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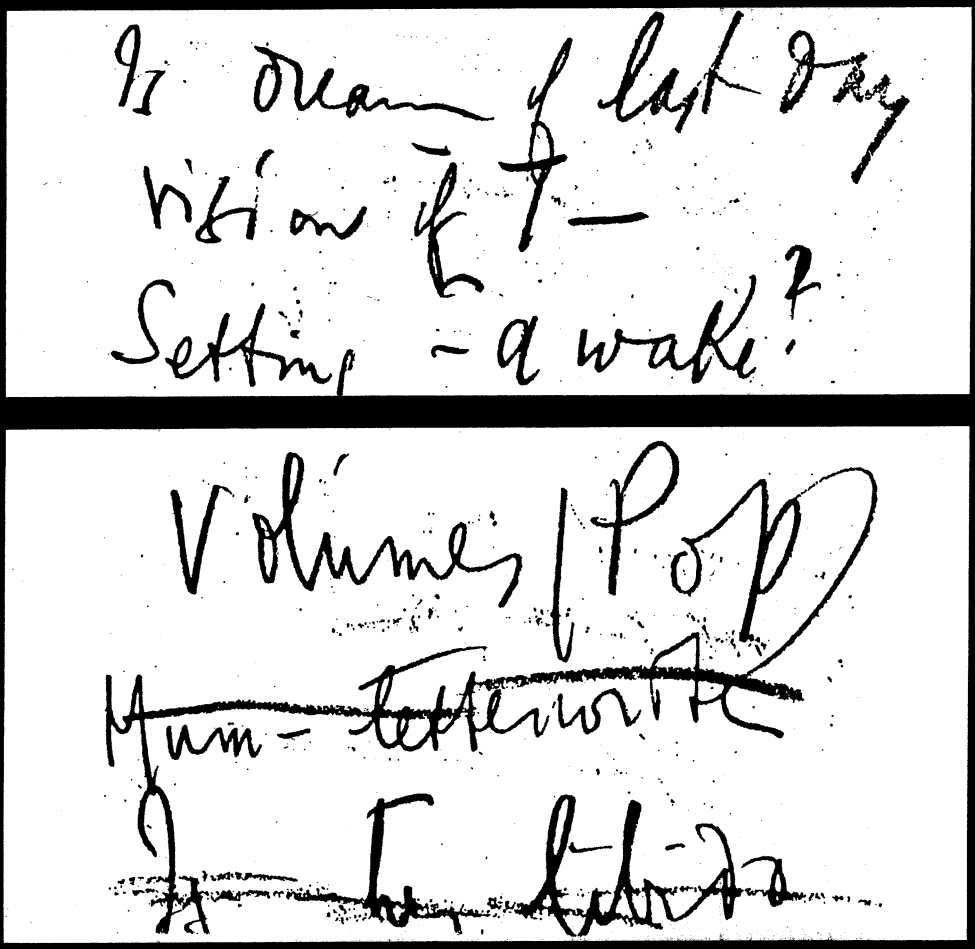
the "wake" in transit



DAVID HAYMAN

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The *Wake* in Transit

DAVID HAYMAN

"David Hayman has the best credentials of any *Finnegans Wake* scholar to undertake an examination of the plethora of Joyce notes that accrued during the creative process of developing *Finnegans Wake* to the final work. There are only a handful of archival Wakeans who could attempt what Hayman has accomplished here. What is particularly valuable about *The 'Wake' in Transit* is that it is likely to create the necessary bridge for the many *Finnegans Wake* critics between the genetic materials and the text itself."—Bernard Benstock, University of Miami

"Reading the book is rather like being led by an expert guide through the laboratory of a great chemist, step-by-step through each test to discover how he or she arrived at a major breakthrough. This important demonstration of genetic criticism moves *Finnegans Wake* scholarship to the next generation."—Thomas F. Staley, Director, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin

This path-breaking, fascinating "howdidhedoit" looks at Joyce's thought processes during the years 1922–24, when, although still preoccupied with the reception of *Ulysses*, he began to search for a form capable of conveying the archetypal vision of what eventually became *Finnegans Wake*. Drawing upon a vast body of archival materials, David Hayman traces Joyce's progress from exploratory notes, to a crucial group of early sketches, to his conception of the *Wake's* family of timeless characters.

In explaining how Joyce worked out various artistic problems, Hayman considers all relevant drafts and the final text of the *Wake*, in addition to the voluminous notebooks. He finds, in Joyce's "Scribbledehobble" notebook, entries that set the tone for the *Wake* and laid the groundwork for its narrative armature and some of its personae. Hayman devotes particular attention to Joyce's de-

(*continued on back flap*)

The "Wake" in Transit

Also by David Hayman:

Joyce et Mallarmé
A First-Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake" (editor)
Louis Ferdinand Céline
"Ulysses": The Mechanics of Meaning
Form in Fiction (with Eric Rabkin)
In the Wake of the "Wake" (editor)
Re-Forming the Narrative

The "Wake" in Transit

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For Denise, Lesley, Loni

Contents

Preface

This investigation of the early development of Joyce's last and greatest work has grown out of a lifetime engagement with Joyce and his manuscripts. Still, and inevitably, its findings are tentative, hypothetical, audacious, and incomplete. Perforce, I had to select from among the many facets of the developing work, and from the enormous body of raw data on which those developments were based. It follows that the resulting pattern is conditioned by the limits of my own perception. Beyond that, somewhat arbitrarily perhaps, this book leaves the *Work in Progress* at the point where Joyce established the dual male/female plot and installed his cast of characters. The fascinating later developments require further study.

Though I have built here on my prior experience with the manuscripts, it is recent and repeated inspection of two crucial documents that has shaped my argument. One of them, the capacious "Scribbledehobble" notebook, or VI.A, has been recognized as seminal for over three decades, but its history and functions have been only partially and often wrongly understood. In it Joyce prepared the ground for his earliest sketches from which the nodal structure of the book evolved as a natural consequence. He also planted the seeds for the primal family, or rather he harvested them from his earlier work.

In the other document, notebook VI.B.3, those seeds sprouted. That small notebook was essential because in it, while he polished and extended the earliest sketches, Joyce almost serendipitously breathed life into the *Wake*'s major characters and began to evolve the family romance upon which its "action" is based. Hidden in the maze of jottings in B.3 are notes that bring us as close as we can hope to get to the instincts of the artist preparing to stoke the coals of his "forge."

By puzzling over those documents in relation to the draft materials I have been able to establish patterns that reveal not only the author's struggle with his emerging thought but also the stages through which he passed and even the precise moments of decision. It is in the light of these findings that I have returned to chapter I.5 to study the process that led Joyce to evolve the chapter structure of Books I and III, focusing on the female as opposed to the male plot of the *Wake*.

Like the *Wake* itself, all the notebooks demand, reward, and frustrate inspection. My work shows that the earliest of them must be perceived as integral stages both in the development of Joyce's thought and in the drafting process. Of the remainder, the most interesting may be those that coincided with the turning points in Joyce's thought, but none is without surprises. We must learn to cope with all Joyce's notebooks and drafts not only because they are available or even because of the access they provide to the creative processes of one of the century's greatest minds, but because they enable us continually to renew our reading of *Finnegans Wake*.

