Alexander's b h Throwaway, by	~/1/4/Eumaeus 1278
~	< Rightaway-Theale, 5 yrs, 9st. 4lb. (W. Lane) ... 1	~/1/Eumaeus 1278f.
~	< Lord Howard de Walden's ch c Zinfandel,	~/1/Eumaeus 1284;R/Cyclops 1224f.
~	< 4 yrs, 9st. 4lb. (M. Cannon)... 2	~
~	< Mr W. Bass's b f Sceptre, 5 yrs,	~/1/Eumaeus 1284; R/Cyclops 1221f.
~	< 9st. 11lb. (O. Madden) ... 3	~ R/Aeolus 389; R/W.R. 507,511
~	< Mr J. de Bremond's Maximum II,	~ R/Cyclops 1221f.
~	< 5 yrs, 9st. 4lb. (G.Stern) ... 0	~
~	< (Winner trained by Braime)	~
~	< Betting. – 5 to 4 on Zinfandel, 7 to 4 agst	~
~	< Sceptre, 10 to 1 Maximum II, 20 to 1	~
~	< Throwaway (offered).	Eu 5-27ff.; R/Cyclops 1226
~	< The last-named cut out the work from Sceptre, with	
~	< Zinfandel last, until in the line for home, when	
~	< Sceptre took a slight lead of Throwaway, and Zinfandel	
~	< took close order. In the run home Throwaway stayed	~;Ox 8-109/R/Oxen 1131f.
~	< the longest and won by a length.	Ox 8-110



<i>T17-5</i>	< New York, June 15	<i>R/Lestry 1147; R/W.R. 90</i>
~	< General Slocum	<i>R/W.R. 725</i>
~	< women and children	<i>R/Lestry 1146</i>
~	< occasion was a picnic	<i>(B)/Lestry 1146</i>
~	< mothers threw their children overboard	
~	< men on the boat, maddened by fear,	~
~	< trampled down women and children	<i>R/W.R. 727</i>
~	< Responsibility lies at the door of	
~	< the Government Steamboat Inspectors	<i>R/W.R. 730</i>
~	< The pumps and firehose failed to work,	~
~	< not a boat was lowered, not a life	~
~	< raft would float	<i>R/W.R. 729</i>
~	< Adds one more to the list of disasters	~
~	< directly due to official corruption	~
~	< by this time the meaning of the	~
~	< American word “graft” is known	<i>R/W.R. 90f., 731f., 736</i>
~	< 1000 as possible number of dead	<i>R/W.R. 726</i>
~	< The fire originated in the storage-room	
~	< highly inflammable material	
~	< spontaneous combustion	<i>R/W.R. 728</i>

**JAMES JOYCE**

*T17-6* underlings  
– 5 trappen  
*T17-6* Paris A large black box  
~ found at Louvre  
~ Nap 1st horse  
~ white stuffed horse  
~ branded N on 1 thigh  
*T17-6* < Sir Anthony MacDonnell left Euston ~  
~ < yesterday (16th) for the Under-Secretary's ~  
~ < lodge, Phoenix-park *Cy 6-5/Eu 5-90/V.A.21/Eumaeus 1666f.*  
*T17-7* Gordon Bennett ~; *Cy 6-9/Eu 5-98/V.A.21/Eumaeus 1241*  
~ June 17 (Friday) *R/Hades 369f.*  
~ Homburg  
~ hinder wheel  
~ Dufaux Swiss car  
~ (8. cylind)  
~ breakdown  
~ which better 4 or more  
~ for racing  
~ general features

---

**5** Nap ] N X **12** 17 (Friday) ] ~~18~~ 17 (Sunday Friday) **13** Homburg ] Hamburg  
**14** hinder ] hinde **15** Swiss ] swiss **18** or more ] a man **19** for ] on

*T17-7*      prevalence of magneto as      ~  
 ~      well as high tension ignition      *Ox 8-112*  
 ~      prevalence of chains as opposed  
 ~      to live axel drive      *R/Oxen 1559*  
 ~      race 11 hrs  
 ~      85 mile course  
 ~      Mercedes      Napier      Merc  
 ~      Jenatzy      Edge      Werner      *R/Oxen 1560*  
 ~      G      E      A  
 ~      Fiat      M      Wolseley  
 ~      Lancia      de Caters      Jarrott      *Ox 8-113*  
 ~      I      G      E  
 ~      steep gradients  
 ~      breakdown gangs      *VI.D.4/VI.C.7-195*  
 ~      control      – yellow flag  
 ~      E      green  
 ~      G      white  
 ~      F      blue  
 ~      A      bl. yellow  
 ~      Bel      – – ( – )  
 ~      It      – black  
 ~      winding reaches (trakts)

---

**9 G ] S 10 M ] H 10 Wolseley ] Waverley 12 I ] 9 12 G ] S**  
**14 gangs ] g augs 18 F ] 7 22 (trakts) ] (trakti) not in Times**

## JAMES JOYCE

<i>T3-12</i>	Epsom Coronation Cup	
~	Derby Course 1½ m	
~	< Lord Howard de Walden's	~
~	Zinfandel (sire Persimmon)	<i>R/Lestry 830f.</i>
<i>T2-12</i>	< Derby stakes	
~	< Mr L. Rothschild's b c St. Amant	<i>R/Lestry 832</i>
~	< by St. Frusquin ... 1	<i>1/Lestry 837</i>
~	< Sir J. Thursby's b c John O'Gaunt ... 2	<i>R/Lestry 839</i>
~	< St Amant won in a canter	<i>R/Sirens 374</i>
~	< Mornington Cannon	<i>R/Lestry 831</i>
~	< St Amant was wearing what is	~
~	< known as the "rogue's badge"	~
~	< lightning, thunder, rain	<i>R/Lestry 837f.</i>
<i>T17-8</i>	Jewish Colonization Society	
~	meeting, Paris.	
~	2 rue Pasquier	
~	Schwartzfeld Sec	

---

2 1½ m ] 1½ 4 Zinfandel (sire Persimmon) ] Zinfandel (silversimman)

*T17-8* Theatre  
~ 12th Night Tree  
~ Sar Bernh.  
~ La Sorcière  
~ Mond.  
*T17-9* < General Bobrikoff, Gov.-Gen. ~  
~ < of Finland assassinated *R/Aeolus 601f.*  
~ Finnish regiment  
~ covered Russ.  
~ at Crimea

---

3 Bernh. ] Bemli 5 Mond. ] Mond

## JAMES JOYCE

*TLS3-176* Fall of Feudalism ~  
~ in Ireland ~  
~ by ~  
~ M. Davitt (10s/6d) ~  
~ Harper Bros *in Trieste library stamped 'J.J.'*  
*TLS17-190* 1595 British agent  
~ at Porte M<sup>r</sup> Edward Barton  
slain  
~ employer after became  
~ Levant Co (founded  
~ James I 1605)

---

1 Feudalism ] Fendalins 5 Bros ] Dws 8 slain *not in T.L.S.* 10 (founded ] (fraid

- T17-1 Music  
 ~ Vecsey – a nice little boy  
 ~ Kubelik  
 T17-1 < Hughes & Young, Patent Agents ~  
 ~ < 55, 56 Chancery-lane ~  
 ~ < Ideas that have brought fortunes Cy 6-10  
 T16-9 jongs on the road to Lhasa  
 T16-9 < Heenan v. Sayers R/W.R. 832; V.A.8/Cyclops 955  
 ~ < silver championship belt  
 ~ < memorable drawn battle 1860 C/W.R. 831  
 T16-8 < Cabdriver’s Benevolent ~  
 ~ < Association Dinner, Lord ~  
 ~ < Cadogan in the Chair Eu 5-127/V.A.21/Eumaeus 1663  
 T16-5 M. Polonyi (M.P.H.)  
 ~ morganatic marriage  
 ~ unknown in Hungary  
 ~ If F.F. becomes K of H  
 ~ wife queen  
 ~ her rank  
 ~ Sapling (coursing)

---

2 – a ] a 14 (M.P.H.) ] (B.Pe<sup>a</sup>) 17 K ] L 19 her rank ] to rauk

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>T16-5</i>	King going to Kiel	
<i>T16-7</i>	Pat O'Brien seated	
<i>T15-10</i>	<Alake of Abeokuta	~
~	< Queen Victoria sent two	~
~	< bound volumes of the Word	~
~	< of God, the secret	~
~	< of England's greatness	<i>1/Cyclops 1523ff.</i>
<i>T15-5</i>	plot v. L. Milner	
~	(Pretoria)	
<i>T15-3</i>	< privileged	<i>R/Cyclops 775</i>
~	< Royal Hungarian	~
~	< Lottery	~
~	< rogue & vagabond	<i>Cy 6-12/R/Cyclops 775f.</i>
<i>T14-10</i>	< Alake in Manchester	<i>V.A.6/Cyclops 1514</i>
~	< Cotton Growers Association	<i>V.A.8/Cyclops 1514</i>
~	< made his mark in visitors' book	<i>1/Cyclops 1530</i>
~	< girl weavers shout hilarious welcome	<i>1/Cyclops 1532f.</i>

---

2 O'Brien ] a barbon 8 v. ] J.

<i>T14-11</i>	G.B.S. in Times	~
~	on cane in Navy	<i>V.A.8/Cyclops 1330f.</i>
<i>T13-8</i>	Atlantic Rate War	
	to swear death	
<i>T13-8</i>	June 11th funeral	
~	of L Powerscourt	
<i>T13-13</i>	Pretty Polly and Saint	
~	Amant v Ajax (Fr)	
~	for Saint Leger	
<i>T13-5</i>	< Corporal Punishment	<i>R/Cyclops 1333</i>
~	< Naval Regulations	<i>Cy 6-14/V.A.8/V.A.6</i>
~	< on the bare breech	~
~	< on the breech with clothes on	~
~	< 1. Caning of Boys	~
~	< 2. Birching	~
~	3. Flogging	<i>V.A.8/Cyclops 1330-45</i>