Three of my essays have been reshaped for inclusion here: Chapter 3 owes much to my "Tristan and Isolde in *Finnegans Wake*: A Study of the Sources and Evolution of a Theme" (*Comparative Literature Studies*, 1 [1964]). Chapter 2 is based on "Nodality and the Infra-Structure of *Finnegans Wake*" (*James Joyce Quarterly*, 16 [Fall 1978/Winter 1979]; first published in *Poétique*, 26 [Spring 1976] as "Réseaux infra-structurels"). Chapter 6 is a revised version of "James Joyce Dreamer," published in *Lingua y stile*, 22 (September 1987).

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Over the years I have amassed debts to the whole Joyce community, but especially to those doing original work on the *Wake*. Their contributions are implicit in every line of this book. In addition I still owe profound gratitude to people who gave me early encouragement and help, to Lucie Noël, Samuel Beckett, Harriet Shaw Weaver, William York Tindall, Frederick Hoffmann, and Richard Ellmann. More recently, I have been encouraged by the work and support of younger colleagues: the members of the Paris ITEM group of genetic scholars mentioned in my introduction and, more specifically, Geert Lernout, who read this book in manuscript and helped me over a few stiles, and Vincent Deane. Thomas Staley and Bernard Benstock were exceptionally supportive readers. Research leaves for this project were funded by a University of Wisconsin Vilas Associateship and by summer grants from the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin. Finally, as always, I must thank my wife, Loni, for her patience and good sense.

DAVID HAYMAN

Madison, Wisconsin

Abbreviations and General Note

The following abbreviations are used in the text:

U	James Joyce. *Ulysses*. New York: Random House, 1986.
FW	James Joyce. *Finnegans Wake*. New York: Viking Press, 1939.
VI.A	*The James Joyce Archive*, vol. 28 ("Scribbledehobble" notebook, see below).
VI.B.1–12	*The James Joyce Archive*, vols. 29–31 (early *Wake* notebooks sometimes abbreviated to B.1–12).

The following abbreviations or short titles are used frequently in the notes:

JJA	*The James Joyce Archive*. General Editor, Michael Groden, *Finnegans Wake* volumes and notebook volumes ed. David Hayman and Danis Rose. New York: Garland Publishing, 1978.
Ellmann	Richard Ellmann. *James Joyce*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
FDV	*A First-Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake,"* ed. David Hayman. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963.

Letters	James Joyce. *Letters of James Joyce*. Vol. 1, ed. Stuart Gilbert, 1957. Vols. 2 and 3, ed. Richard Ellmann, 1966. New York: Viking Press.

About the manuscript transcriptions:

Because Joyce's hand and methods vary considerably from notebook to notebook and ms draft to draft and because, for the purposes of this study, clarity and some degree of uniformity are desirable, I have established certain conventions. Slashes are used in notebook transcriptions occasionally to separate lines but mainly to separate coherent entries whose limits I have established on the basis of sense and handwriting. In the manuscript drafts, slashes and boldface indicate different versions of a word or phrase in a given draft.

Frequently used Joycean sigla:

△	ALP or Anna Livia Plurabelle
E	HCE or Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker
⊥,⊢, ⊣	Issy or Isolde or Is
∧	Shaun the post
⊏	Shem the pen
⊤	Tristan

The "Wake" in Transit

Introduction

> No, so holp me Petault, it is not a miseffectual whyacinthinous riot of blots and blurs and bars and balls and hoops and wriggles and juxtaposed jottings linked by spurts of speed: it only looks as like it as damn it; and, sure, we ought really to rest thankful that at this deleteful hour of dungflies dawning we have even a written on with dried ink scrap of paper at all to show for ourselves. . . .
>
> The warped flooring of the lair and soundconducting walls thereof, to say nothing of the uprights and imposts, were persianly literatured with burst loveletters, telltale stories, stickyback snaps, doubtful eggshells, bouchers, flints, borers, puffers, amygdaloid almonds, rindless raisins, alphybettyformed verbage . . . best intentions, curried notes, upset latten tintacks, unused mill and stumpling stones, twisted quills, painful digests, magnifying wineglasses, solid objects cast at goblins, once current puns, quashed quotatoes, messes of motage. . . .
>
> . . . . the more carrots you chop, the more turnips you slit, the more murphies you peel, the more onions you cry over, the more bullbeef you butch, the more mutton you crackerhack, the more potherbs you pound, the fiercer the fire and the longer your spoon and the harder you gruel with more grease to your elbow the merrier fumes your new Irish stew.
>
> —*Finnegans Wake* 118, 183, 190

Though not precisely the full recipe, the Joyce papers in London and Buffalo come astonishingly close to reconstituting both

the intellectual and emotional fodder in Joyce's mind and the ingredients of the "stew" that is *Finnegans Wake*. The mere physical appearance of the notebooks and early drafts in *The James Joyce Archive* facsimiles[1] should convince anyone that these are the very documents described in the wonderful passage from chapter I.5. Read as Joyce's personal "midden heap," these materials constitute an astonishingly complete, perhaps even an unmatched record of eighteen years of creative work by a major author. Indeed, the record is so voluminous that, even after considerable study, we are still far from comprehending the "inns and ouses" of the procedures they so reluctantly disclose.

The present book is meant to contribute to an ongoing dialogue, but perhaps its special focus on a range of early traces will set it apart from other more general or more narrowly conceived projects. We will be examining those aspects of the creative process revealed by a study of the early notebooks and manuscripts in order to disclose how Joyce managed the transition from the diurnal to the nocturnal, the waking to the sleeping, the individual consciousness to the universal subconscious. In the process we will address the question of the seeming randomness of Joyce's notetaking, establish relationships, study contexts, and attempt to draw rational conclusions concerning Joyce's methods at different moments in the book's early development.

Backgrounds

During his Paris years, beginning in 1923, when he wrote the first sketches for the *Wake*, Joyce was concerned that his gipsy life-style would result in the loss of important manuscripts. Consequently, he began sending his superseded drafts piecemeal to England, where they were dutifully stored by a puzzled and frequently disappointed Harriet Shaw Weaver. It is this cache that, after considering the

1. The *Finnegans Wake* volumes of *The James Joyce Archive*, gen. ed. Michael Groden (New York: Garland, 1978), hereafter referred to as *JJA*. The volumes in question (28–63) were edited by David Hayman and Danis Rose.

National Library in Dublin, Joyce's patron unselfishly *donated* to the British Museum in 1958. (The immediate stimulus for the donation was a fire in the garage where the manuscripts were kept.)[2] The Weaver donation, which constitutes the most accessible and copious segment of the manuscripts, contains almost every draft version of each segment of the *Wake*.

An equally important, though far less accessible, body of *Wake* pre-texts, the notebooks now in the University of Buffalo Library, was abandoned when the Joyces fled Paris for what they hoped would be safety. This collection is comprised of fifty assorted notebooks and a group of loose sheets, all in the author's hand, together with a group of eighteen notebooks into which, between 1933 and 1936, France Raphael copied to the best of her ability the unused materials from thirty-five of the notebooks. (Joyce's procedure was to cross through his individual notes in colored pencil or crayon as they were incorporated in the drafts. It is generally, but not quite accurately, assumed that the remaining notes were not used or at least were unused before she transcribed them.) Peter Spielberg was the first to notice that the Raphael transcriptions incorporated versions of undeleted materials from seven lost notebooks.[3] That means that we have partial access to the contents of these documents, some of which contain material pertinent to the study of the transitional period.

Manuscript studies actually began in the 1950s, almost immediately after the British and American materials were made available to scholars. But the first major publication was Walton Litz's valu-

2. Conversation with Harriet Weaver in 1958. For other details concerning the donation see Jane Lidderdale and Mary Nicholson, *Dear Miss Weaver: Harriet Shaw Weaver 1876–1961* (New York: Viking, 1970), pp. 404–27.

3. For a fuller account of the Raphael transcriptions, see Danis Rose's introduction to vols. 61–63 of *JJA* and Peter Spielberg's *James Joyce's Manuscripts and Letters at the University of Buffalo: A Catalogue* (Buffalo: University of Buffalo Press, 1962). See also Bernard Gheerbrant's catalogue of the Joyce materials that remained in Paris after the war, *James Joyce: Sa vie, son oeuvre, son rayonnement* (Paris: La Hune, 1949), and Lucie Noël's *James Joyce and Paul L. Léon: The Story of a Friendship* (New York: Gotham Book Mart, 1950), pp. 38–41.

able dissertation. *The Art of James Joyce*,[4] Litz's book, followed by five years the publication of my *Joyce et Mallarmé*,[5] which made use of manuscript and notebook materials, and by three years my essay "From *Finnegans Wake*: A Sentence in Progress."[6] The editing of the manuscripts began with Fred Higginson's fine edition of the "ALP" manuscripts[7] and Thomas Connolly's version of the large notebook he baptized the *Scribbledehobble*.[8] To buy time until the *Wake* manuscripts could be fully edited, I attempted in 1963 not only to capture the creative procedure but also to establish the draft chronology in *A First-Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake."* Shortly thereafter, Peter Spielberg and Robert Scholes performed the valuable service of cataloguing the collections at Buffalo[9] and Cornell.[10]

All this work stimulated other efforts. Jack Dalton spent two years ostensibly editing the notebooks, but actually trying to establish the text of *Ulysses*, a task completed by Hans Walter Gabler. Beginning in 1962, *A Wake Newslitter*, edited by Clive Hart and Fritz Senn, gave space to various ground-breaking studies, some of which made use of the notebooks. Other writings covering related problems in-

4. New York: Oxford University Press, 1961.

5. Two vols. (Paris: Les Lettres Modernes, 1956).

6. *PMLA*, 73 (March 1958), 136–54.

7. *Anna Livia Plurabelle: The Making of a Chapter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960).

8. *James Joyce's Scribbledehobble: The Ur-Workbook for Finnegans Wake* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1961), hereafter *Scribbledehobble*. Though strongly criticized for its inaccuracies, this volume is a helpful tool for those willing to return to the original version. (The same can be said for my own, somewhat more ambitious *A First-Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake"* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963; hereafter *FDV*], which was originally to contain a transcription of the "Scribbledehobble" in appendix.) Unfortunately, scholars, including the otherwise meticulous Danis Rose and the members of the new French ITEM group (see below), have failed to notice the inadequacy of Connolly's introduction. It should be noted that throughout this study I have corrected Connolly's transcription errors. I have also corrected the occasional error in the *FDV*.

9. See note 3.

10. *The Cornell Joyce Collection: A Catalogue* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961).

clude Walton Litz's essay on how to and how not to use the manuscripts,[11] mine on the genesis of chapter II.2[12] and the Tristan and Isolde sketch and theme,[13] and Jack Dalton's on the need for an edition of the *Wake*.[14] These were followed by Roland McHugh's attempt to date the notebooks[15] and his study of *Finnegans Wake* in the light of Joyce's characterological signs or "sigla,"[16] as well as by Danis Rose's fine edition of notebook VI.B.46, *The Index Manuscript*.[17]

Given the inaccessibility of the manuscript materials and the embryonic condition of manuscript studies, it is understandable that relatively little of this work was analytical or theoretical.[18] The spadework of reading, editing, annotating, establishing chronologies, and just foraging constitutes an important precedent. Since that work is still far from complete, critical and theoretical approaches, including this one, remain by definition tentative.

The watershed for manuscript studies was surely *The James Joyce Archive*, the brainchild of a courageous publisher, Gavin Borden of Garland Publishing, who worked closely with Walton Litz and

11. "Uses of the *Finnegans Wake* Manuscripts," in *Twelve and a Tilly: Essays on the Occasion of the 25th Anniversary of "Finnegans Wake,"* ed. Jack P. Dalton and Clive Hart (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1966), pp. 99–106.

12. "'Scribbledehobbles' and How They Grew: A Turning Point in the Development of a Chapter," in *Twelve and a Tilly*, pp. 107–18.

13. "Tristan and Isolde in *Finnegans Wake*: A Study of the Sources and Evolution of a Theme," *Comparative Literature Studies* 1 (1964), 93–112.

14. "Advertisement for the Restoration," in *Twelve and a Tilly*, pp. 119–37.

15. "Chronology of the Buffalo Notebooks," *A Wake Newslitter*, 9 (1972), 19–31, 36–38.

16. *The Sigla of "Finnegans Wake"* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976).

17. *The Index Manuscript: "Finnegans Wake" Holograph of Workbook VI.B.46* (Colchester: A Wake Newslitter Press, 1978).

18. Among the exceptions are Walton Litz's outline of Joyce's creative method and my own early essays (see notes 6, 12, 13, and "Dramatic Motion in *Finnegans Wake*," *Texas Studies in English*, 37 [1958], 155–76). Perhaps the closest thing to an analytic approach was Roland McHugh's work on the sigla (see note 16), a book that gained and suffered from the lack of availability of the materials upon which it was based.

Michael Groden. With the appearance of the *Archive* and especially of the *Wake* notebook volumes, a new era in Joyce studies was quietly inaugurated. The publication received only modest press attention, nothing like that lavished on Hans Gabler's edition of *Ulysses* or the recent controversy. After a decade of general lack of interest on this side of the Atlantic, a lack of interest complemented by occasional, casual, or gratuitous references to the *Archive* and its contents, Joyce manuscript scholarship has only recently come into its own.

Of course, the apparent neglect is understandable, given the sheer mass of the unexplored material and Joyce's frequently illegible hand. Not only are his words far from clear even if one has an in-depth knowledge of the *Wake* and the rest of his output, but conscientious scholars must familiarize themselves with a large volume of manuscripts that, though their chronology has been established, remain mostly unedited. On the surface, Danis Rose, whose *Understanding "Finnegans Wake": A Guide to the Narrative of James Joyce's Masterpiece*[19] is the first *Wake* study based on the manuscripts, was the scholar best equipped to begin using the *Archive* he helped to edit. Unfortunately, Rose's expertise in manuscript details is not always matched by his critical acumen.