---

1 G.B.S. ] G.B.S. 2 cane in Navy ] cah in Norway 3 Rate War ] late war  
 16 3. Flogging ] 3– Ologging

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>T13-11</i>	Arch. Frederick leaves	
~	Lon. June 12	
<i>T13-12</i>	Const. Anderson	
~	dismissed from service	
~	(Kiltimagh)	
~	protest.	
~	obsc. language	
~	immoral conduct	
<i>T13-12</i>	< Hugh Hyacinth,	~
~	< the MacDermot,	~
~	< Prince of Coolavin	<i>Cy 6-39/V.A.8; Ox 5-2</i>
~	< died Feb. 6th 1904	<i>Ox 5-2</i>
<i>T13-12</i>	< Rev. John Alexander Dowie	~
~	< Elijah the Restorer and	~
~	< General Overseer of the	~
~	< Christian Catholic	~
~	< Church in Zion	<i>R/Lestry 13f.</i>

---

2 12 ] 1. 3 Const. Anderson ] Const Andleson 4 dismissed ] ~~disguised~~ dismissed  
5 (Kiltimagh) ] (Kiltinagh) 6 protest. ] protest 8 immoral ] unmoral

*T11-7* E VII going to Kiel  
*T11-9* Parl 10/6/904.  
*T10-6* Sir Char. Dilke  
 ~ < Congo Free State ~  
 ~ < Mr Casement alleged ~  
 ~ < grave maladministration ~  
 ~ < and ill-treatment *Cy 6-18/R/Cyclops 1542-45*  
     Wiseteerley  
*T9-12* Dublin Police Court  
 ~ 8/6  
 ~ < hawkers in Phoenix Park ~  
 ~ < tourists asked to buy ~  
 ~ < mementoes of the murders *R/Aeolus 698-704*  
*T9-12* Lord Lieutenant opened  
 ~ Hib. Mar. Society.  
 ~ Dollymount

---

2 Parl ] Pont 9 Police ] Poli 15 Mar. ] Th

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>T8-13</i>	< Gold Stick in Waiting	<i>Cy 6-15/V.A.8/Cyclops 1515</i>
<i>T8-12</i>	< Alake of Abeokuta	<i>Cy 6-13/V.A.8/Cyclops 1515</i>
~	< met to do honour to	~
~	< a ruler of Africa	<i>Cy 6-16/V.A.8</i>
~	< Alake delivered an address	~
~	< afterwards interpreted	<i>V.A.8/Cyclops 1519</i>
~	< Queen Victoria gave	~
~	< his father a bible	<i>V.A.8/Cyclops 1523, 1525</i>
<i>?T9-15</i>	crofters	
	£20 odd	
	Reverend C. Voysey	
	Annesley Lodge	
	Hampstead	
	London NW	

T7-3	< King's Proctor	~
~	< showing cause	<i>Cy 6-7/Eu 5-97/V.A.21/Eumaeus 1490f.</i>
~	< decree nisi	<i>Cy 6-7/R/Cyclops 1159; Eu 5-99/V.A.21/Eumaeus 1490</i>
T7-3	< propound a will	<i>Cy 6-37/V.A.8/Cyclops 1118</i>
~	< oppose probate	<i>Cy 6-38/V.A.8 (not in V.A.6)</i>
T7-3	the jury (found)	
~	(finding)	



T6-6	< loss in the Irish Sea, March 20	~
~	< British sailing-ship Lady Cairns	~
~	< of Swansea, with all hands,	~
~	< collision with German s.s. Mona	~
~	< approached each other on	~
~	< opposite tacks in a fog	~
~	< Mona gave no aid, her	~
~	< master feared the collision	~
~	< bulkhead would give way	~
~	< no water coming into the hold	<i>Eu 7-17/V.A.21/Eumaeus 913-17</i>
T6-3	a flush of grass.	
~	pinch for keep.	

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>T1-6</i>	< Lady Flower and Miss Flower	~
~	< are leaving town ... till the	~
~	< autumn ... return to Stanhope-gardens	<i>cf. R/Cyclops 1266f.</i>
<i>T1-7</i>	New route Rosslare	~
~	< to Fishguard	~
~	coming	<i>Eu 7-20/V.A.21/Eumaeus 532f.</i>
<i>T4-1</i>	Lord Dudley thanks	
~	Kilkenny	
<i>T1-10</i>	< Ballsbridge : Lord	~
~	< Lieutenant opened the	~
~	< Mirus bazaar, in aid	~
~	< of Mercer's Hospital	<i>R/Lestrygonians 1162f.</i>