If the *Wake* documents and especially the notebooks remain formidable, it is partly because they are perceived as random and chaotic jottings.[20] In fact, along with a great deal of dross, the notebooks contain untold surprises, abundant mysteries, a scattering of clues. Though not every word or phrase can be traced back to them, though they don't automatically unlock doors, though they may raise more questions than they can answer, it is principally the notebooks that

19. With John O'Hanlon (New York: Garland, 1982).

20. In *The Decentered Universe of "Finnegans Wake"* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), pp. 130–40, Margo Norris has used manuscript evidence to apply Lévi-Strauss's notion of bricolage to the *Wake*. Her idea is well developed and credible, but I suggest that we should also think in terms of associative linkage, certainly in the early notebooks. Randomness is a factor in the *Wake*'s development, but it is usually directed randomness. A close reading of the notes, as we shall see, frequently reveals coherence within sequences in a given "hand."

have begun to yield interesting critical and theoretical insights. They are bound to yield many more as scholarly procedures become more refined and our knowledge increases. Eventually the manuscripts and notebooks together may even turn the *Wake* into an endlessly unfolding and self-enfolding process text, a Penelope's web that includes the reader in its perpetual elaboration and unmaking.

It may seem paradoxical that the *Archive* has found its ideal readership not in the English-speaking world but in Europe and that some of the best studies of its contents are being published in French. The way was paved during the sixties, however, by European novelists' and theorists' lively interest in the *Wake*. Besides, Joyce did most of his work in Paris and, as early as 1927, he seems to have predicted this turn of events in his notes: "JJ's [book] not hell open to Christians but English open to Europeans" (VI.B.21, p. 22).[21]

Under the aegis of the CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique), Claude Jacquet has organized an enthusiastic and informed group of young scholar-critics expressly to investigate Joyce's manuscripts.[22] Jacquet found a supporter in Louis Hay, the first director of ITEM (L'Institut des Textes et Manuscrits Modernes), a unit of the CNRS devoted to "genetic" studies, or critical approaches grounded in manuscript research. Making good use of a variety of innovative theoretical and scholarly approaches, the ITEM-related Center for Joyce Manuscript Studies has multiplied the approaches to Joyce's procedure. This *équipe* began by undertaking a relatively simple job of team editing, the production of an annotated edition of Notebook VI.B.19. Such a procedure is perhaps necessary. After all, if the editors are critically or theoretically inclined, a careful study of the seemingly inchoate materials will very likely inspire serious and significant critical and theoretical approaches. That is the sort of reasoning that underlies much of the French scholars' work. A similar attitude has generated the various chapters of this current volume, which was made possible by my work, first on the early drafts, and then on the entire corpus of *Wake* manuscripts.

21. *JJA* 34:13.

22. Credit is due as well to Hélène Cixous, who inspired a generation of young scholars, among them current members of ITEM, to begin studying the *Wake*.

Conceiving, Shaping, and Reshaping the *Wake*

The following, a bare-bones account of the major developments in the manuscript history of *Finnegans Wake*, is designed to situate the argument of this book in relation to the novel's full structural evolution. It summarizes within a narrow focus the notebook and manuscript materials so that readers may put the content of this study in perspective.

Though at first blush the *Wake* seems to have been a startlingly fresh departure for Joyce, many of its roots can be traced to the procedures of *Ulysses*. Not only does Joyce experiment there with comedy and farce, not only does he enunciate the "nightmare" of history; in such chapters as "Sirens," "Oxen of the Sun," and "Eumeus," his styles foreshadow wakean formal procedures. On a conceptual level, Stephen's thoughts in "Nestor," "Proteus," and elsewhere, the asides in "Cyclops," the hallucinations of "Circe," and the sleep/wake ruminations of "Penelope" also served as preparation. The approach taken under the chapter headings from *Ulysses* in the "Scribbledehobble" notebook (VI.A) suggests that, after leaving his dozing Molly, Joyce may have felt he could in fact find the means to purge the nightmare from his spirit by reexamining the detritus of his earlier writing.

The "Scribbledehobble" notes written under the chronologically arranged headings beginning with "CHAMBER MUSIC" ("T S Eliot ends idea of poetry for ladies:" [VI.A.11])[23] were frequently generated by an associative procedure designed to comment on each segment of the earlier work or to exploit and partially fill lacunae. It would appear that, between the completion of *Ulysses* early in 1922 and the composition in March 1923 of the first passage for the gestating work, Joyce's preparations were largely exploratory and recuperative, a long and elaborate fishing expedition.

The meticulous format, the tiny and relatively uniform hand, and the absence of *ratures* suggest to me that most of the material in the early series was drawn from lost notes taken more or less randomly on loose sheets of paper or in notebooks like VIII.A.5, which dates

23. *JJA* 28:13; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 15.

from the Zurich era.[24] The method had probably been used earlier for the *Ulysses* notesheets, and Joyce himself alludes to it in his letters.[25] The "Scribbledehobble" hand is too uniform, the content too disparate, and the notes too voluminous for us to envisage any other method, though the small and cramped, but unusually clear hand, is varied enough to suggest that Joyce went back several times to his headings in the course of perhaps several months. These early and uncharacteristically neat ink notes written on numbered pages had significant and precisely measurable results. The first four sketches for the *Wake*, the tale of Roderick O'Conor, the mutual seduction of Tristan and Isolde, and the narrative of Saints Patrick and Kevin, are grounded there, as is the essentially oral narrative method of the early chapters.

The foundation for the *Wake* proper was undoubtedly laid in 1923 when, before writing his first actual chapter, Joyce drafted and revised, over a period of perhaps eight months, six of the seven sketches that were to constitute the nodal macrosystem for the rest of the book. The importance of these passages is underscored by the fact that only the relatively late "Here Comes Everybody" (now *FW* pages 30–34), with which the writing of the book properly began, and the later and marginal "Mamalujo" saw print before the publication in 1939 of the completed novel. It seems that, from the outset, Joyce viewed this collection of mini-narratives as the signifying skeleton and perhaps even one of the keys to his masterwork. The burden of these passages, however, was disseminated throughout the book long before they themselves found their proper places in the last chapters to be written: II.3, II.4, and IV. As a result, readers of the serialized chapters and passages would have had considerable trouble grounding the many oblique allusions to the Tristan tale or the Letter and the less numerous ones to Roderick O'Conor, St. Patrick, and St. Kevin. In the *Wake*, the last can indeed be the first: the conclusion for chapter II.3, chapter II.4 and all of Book IV were based on materials that had lain fallow for close to two decades.

24. See *JJA* 12:129–66.

25. *Letters of James Joyce*, vol. 1, ed. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Viking, 1957), p. 200.

During that time they constituted a concealed armature that became functional only after it had been encased in the lavishly languaged supplementary structures that eventually served to conceal it.

This most written, most palimpsestuous, and least narrative of texts was, therefore, built upon a decisively oral base composed of narrative fragments. (Though it would be hard to establish priority, we should note that under the heading "THE SISTERS," that is, in relation to the first of Joyce's published tales, the "Scribbledehobble" contains his ruminations on the nature and procedures of tale-telling.) The paradox is less blatant than it seems because Joyce appears never to have envisioned a unified and coherent narrative development, though he flirted briefly with the idea of an extended Tristan sequence. If we may judge by the early introduction of the burlesque mode and voice, his goal was to unearth but not return to the roots of speech, narrative, and writing.

Ultimately, the "Here Comes Everybody," a mock-historical narrative triptych, which now constitutes the most complex extended and coherent narrative passage in the book, mediates decisively between the written and the oral by generating a voice that rewrites, or composes, narrative recollections. In contrast, the famous Letter of ALP, drafted late in 1923 for inclusion in chapter I.5, is among the most genuinely oral passages in the book. A study of the Letter's evolution and role will show that this paradox is a broad one indeed; for the character of that "document" is determined not so much by Shem's "transcription" as by the *dictation* of the analphabet ALP. Appropriately, Joyce has not chosen to approximate for his Mamalujo sketch (now chapter IV.4) the chronicles of the Four Masters, to say nothing of the gospels of Mathew, Mark, Luke, and John. Instead, he has recorded the oral maunderings of four senile codgers, once again asserting and undermining the priority of the spoken gesture.

Clearly, the *Wake*, a book that has been heavily fetishized by deconstructionists, is not simply a pointed reminder of oral procedures. Far from undermining the deconstructive thesis and in keeping with the hyper-paradoxes of his novel, Joyce's method ultimately prioritized the written word. Even the fragmentary instances of primary discourse, planted by Joyce and disengaged by the per-

spicacious reader are, in the last analysis, all cast in the alphabetical mode. Their most immediate intertextual precedent is Joyce's own practice in the "Cyclops" chapter of *Ulysses*, where the asides that counter the oral voice of the garrulous dun are all instances of written, if frequently subliterary, discourse. In the published *Wake*, the initiatory sketches (and other sketchlike passages) function precisely as asides to the predominantly anti- or metanarrative discourses of the texts.

Joyce drafted four sketches as discrete units before he turned to his fifth: "Here Comes Everybody," the floridly sardonic treatment of the urban man's rise and fall. In his original conception this sketch would have opened the book he was later to claim had no real beginning or end. From it he elaborated not only chapter I.2 with its treatment of the scandal occasioned by HCE's "crime" but also I.3, which deals with the public reaction, and I.4, in which the trial/inquest is described and the two sons are informally introduced. Indeed, these three post-fall chapters could be seen as the parceling out or disarticulating of the male ego/presence. To reenforce this idea, Joyce eventually (1926) introduced the idea of Finn/Finnegan's "corps morcelé" and described the sacramental breakfast served by "grinny" in I.1 (*FW* 7.8–19). Until that time, Book I consisted of three male-oriented followed by the three female-dominated chapters generated by the subtextual presence of ALP's Letter. Dictated to her son Cain by an uncomprehending Eve in defense of her fallen Adam and addressed to a higher authority or "majesty," the Letter was drafted only after chapter I.2–4 had been repeatedly revised. As we shall see, Joyce soon felt obliged to frame that document with accounts of its composition and its distribution. The frame, which was never fully elaborated, eventually subverted its contents, leading not only to the conceptualization of chapter I.5 but also to the displacement of the Letter (now *FW* 615.12–619.19). Out of this development flowed the feminine half of the *Wake*, which apparently set the order in which Joyce composed the remainder of the book.[26]

26. Charles Peake advances the view that Joyce composed Book II last because he needed first to establish the motival framework upon which it is based. His argument is suggestive, but I believe it flies in the face of the

The composition of I.5, a mock-scholarly treatise on the Letter as document was followed by a Shaunish appraisal of the darkling mother's-boy, Shem the pen (I.7), and the biotopography of the river woman whose word would flow through this book as its center, its *sub*stance and its substratum. Indeed, the Letter/Word might characterize the whole text, being the account given in a darkened feminine discourse of the divine and (presumably) male absence/presence.

The evidence consisting of letters and passages written and outlines composed in 1926 suggests that, in 1924, Joyce had no firm commitment to the present format of Book II when he moved directly from Book I to Book III. Book III treats the progress of Shaun as the Word enveloped by an empty Guinness barrel floating on and gradually being filled by the river Liffey. In it the postman defends his function (III.1), flourishes and magnifies his presence (III.2), yields his underlying spiritual vacuity (III.3), and finally vanishes, ceding his place to what may be the quintessential family situation and the locus of the dream (III.4).

All ten of these early chapters were completed, revised, and typed by March 1926, when Joyce took stock of his progress. At that time he reconceptualized Book I and devised Book II. He first wrote the catechistical chapter I.6 of which question eleven frames the brother battle as a homily/fable. That chapter rhetorically profiles or fingerprints the entities for which shorthand symbols or "sigla" had already been established. In so doing it consolidates the text and orients the reader toward a larger semi/mock/metaphysical allegory of universal presence. For Joyce, it did much more, enabling him, in July of that year, to write the crucial brother-battle passage for Book II: the geometry lesson first called "The Triangle" after the sigla for ALP and the diagram for Euclid's first theorem.

Before that, Joyce thought through the outline of the first three chapters of Book II, little of which was actually drafted before the 1930s.[27] This cryptic outline concentrates on what is now the Chil-

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manuscript evidence and the logic of composition. See his "Yet Another Look at the *Wake*," in *Genèse et metamorphoses du texte joycien*, ed. Claude Jacquet (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1985), pp. 125–44.

27. *JJA* 51:3; *FDV* 30. This is the most detailed of several versions dating

dren at Play chapter (II.1) while emphasizing the "Hotel" setting. The "Studies" chapter (II.2) along with the eventual oral tale content of II.3 is alluded to in the sentence "⊥ [Issy] tells story in bed to /⊏ [Shaun/Shem]."

Only after the revision of "The Triangle" did Joyce compose I.1, ostensibly in response to Harriet Weaver's request for a piece on the giant's tomb in Cornwall.[28] Chapter I.1 functioned from the start as an overture chapter, brilliantly, though hardly transparently, synthesizing all the book's major themes and motifs. With the composition of this potpourri, Joyce established, consciously or not, several new structural systems: see inter alia the encounter dialogues initiated by the Mutt and Jute passage, the vandalism/pursuit action of the "Prankquean," the visit to a secret place or the "Museyroom," and of course the wake of Finnegan itself. That is, within this complex sequence he was able to introduce a compact group of set-pieces reminiscent of the primitive skits but performing a radically different set of functions. Accordingly, the chapter reflects a dual valence, consolidation and prefiguration. This could of course be said of most of the creative events highlighted by the evolution of *Work in Progress*, where the creative process is also a major nodal topic.

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from early 1926. After drawing up such plans Joyce was able to write Miss Weaver " . . . uncertain whether I shall start on the twilight games of ⊏, /\ and ⊣ which will follow immediately after △ or on K's orisons, to follow /\d." (*Letters* 1:241.) A month later, he could announce the completion of the triangle and propose writing "Storiella" or "⊣ picture-history from the family album" and "parts of" III.3 (*Letters* 1:242).

28. For a full account of this transaction, see *Letters* 1:245–48. The apparently accidental location of the giant's tomb in Penrith, Cornwall, took Joyce directly back to one of his central themes. It was in Cornwall that Tristan served and deceived King Mark, and Cornwall was one of the pillars of Gaelic civilization during the Middle Ages. Everything was grist. Not coincidentally, there is a very different sort of tumulus on the banks of the Boyne at Newgrange. It is to that structure, replete with archaic significance, that Joyce refers, however obliquely, when he locates the Willingdone Museyroom with its exhibits from the battle of Waterloo in a cryptlike space under the monument in Phoenix park. Miss Weaver's very real contribution to the *Wake*'s development is not diminished by the fact that, before her intervention, Joyce took notes on prehistoric grave monuments very like the one to which she alludes.