---

**8** Kilkenny ] Killkenny

*T1-10* < Limerick Quarter Sessions ~  
~ < plaintiff, Max J. Blond, a Jew ~  
~ < sued to recover for goods ~  
~ < supplied to one James Rahilly ~  
~ < case of Jew v Christian *cf. R/Cyclops 33ff.*  
Hella Elzholz  
Lugano c/o P.O.  
Berlin – Steglitz  
Schloss-str 69

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>Ware 49</i>	brogues	
<i>B,I,17</i>	Palæontology – only	
~	gigantic bits survive	
<i>B,I,27</i>	Portulans explorateurs	
~	Thévenot, Tournefort	
~	Paul Lucas	
<i>Ware 25</i>	< Belcher (handkerchief)	<i>Eu 7-21</i>
~	moontie	
	birdseye	
<i>Ware 31</i>	bit of stuff	
<i>Ware 30</i>	bit of grease	
<i>Ware 32</i>	< Black Maria	<i>Cy 6-23</i>
<i>Ware 35</i>	dirk in a sark	
<i>Ware 40</i>	boko (beaucoup)	
~	Grimaldi	
<i>Ware 41</i>	boneshaker	

---

**2** Palæontology ] Palæontolgy **4** Portulans ] Portulairs **5** Thévenot, ] Thevenot.  
**13** sark ] sack

<i>B,I,281f.</i>	Καλυπτω - I hide	<i>G138</i>
~	νησος δενδρηεσσα	
~	wooded isle	<i>G137</i>
<i>Ware 23</i>	beanpea B.P.	
<i>Ware 40</i>	< drunk as a boiled owl	<i>Cy 4-93/V.A.8/Cyclops 510f.</i>
~	Abel Doyle (a boiled owl)	

---

2 δενδρηεσσα ] δεζδρηθσσα 3 isle ] ash 4 beanpea ] bean

## JAMES JOYCE

<i>B,I,263</i>	Kalypso (Atlanti(s)de)	<i>G136</i>
<i>B,I,273</i>	parsley violet	<i>G137 G246</i>
~	grotto	<i>G137</i>
~	αμφιρυτη	
~	ομφαλος	<i>G137f.</i>
~	σελινον	
~	οφρα	
~	ορνιθες	
<i>Ware 13</i>	a baby soda	
<i>Ware 14</i>	green curtain (playhouse)	
<i>Ware 19</i>	barbecue (holocaust)	<i>C/Lestry 1147</i>
<i>Ware 17</i>	< banbury	~
~	cakes	<i>R/Lestry 74f.</i>
<i>Ware 40</i>	smithereens	
<i>Ware 40,105</i>	doornail (O'Donnell)	
<i>Ware 27</i>	been to a bible class	

---

**1** Kalypso (Atlanti(s)de) ] Kalypno (Atlanti(s)de) **2** parsley violet ] paisley mint  
**3** grotto ] grot **4** αμφιρυτη ] αωφιρυτη **5** ομφαλος ] οωφαλος  
**6** σελινον ] σελενος **7** οφρα ] ορρα

(sailor)  
*Ware 3*      afters (2<sup>nd</sup> course)  
*Ware 3*      < after you with the push      *Cy 6-25/V.A.8/Cyclops 1434*  
*Ware 3*      agony in red  
*Ware 4*      Alexandra limp  
*Ware 5*      O, mihi, beate Martine  
*Ware 8*      antitox  
*Ware 9*      applejack (cider)  
*Ware 13*     B's (brothers)  
 ~            fenians

---

6 O, ] O 6 Martine ] Marture 8 (cider) ] (mist



<i>B,I,244</i>	Atlas (τλαω = I carry)	<i>G137</i>
<i>B,I,244</i>	Telamon, Kion column	
<i>B,I,245</i>	pillar of clouds	<i>G137</i>
<i>B,I,245</i>	Apes hill	<i>G137</i>
	Angleterre	
<i>B,I,246</i>	Hesperides (7)	
~	golden apples	
<i>B,I,246</i>	in arenis mons est Atlas de	
~	se consurgens, verum incisis	
~	undique rupibus praeceps,	
~	invius, et quo magis surgitur	

---

**1** (τλαω ] (?αω **1** carry) ] carry **2** Kion ] Kiou **4** Apes hill ] Aped hillowed  
**5** Angleterre ] Dangleterre **8** mons ] mont **9** consurgens, ] consurgens  
**10** praeceps, ] praeceps **11** invius, ] minus

## JAMES JOYCE

<i>AR</i>	Rhetoric
<i>ARI.ii(15)</i>	Examples
<i>ARI.ii(22)</i>	Universal - particular
<i>ARI.ii(23)</i>	Tecmar
~	Tecmerion
	-- nal
<i>ARI.ii(23)</i>	particular to
~	universal
<i>ARI.ii(26)</i>	common (general)
<i>ARI.ii(26)</i>	proper special
	kinds part
<i>B,I,174</i>	Sun
~	Storm: hide in cave

---

**3** particular ] particul **4** Tecmar ] wasser **5** Tecmerion ] Trecmerion  
**13** Storm: ] Stones:

*B,II,576* 1 Recognition par proche  
 ~ 2 Recital  
*B,II,595* Ulys. Phae galley (52 oars)  
*B,I,149* Kalypso  
*B,I,149* Hermes gull  
*B,I,150* parsley  
*B,I,153* αιθοπος οινος  
 ~ οινος ερυθρος  
*B,I,155* hollow ships  
 arrest 1902/4  
 acatalectic

*R/Proteus 181*

*V.A.3/Proteus 24*

---

1 proche ] i such 3 Phae galley ] Phaegalley 8 ερυθρος ] οροθρος  
 10 arrest ] wrist.