The final turning point in the composition took place during a particularly difficult moment. Following the serial publication of Books I and III in *transition*, chapter II.1 was drafted and revised with little apparent difficulty in accordance with the outline discussed above. That was in 1930. Two years later, in 1932, at a time when he was plagued by renewed eye problems,[29] when he was discouraged about his book's reception, and when he was finally forced to accept Lucia's mental deterioration, Joyce had great difficulty drafting the opening for II.2. While revising an abortive segment derived almost entirely and very mechanically from notes taken at an earlier date in the "Scribbledehobble," he appears to have experienced a creative epiphany. Abruptly, he began cannibalizing his recent draft, reshaping much of it into footnotes and marginalia. The result was a powerfully revitalized unit published as "Storiella as She Is Syung."[30]

Once he had conquered his writer's block, Joyce was able to compose and assemble the remaining chapters in a rational and sequential manner. Between 1936 and 1938, he wrote and revised II.3 or "The Pub," an imposing chapter that contains the Buckley tale for which notes were taken in 1923 and concludes with the "Roderic O'Conor" sketch; II.4 in which two sketches were interlaced; and Book IV, where three of the early sketches are joined sequentially and the real problem was one of transitions.

Deriving the *Wake*: A Genetic Approach

I propose here to investigate only the *Wake*'s early development, that is, the traces of what led up to its consolidation. This book will

29. It is not unreasonable, or particularly insensitive, to relate the condition of his eyes at that time to the worsening climate at home, especially since the chapter in question, II.2, treats the adolescent Issy/Lucia. Lucia Joyce's schizophrenia could no longer be ignored in 1932; the tension between Lucia and Nora was mounting; and we may even speculate that the much-tried Nora was in the midst of her menopause.

30. For more detailed studies see my "'Scribbledehobbles' and How They Grew" and Jean-Michel Rabaté's brilliant and "labyrinthine" deconstructive

treat the novel's framework as opposed to its verbal substance and details; the problem of how Joyce forged his language, how he elaborated the gestural and rhythmic substance that makes the book a late modernist masterpiece, will be addressed in another volume. Here, the emphasis is on some of the earliest notebooks ("Scribbledehobble," VI.B.3, VI.B.10, VI.B.2, and others), which enable us to trace the process by which Joyce focused and refocused his creative procedures. That process is best seen in relation to turning points, those rare and revealing lapses in the writing process, moments of indecision and choice foregrounded by both notebooks and manuscripts. My claim is that such "soft" moments, by obliging the artist to hesitate and reassess, by eliciting conceptual notes and significant changes in direction, expose, however partially, the mechanisms of creative judgment. There are, to my knowledge, eleven such moments, of which the first seven will be discussed in this book:

(1) note-consolidation and notetaking for the large "Scribbledehobble" notebook under headings taken from Joyce's earlier work (late 1922–early 1923);
(2) the shift from theme-motivated notetaking under headings to more passage-oriented preparations in the small and more portable notebooks (early 1923);
(3) the drafting of the early sketches destined to be the armature of the *Wake* (spring-summer 1923);
(4) the abandonment of plans to make "Tristan and Isolde" the parodic focus of the book (summer 1923);
(5) the gradual discovery through the notetaking process of the everyday (or night) couple and the earliest version of HCE's crime (spring-summer 1923);
(6) the drafting of the Here Comes Everybody sketch followed by the composition of the three male chapters for Book I (fall 1923);
(7) the composition of ALP's Letter counteracting the fall of the

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exercise, "Pour une cryptogénétique de l'idiolecte joycien," in *Genèse de Babel: Joyce et la création*, ed. Claude Jacquet (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1985), pp. 49–92.

male ego and reconceptualizing the book into a balanced male/female development (winter 1923–24) followed by the composition of the female chapters of Book I and all of Book III;
(8) the composition of the situating catechism that comprises chapter I.6 (spring 1926);
(9) the composition of the geometry lesson at first called "The Triangle" for II.2 and the conceptualization of Book II (summer 1926);
(10) the composition of the overture for the *Wake* or I.1 (fall 1926);
(11) the drafting from previous notes and the reformulation of the first half of II.2 followed by the reformatting of the whole lessons chapter, a development that freed Joyce to complete the remaining chapters of Book II and to stitch together the early sketches for II.3, II.4, and Book IV (1932).

The analytic narrative that follows is grounded in enigmatic but powerful notes isolated by a study of Joyce's transitional notebooks. Beginning with a discussion of the well-known but inadequately understood "Scribbledehobble" ink notes (Chapter 1), it then traces the development and role of the early sketches (Chapter 2) before delivering a detailed analysis of the sources and evolution of the crucial Tristan and Isolde theme (Chapter 3). A discussion of the notes that accompanied the drafting of the abortive extension to the Tristan sketch exposes the early traces and evolution of HCE and ALP in Notebook VI.B.3 (Chapter 4). HCE's crime and its narrative consequences in the male plot are treated in Chapter 5, which is reenforced by an account of the seminal dreams found among Joyce's notes (Chapter 6). Finally, Chapter 7 traces the remarkable creative twists and turns that followed the composition of ALP's Letter and initiated the powerful feminine plot. Though still on the threshold of the novel's physical development and only halfway through its conceptual development, this narrative completes the transition from the diurnal universe of *Ulysses* to the nocturnal or looking-glass world that has begun to reshape narrative conventions in our pre-post apocalyptic world.

Presupposed by this genetic treatment of the pre-textual docu-

ments is my conviction that we can and should use manuscript evidence as an extension of the text and that by retracing the meanders of the creative process, we can deepen our understanding of the proliferating and open-ended textual environment that is *Finnegans Wake*.

I

Preparatory to Anything Else

"Scribbledehobble": A Base of Operations

In the spring of 1922, the struggle with *Ulysses* was, for the moment, over, though Joyce was compiling a list of corrections. The last-minute rush of writing, the seemingly endless revisions necessary to coordinate the mass of central/peripheral detail, the problems with censors and publishers had to be put behind him, and the outlines of the next work had to be contemplated. The evidence clearly suggests that Joyce did not begin with a plan such as Eugene Jolas claimed to have seen in 1927. That document, if it ever existed, would have had to be drawn up after the fact, in 1926–27, by which time Joyce had almost finished conceptualizing his book. (Certain aspects of Books II and IV were still to be worked out, but he could easily have prepared an account of the written and projected chapters to reassure a prospective publisher.)

Any plans Joyce made in 1922–23 must have been very casual, mere conceptual jottings. They evolved only gradually from what could be characterized as a fishing expedition in his own previous publications or rather an extended meditation. Still, the writer approached his still unformulated project with exemplary and unusual

system in the bulky "Scribbledehobble" notebook. Ample space was left on the numbered pages for notetaking under forty-seven headings. Though we now find other categories of notes in this notebook, which Joyce used sporadically for over a decade, only those taken in ink under the indexed categories actually contributed to the shaping of the original project; only they reflect the writer's attempts to bridge the gap between the earlier imaginative efforts and the prospective one.

Joyce was inventive but hardly indiscriminate in his notetaking. Though most of the notes relate to *Ulysses*, some of the more focused and predictive jottings fall under headings taken from *Dubliners* and *Exiles*. Only four of the *Dubliners* headings elicited more than a few lines of notes; some of the more successful tales stimulated no notetaking at all; there are no notes under headings as evocative as "Ivy Day in the Committee Room" and "The Dead." It would appear that those aspects of his early work that were the most successful in their execution were less apt to require or inspire contemplation. While "Exiles" stimulated 2⅔ tightly written pages, *A Portrait*'s five chapters merit no more than a quarter of a page or twelve lines.

Though Joyce's logic can be complicated, it is possible to establish in each instance what motivated the notetaking. A simpler and more expedient procedure, however, is to describe the content of the notes under the various headings. That is what I have done in the following chart, which, though necessarily sketchy and selective, should help clarify Joyce's procedures while pointing up both the predictive and the retrospective character of his exercise:

Title	*Topic*
"THE SISTERS" (1 page of notes)	Narration (oral)
"AN ENCOUNTER" (4 lines of notes)	Homosexuality
"EVELINE" (¾ page of notes)	Female adolescence
"A PAINFUL CASE" (¾ page)	Fathering by "Pop"
"GRACE" (⅓ page)	SS Patrick and Kevin
"Exiles (.I.)" (1 page)	Theater, "Tristan"
"Exiles (.II.)" (1⅔ pages)	"Tristan"
"HADES" (½ page)	Burial ceremonies
"EOLUS" (2 pages)	Conceits, turns of phrase

Title	*Topic*
"LESTRYGONIANS" (3/4 page)	Food, restaurant behavior, cannibals
"SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS" (1 page)	Literature
"CIRCE" (2 3/4 pages)	Lowlife, kinky sex, animal behavior
"EUMEUS" (5 pages)	Trivial turns of phrase[1]
"ITHACA" (1 page)	Scientisms, practical knowledge
"CIRCE" (2 1/2 pages)	Nora-isms

It seems probable that much of the material under *Ulysses* headings was collected while Joyce was still writing that book. There the notes are often more immediately appropriate to the chapter headings than are those under earlier headings. The extraordinary bulk of the "EUMEUS" notes seems to underscore this connection. Joyce had obviously collected a mass of filler discourse to pad the rhetoric of that chapter. Nonetheless, it is more than probable that he actively interpolated later material even here. Proof of such additions is available under "CIRCE" where we find what is doubtless a reference to the Joyces' stay in London during the summer of 1922 when they first met Harriet Weaver: "LB's benefactress (HW) receives thanks of many waiters" (VI.A. 742).[2] This is the sort of sardonic note one would expect of a slightly rebellious Joyce when he made his first contact with a person on whom so much depended. In the event, it was Joyce who overtipped, perhaps to compensate for his distress at being patronized.[3] Among other later entries are what appear to be the sayings of Nora Joyce found under "PENELOPE," where they virtually exclude anything else. The same may hold for the references to Lucia's behavior that take up so much of "NAUSIKAA." The fact that the early chapters got relatively little attention may be

1. But see the extended development of Sinbad on VI.A.803 (*JJA* 28:196; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 153).

2. *JJA* 28:160; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 123. Here and elsewhere I have corrected errors of transcription.

3. See Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982; hereafter Ellmann), p. 536, and Jane Lidderdale and Mary Nicholson, *Dear Miss Weaver: Harriet Shaw Weaver 1876–1961* (New York: Viking, 1970), pp. 201–3.

ascribed to Joyce's distance from them. Not surprisingly, of *Ulysses*-oriented notes only those under "EOLUS" and perhaps a few under "SIRENS" contributed directly to the conception of the *Wake*; those under "NAUSIKAA," which doubtless contributed to the development of Issy, were probably intended to extend the adolescent persona of Milly rather than that of a yearning Gerty.

I suggest that most if not all of these chapter notes predate Joyce's preparations for his new book, that, though a handful of them were crossed through to indicate use, as a category they are remnants rather than projections. The notes for the earlier chapters, the ones written before the Joyces' arrival in Paris, were mainly written before *Ulysses*' publication but during the Paris years. That is, Joyce began collecting these notes to help him make revisions where necessary for chapters that were for all intents and purposes finished. That would explain the numerous references to "LB" and "SD" here, though it does not explain the presence of those initials in later notebooks.

The notes under earlier works tell a rather different story. Their distribution and content suggest that, as opposed to the material under *Ulysses* headings, they were all taken after the "Scribbledehobble" was formatted. This does not mean that Joyce originally wrote them all *in* the big notebook. I would suggest that they too were, for the most part, recopied from loose sheets, periodically assembled. That procedure resulted in at least six seminal concentrations, under "THE SISTERS," "EVELINE," "AFTER THE RACE," "A PAINFUL CASE," "GRACE," and "Exiles."

Perhaps the clearest and most evocative development is under "Exiles (.I.)." There we begin with a brief reference to one of the models for Robert, Roberto Prezioso: "Prezioso thought anniversaries silly" (VI.A.271).[4] The next note concerns the hen's discovery of a juvenile letter from Boston, Mass. Given its context, the content and tone of this passage are immensely suggestive: "on the N[orth] E[ast] slope of the dunghill the slanteyed hen of the Grogans scrutinized a clayed p.c. [postcard] from Boston (Mass) of the 12th of the 4th to dearest Elly from her loving sister with 4½ kisses." Whatever Joyce hoped to do with this material, we are clearly not

4. *JJA* 28:89; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 75.

yet dealing with the letter of the analphabet housewife, ALP, nor is this letter a defense of a male. There is no treatment of a daughter in the play, which features a son named Archie. But there is some weighty talk of correspondence. What Joyce seems to have done is turn the epistolary romance between Richard and Beatrice (Bertha's opposite equivalent) into a relationship between two sisters. Possibly, this note resonated in Joyce's mind with the paired Isoldes in the Tristan myth. Eventually it was worked into treatments of Issy's dual personality.

The epiphany that follows the letter entry is a farcical mini-drama in German concerning a social misdemeanor by one of Joyce's earliest acquaintances in Paris, Ezra Pound's friend, the Belgian art critic Fritz Vanderpyl. *Exiles*, which fails as a play, does employ a few comic touches in Act II, but that would not be enough to motivate the placement of Vanderpyl's skit. More plausible is the positioning of a full-blown, if absurd, bit of subliterary theater under a dramatic rubric. Joyce did something equally subversive under "THE SISTERS," a polished *literary* tale in a serious collection. There he examined the conventions of oral and pseudo-oral narration.

It is equally appropriate that most of the remaining "Exiles" notations relate to the Tristan and Isolde theme rather than to Joyce's play. Though that topic is never alluded to in the play, the early notes for *Exiles* betray a preoccupation with it: "But her thoughts will they follow him into exile as those of her sister-in-love Isolde follow Tristan?"[5] Several connections between play and myth come to mind. Both plots deal with exile and return, both treat of infidelity and adultery, both have Irish associations but continental ramifications. The second act of Joyce's play toys with a Wagnerian situation, uses Wagnerian music, and mocks *fin-de-siècle* mannerisms. Note that in each instance there is an ironic reversal of the standard treatment, the roles played, and the modes employed. Such reversals are typical of all of Joyce's work, certainly from *A Portrait* on, but here the "Tristan" analogy is more discreet, less fully elaborated, and hence readily overlooked. Perhaps because there is no direct

5. *Exiles* (New York: Viking, 1951), p. 123.

allusion and also because the theme is handled in an offhand manner, Joyce felt free (or driven) to pursue this theme in 1922.