<i>B,II,564</i>	Sardinia,	<i>B,II,569</i>	Bonifacio
<i>B,II,564</i>	le massacre Achéens	~	Lestrygons
<i>B,II,564f.</i>	Skylla dogfishheater	~	Messine
~	(Strabon)	~	&
<i>B,II,564</i>	Kalypso – sp raft	~	Gibraltar
<i>B,II,567</i>	le Semite a fourni le bloc,		
~	l’Hellène en a tiré la statue	~	Lotoph – Libya
<i>B,II,569</i>	(7 and 10) <i>G363</i>	~	Nausicaa Adriatic
<i>B,II,569</i>	7 monsters (Kalypso –		
~	Lestryg – Cyclops – Sirens	~	Nisida (Capri) <i>G246</i>
~	Skylla – Lotos – Nausicaa)		
<i>B,II,569</i>	3 sublimes (Aeolus –		
~	Circe – Hades)		
<i>B,II,574f.</i>	dissonances		
~	Demodocus sings		
~	dispute of Ul. & Achilles (Od 8)		
~	Sophocles, Ajax (Ul.) dispute		
~	Ag. v. Menelas (Telemachus) (3.130)		
~	Ul. v. Thers. (Il. 2)		
~	Ach. v. Thers. (Il. 2.220)		

---

**1** Bonifacio ] Boniface V **2** le ] l **2** Achéens ] Achreus **2** Lestrygons ]  
 lummycatch **4** & ] v **6** le Semite ] ce terrible **7** Libya ] Libyan **8** 10 ] (o  
**10** Lestryg ] Lestira **10** Nisida ] Nirida **14** dissonances ] Assonances **16** Ul. ] Al  
**17** Ajax (Ul.) ] Aiax (Ul) **19** Ul. ] Ul **19** 2) ] 2

	Siren song.	G246
	Shia – ha – Shinim princeling	
<i>B,II,549</i>	< Cyclops	~
~	< sourcils de forets	~
~	< explosions, colères	Cy 6-27
<i>B,II,559</i>	Aeolus = Lipari	
<i>B,II,559</i>	Skylla – wreckers	
<i>B,II,559</i>	< Cyclops, lanceur de rochers	Cy 6-27/V.A.8/Cyclops 881-2
<i>B,II,563</i>	Kalypso (Cachette) end	
<i>B,II,563</i>	Sikeles (orphans) – isolated Europe disguised (1001 Nights) brother Spain (Moors) Kalypso Joseph topic popular eloquence (cf. Dante) Irish again for grand funeral (Egyptian)	

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>B,II,48</i>	Eidothea – Ambrosia to	~
~	Ménélas against stink	~
~	of seal	<i>G114 G120</i>
<i>PD</i>	Wycherley Plain Dealer	
<i>PD.II,1</i>	(as sluttish and slatternly as	
~	an Irish woman bred in France	
<i>PD.II,1</i>	smutty	<i>V.A.8/Cyclops 1168</i>
<i>PD.II,1</i>	cully? jaunty way?	
<i>B,II,49</i>	Proteus – Pharo	~
~	Prouti	<i>G113</i>
<i>B,II,52</i>	< Moses, saved from waves	<i>Cy 6-29</i>
	Helbig. l’Epopée Odysséenne	
<i>PD.IV,1</i>	mammock?	
	Who is saved Ulysses or Menelaus	
<i>B,II,55</i>	Proteus – blueblack wig	
	seer’s waves	
<i>B,II,60</i>	Le rythme septénaire régite	
~	notre conte odysseén	
<i>B,II,60</i>	Maspero. Les Contes Populaires	

---

**1** Ambrosia ] Cimbria **2** Ménélas ] Jerenllan **3** seal ] veal **6** bred ] hid  
**17** septénaire ] septenaire **18** conte odysseén ] carte ardyscien

<i>B,II,322</i>	Descent into Hell	
<i>B,II,322</i>	Orpheus, Pollux, Theseus	
~	Héraklès, Aeneas.	
<i>B,II,322</i>	Samuel Saul	<i>G161</i>
<i>B,II,324</i>	evocation (Semitic)	
<i>B,II,323</i>	ob	
<i>B,II,324</i>	descent (Hellenic)	
<i>B,II,323</i>	Tiresias – le d.r.s. (Heb)	~
~	evokes ghosts	<i>G161</i>
<i>B,II,327</i>	Averne (α–ορνις)	
~	birdless	
<i>B,II,327</i>	pinus	
<i>B,II,329</i>	L.B asks the way	
~	back at Glasnevin	
~	from J. O’Connell	
~	wife	
<i>B,II,329</i>	Tiresias of Thebes	
~	now man	
~	– Wom.	
<i>B,II,329</i>	Sibyl semitic	

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**4** Saul ] Paul **6** ob ] nob **8** le d.r.s. ] ldis **10** Averne (α–ορνις ]  
 Avenue (O–ορνις) **11** birdless ] birdlers **13** Glasnevin ] Glasnerium  
**15** wife ] alive **17** now ] bold **18** Wom. ] West

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>B,II,311</i>	winter with Circe	
<i>B,II,311</i>	Nekia XI canto (only	<i>G161</i>
~	example six cent 40 lines)	
<i>B,II,316</i>	Okeanos = Hok-ewan	
~	(Bay of Wealth)	
<i>B,II,316</i>	Hades Plouton	
<i>B,II,320</i>	Acheron, Styx Kokytos	~
~	Pyriphlegeton	<i>G161</i>
<i>B,II,320</i>	In asphodel fields	
<i>B,II,320</i>	White Stone,	
~	Leukada Petrin	
<i>B,II,322</i>	Erides (disputes)	
~	type Iliad cf. Achilles	
~	& Ulysses in Hades	
~	Nostos (Return)	
~	Odyssey	

---

**2** XI ] I **3** six cent ] collects **3** lines) ] line) **5** Wealth) ] Wealth **7** Kokytos ]  
Kokytos **11** Leukada Petrin ] Lenkoda Petia **15** Nostos ] Vatus  
**16** Odyssey ] Odysseus

<i>B,I,69</i>	le sentier humide		
~	n'est jamais que le		
~	complément du grand		
~	chemin solide		
<i>B,I,74</i>	< Milesians first to		~
~	< exploit Euxine		Cy 6-30
	Gilgamesh (Assyrien)		
	Jensen		
<i>B,I,125</i>	2 occupations en Pylos		
~	des peuples de la mer		
<i>B,I,125</i>	(gate) Pylos = Samikon (high)		G108
<i>B,I,125</i>	Egyptian (Lélex)		
<i>B,I,125</i>	Thessalian Nestor		
~	Neleos		G108
<i>B,I,127</i>	Alpheios = cow river		G109
~	(Semitic)		
<i>B,I,130</i>	Hellene – coast civilisation,		
<i>B,I,130</i>	natives oppose agriculture		
<i>B,I,130</i>	Phenician – internal		

---

**3** complément ] complement **7** Gilgamesh ] gilgamesh **8** Jensen ] jensen  
**11** (gate) ] (gust) **12** (Lélex) ] (Kelex) **14** Neleos ] Neleus **15** Alpheios ] Alpheus  
**17** Hellene ] Hellare **19** internal ] infernal –

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>L 325</i>	< Alexander to revive Troy	<i>Cy 6-32</i>
<i>L 325</i>	< Augustus – Horace mocks	<i>Cy 6-33</i>
<i>L 325</i>	Const. began to build capital	
~	there before Byzant.	
<i>L 326</i>	town Dardanelles,	
~	every ship must pass by	
~	day & show papers	
<i>L 327f.</i>	Ulysses & Jason ?	
~	_____ gone >>>> (Euxine)	
~	Troy true / Sailor's	
~	stories	
<i>L 329</i>	< sordid commercial war	<i>Cy 6-32</i>
~	< Jenkin's ear	<i>Cy 6-32/Eu 5-92</i>
<i>L 329</i>	< Herodotus opens history with	~
~	< Phenician version of rape of	~
~	< Helen	<i>Cy 6-31/Eu 5-92</i>

---

7 ship must ] ships must &

- L 314* Troy fair – July – Castle lord  
*L 314* erects wooden booths, tolls,  
*L 314* slaves (with silver)  
*L 315* Troy town vanishes  
*L 315* The older Troy (5<sup>th</sup> city)  
*L 315* legendarily pillaged by Heracles  
*L 315f.* storm breach  
 ~ Poss. mask fortress  
 ~ cut off water.  
 ~ Starve it  
*L 321* Trojan war followed by  
 ~ Thalassocracy of Rhodes  
 ~ (which commands narrow channel)  
 wanted  
*L 321f.* Lycians only allies not  
 ~ mercenary led by 2 Kings,  
 ~ Glaucos & Sarpedon

---

**1** July – Castle lord ] Jules = Castelland **2** booths, ] booths **3** slaves ] shaves  
**6** pillaged ] pillared **7** breach ] ~~on & off~~ visors **8** Poss. ] Pax **11** Trojan war ]  
 Trojan was **13** channel ] channel, **15** Lycians ] Lycium **15** not ] rush

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>L 257</i>	Victor Bérard
~	Les Phéniciens et l'Odysée
<i>L 259</i>	la loi des isthmes
<i>L 264</i>	Sailing by day
<i>L 262</i>	Water supply
<i>L 276f.</i>	wine, metal, horses (white)
~	Thracians, Paeonians
<i>L 288</i>	Paphlagonian (mules)
<i>L 293</i>	H timber
~	ship makers.
<i>L 294</i>	Achilles gives him lump
~	pigiron as prize
<i>L 294f.</i>	Homeric ships vermilion cheeked
~	(miltos) cinnabar (Sinopic)
<i>L 293f.</i>	Halizones

---

**1** Bérard ] Béraud **2** l'Odysée ] l'Odysée **6** wine, metal, horses (white) ] wine (metal) cicous (wine) **7** Thracians, Paeonians ] Thracidus, Palores **10** ship makers. ] Ships makers. **11** lump ] / s b **12** pigiron ] /sigrion **13** Homeric ] Harneioc **13** cheeked ] checked **14** (miltos) cinnabar (Sinopic) ] (miltor) cinnabon (v sinopus) **15** Halizones ] Halizous

<i>L 295</i>	Trebizond [ <i>illegible</i> ]	~
<i>L 295</i>	Turkestan jade	Cy 6-34
<i>L 295</i>	Persian carpets	
<i>L 295</i>	amber (Baltic)	Cy 6-33
<i>L 295</i>	along Russian waterways	Cy 6-34
<i>L 296</i>	Hill of Hissarlik	
<i>L 298</i>	Mysians	
~	Phrygians	
<i>L 300</i>	watershed	
<i>L 309</i>	Maeonians	
~	Carians	
~	Lycians	
<i>L 309</i>	chimera = jet of burning	
~	gas at Deliktash	
<i>L 311</i>	a wellfound ship	
<i>L 312</i>	Carian women stain horses'	
~	ivory cheek-piece purple	

---

2 jade ] (ade 3 carpets ] carpeets 4 amber ] ambre 5 along Russian waterways ] aloy Russians dabendayo 7 Mysians ] Mysiam 9 watershed ] Water shed? 10 Maeonians ] Malousian 11 Carians ] Coulans 12 = jet ] pet 13 Deliktash ] deliktash 14 wellfound ] wellformed 15 women ] woman 15 horses' ] horses 16 cheek-piece ] check=piece

**JAMES JOYCE**

*Bau 260* trophy (Heilsarmee)  
saved

*Bau ?245* Six in a hundred  
Real McCoy.

---

1 Heilsarmee ] Heilsonnee 4 Real ] Red

*Bau 263* turnpike sailor (beggar)

*Bau 262* turd

*Bau 262* < tumble

~ (understand)

*Bau 262* tufthunter

*Bau 261* < trumpery insanity

~ < (temporary insanity)

*Cy 6-45/Ox 17-80/R/Oxen 1550*

*R/Hades 339*

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>Bau 266</i>	upper cut	
<i>Bau 266</i>	< uphander	<i>Cy 6-44/V.A.8/Cyclops 1319</i>
<i>Bau 266</i>	his monkey up	
<i>Bau 266</i>	I ups and told her	
<i>Bau 266</i>	< the great unwashed	<i>Cy 6-43/V.A.8</i>
<i>Bau 265</i>	< unfurl a reef	<i>Eu 7-22/V.A.21/Eumaeus 919</i>
<i>Bau 265</i>	< unbeaten certificate	<i>Eu 7-23</i>
<i>Bau 264</i>	T	
<i>Bau 264</i>	2-eyed beefsteak (Kipper)	
<i>Bau 264</i>	2 <sup>d</sup> damn	

<i>Bau 269</i>	to speak volumes	
<i>Bau 269</i>	< a volley of abuse	<i>Cy 6-34/V.A.8/Cyclops 1901-2</i>
<i>Bau 269</i>	to volley a ball (tennis)	
<i>Bau 269</i>	the vile (Ville)	
<i>Bau 269</i>	victualling office	
~	(box belly)	
<i>Bau 269</i>	vet	
<i>Bau 268</i>	< he secured the verdict	~
~	< by half a length	<i>Cy 7-1/Eu 5-94/V.A.21/Eumaeus 1286</i>
<i>Bau 267</i>	U	
<i>Bau 267</i>	utility man	
<i>Bau 267</i>	urinal of planets	
~	England's umbrella	

**JAMES JOYCE**

<i>Bau 274</i>	welcher	
<i>Bau 274</i>	weight for age race	
<i>Bau 274</i>	< come home by weeping-cross	<i>Cy 7-2/R/Cyclops 1029</i>
<i>Bau 272</i>	watchdogs of civilisation	
<i>Bau 272</i>	waspwaisted	
<i>Bau 272</i>	warpaint	<i>R/Cyclops 1166</i>
<i>Bau 270</i>	walk chinks	
<i>Bau 270</i>	waiter's length	
<i>Bau 270</i>	V	
<i>Bau 270</i>	to force the voucher	

---

**1** welcher ] a velcher **10** voucher ] poucher

*Bau 278* Whistler (revolver)  
*Bau 277* whipjack (false sailor)  
*Bau 275* what with etc  
*Bau 275* to have a wet  
*Bau 275* wet dream

*R/Lotuseaters 110*

---

1 revolver ] revolved 2 sailor ] tails 5 wet dream ] Colt (fre)

## JAMES JOYCE

<i>Bau</i> 285	a yorker (cricket)	
<i>Bau</i> 284	< yarn	<i>Eu</i> 7-24/V.A.21/ <i>Eumaeus</i> 685, 823
<i>Bau</i> 284	< yahoo	<i>Cy</i> 7-39/V.A.8/ <i>Cyclops</i> 1353
<i>Bau</i> 283	W	
<i>Bau</i> 282	to lay on the wood (slang cricket)	
<i>Bau</i> 280	wild cat scheme	
<i>Bau</i> 279	wife in watercolours (Mätresse)	
<i>Bau</i> 279	wide (cricket)	

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5 slang cricket ] slag crick 7 Mätresse ] Maitresse 8 (cricket) ] (cricket

*B,I,27ff.* Thalassocracies - English,  
~ Dutch, Spaniard, Franks,  
~ Venetians, Genoese, Arabs,  
~ Byzantines, Romans, Greeks,  
~ Phenicians  
*?B,I,38* Ancients did not sail  
~ in summer

## AFTERWORD

Note and erratum received **trop tard**

Contrary to the statement made on page xxiii of the Commentary, Joyce must have had his copy of the June 17, 1904, *Irish Independent* to hand by, at the latest, not June, but rather February 1919, at which time he was completing (by dictation to Frank Budgen) the (Rosenbach) faircopy of 'Wandering Rocks'. Scholarly and sensitive readers of that estimable episode will be pleased to learn that the description there of the **onset** of the now infamous bicycle race is a rendering, hardly altered (apart from Mr Budgen's idiosyncratic orthography), of the account of the **conclusion** of the same as it appeared in the said newspaper and in no other. The *Irish Times* omitted J.B. Jones; the *Evening Telegraph* omitted W.C. Huggard but included a J.J. Comyn, and so on. The *Irish Independent* text runs as follows:

### Dublin University Bicycle and Harriers' Clubs Tournament

Yesterday in most unfavourable weather the annual reunion of the University Bicycle and Harriers' Clubs was held in the College Park. There was a strong wind blowing, which mitigated against good performances, and at an early stage rain fell copiously, and, indeed, it looked as if the meeting would have to be postponed. The attendance, considering the adverse conditions, was very good, and at intervals the proceedings were enlivened with a choice selection of music by the band of the 2nd Seaforth Highlanders.

Quarter Mile Flat Handicap. M.C. Greene, 13 yds, 1; H. Thrift, 2 yds, 2; T.M. Patey, 6, 3. Also:- C. Scaife, 11, 0; J.B. Jones, 13, 0; G.N. Morphy, 13, 0; F. Stevenson, 20, 0; C. Adderley, 20, 0; W.C. Huggard, 20, 0. Greene came out a hundred yards from home, and won a good race by two yards; a foot divided the second and third. Time 51 3-5 secs.

From the handicaps as given, and assuming the absence of C.C. Comyn, the true-to-life order of the onset of the pursuit as described in 'Wandering Rocks' (lines 1258-60) would have been: F. Stevenson, C. Adderley, W.C. Huggard, M.C. Greene, J.B. Jones, G.N. Morphy, C. Scaife and H. Thrift. It may be a coincidence but, on the (microfilmed) copy in the National Library of Ireland that we consulted, there is a mark (bitched type?) just above the 'n' of 'Jones' which makes it appear to the casual or, perhaps, weak eye as 'Joffes', which, spoken aloud, may have occasioned Mr Budgen's 'Joffs', later altered by Joyce to 'Jeffs'.

**Danis Rose, John O'Hanlon**  
July 4, 1989

In *The Lost Notebook*, Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon have excavated and recreated a missing link in the genesis of James Joyce's *Ulysses*. This Notebook, VI.D.7, spreads new light on the author's use of diverse sources in the groundwork for the most important novel of the twentieth century. In particular, the editors reveal Joyce's dependence on *The Times* of London in his re-building of Dublin, 1904. From *The Times* also, they trace the origin of the pictures on the wall of Mr Deasy's study, and adumbrate the mysterious link between Leopold Bloom and Tom Cannon, Victorian jockey-supreme. From cryptic clues embedded in the Notebook, they clarify the complex nexus of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* and *Ulysses* and, in the process, reveal new evidence of a superseded *Ulysses* where the action takes place not on Thursday, 16th June (Bloomsday), but on Saturday, 8th October (Stephensday), 1904. This is a significant contribution to Joyce studies and a model of new editorial methods.

"A singularly brilliant piece of literary detective work."  
*G. Lestrade*

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ISBN 0 9512899 2 6