On the one hand, the writer was using his early work to point himself toward unexplored regions. On the other, he was mining it for profound psychic echoes, attempting, that is, to psychoanalyze or perhaps to "deconstruct" his own creative impulses. What he sought when looking back on the earlier texts, and what he seems to have found there, were the germinal impulses underlying his choices of theme and method, the absent core or perhaps its remainder or trace. Finally, he sought and found there preoccupations he could not have recognized or had failed to understand when he was writing.

No matter how sensitive he was to the problem of betrayal and the grave human implications of the cuckold's position, it is unlikely that the thirty-two-year-old Joyce had sufficient distance to appreciate "jocoseriously" the dual homosexual/heterosexual implications of some of his plots. Nor could he in 1913 have appreciated the problem of the older man in relation to the young girl, a problem germane in 1922 to his own relationship to Lucia. Homosexual urges and repression are more or less explicit in *Ulysses*, and Joyce's correspondence with his brother about Oscar Wilde suggests considerable sophistication on his part as early as 1906;[6] so do his notes about the relationship of Richard to Robert seven years later. Yet, in *Exiles*, he had clearly not finished plumbing the problem of friendship. Nor had he established in *Ulysses* the bond between the older (fatherly) and the younger man implicit in "Tristan and Isolde." Along with the juvenile love motif, it is such relationships that dominate the jocoserious "Tristan" notes taking up the remainder of the "Exiles" pages.[7]

6. *Letters of James Joyce,* Vol. 2, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1966), p. 150.

7. Also under "Exiles (.I.)," in the midst of a remarkably full development of the Tristan and Isolde tale, we find two amusing epiphanoid exchanges: one between an unnamed husband and wife and another between Vanderpyl and Lillian Wallace: "H[usband:] I never saw a pair of bellows in Italy. W[oman:] a pair of ballocks[?]: F[ritz] V[anderpyl:] Have you ever heard of Whitman? L[illian] W[allace]: You have just brought him to my recollection" (*JJA* 28:89;

We can't be sure how long Joyce continued recopying and adding notes, but his handwriting and the large number of pages left blank in 1923 suggest that he worked intensively for a relatively brief period or until he felt his ideas jelling. During that time a surprising amount of the *Wake*'s action, several of its themes and three of its personae began to take shape. Under "THE SISTERS," for example, we find evidence of Joyce's interest in *The Arabian Nights*,[8] in Irish folklore as recorded by Lady Gregory, and the sort of pub-tales told by Joyce's father and his father's friends. Notes under that heading began a process that led first to the earliest sketches for the *Wake* and then, through the fables of Shaun, to the reconstituted pub-tales of II.3. Joyce's interest in oral narrative is clear from the first four lines under "THE SISTERS": "Arabian nights, serial stories, tales within tales, to be continued, desperate story telling, one caps another to reproduce a rambling mockheroic tale: (L[ady] G[regory]) Scharazad's feat impossible" (VI.A.21).[9]

A few lines down the page we find what could be described as a list of Irish Nights' tales among which four were to make important contributions to the *Wake*: "the story of the pious haberdasher in heaven[10] [see the Norwegian Captain]: the story of how Buckley shot the Russian general: the story of Tristan and Isolde: the story of the house of the 100 bottles" (VI.A.21).[11] The last-mentioned title,

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Scribblehobble, pp. 76–77). Whatever their potential as theatrical dialogue, these fairly typical bits of conversational trivia relating only obliquely to the play illustrate Joyce's tendency to use even the well-focused categories as catchalls.

8. See Clive Hart's discussion in *Structure and Motif in "Finnegans Wake"* (London: Faber & Faber, 1962), pp. 104–8.

9. *JJA* 28:23; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 25. These notes were taken in two different hands, which suggests that the ideas did not simply flow and that Joyce paused to ponder the topic.

10. See "that fishabed ghoatstory of the haardly creditable edventyres of the Haberdasher, the two Curchies and the three Enkelchums in their Bearskin ghoats!" (*FW* 51.13–14).

11. *JJA* 28:23; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 25. Note that Joyce was most likely attracted to the Arabian tales when he had worked through the Sinbad tale for the "Circe" and "Eumeus" chapters in *Ulysses*. It is under "EUMEUS" that he elaborated the parallels between the voyages of Sinbad and Odysseus (*JJA* 28:196; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 153).

a reference to a pub and a play on Irish folklore, was used in the first available draft of "Roderick O'Conor," where we learn of the "so-called last supper he greatly gave those maltknights & beerchurls in his house of the 100 bottles."[12] If the pub in question is the site of chapter II.3, the last major chapter to be drafted was among the first projected, while the very earliest notes contributed heavily to the novel's formal principles.

As we shall see, the development of Pop under "EVELINE" but especially under "A PAINFUL CASE" prefigured the crime of HCE by alluding to voyeurism and incest and hinting at scandal. Equally premonitory are three of the notes under "Exiles (.II.)," which have bearing on the delivery of ALP's Letter: "Mark gets anon letter: . . . Trist's way for entering a house (zigzag): . . . le beau T carries letter: exemplary nephew" (VI.A.301).[13] The first entry, an allusion to cuckoldry, contributed to and motivated what was to be Joyce's early plan to record HCE's comic response to his wife's absurd missive. The second and third prefigure respectively Shaun's way of delivering the mail and the account he gives of his mission in III.1. The last points up the irony of Tristan's relationship to his uncle Mark. Not surprisingly, all four were redirected at least once before Joyce settled on their final versions. Still, we are present at the inception of certain ideas that, however circuitously, elicited important responses.

The "Scribbledehobble" system of notetaking or compiling probably broke down when it became clear that not all the notes belonged under any specific topic heading and that the topics of the new book did not have to be dependent on those of the old ones. The title constraints allowed for little random inspiration, especially when Joyce began to perceive how interrelated his themes and personae were and felt drawn to certain significant patterns. In all likelihood, even before he abandoned the awkward format, he began a much freer and better focused procedure, using the small notebooks that could readily be transported or left on a nighttable, notebooks that became the staple for the *Wake* years.

12. *JJA* 55:446a; *FDV* 203.17–18 (simplified).
13. *JJA* 28:95; *Scribbledehobble*, pp. 79–81.

Deriving the Early Sketches

Even after having studied the "Scribbledehobble" and its accompanying early notebooks, we may wonder how fully Joyce had conceptualized the *Wake* before he began to write the early sketches. In a different sense, we may wonder why those crudely conceived sketches constituted through the years and in the published volume the armature of the book. It should be noted that we are speaking of the narrative content and characters and only peripherally of narrative method. Neither in the "Scribbledehobble" nor in the related notebooks did Joyce initiate his language experiments, conceptualize the book's structure, or, for that matter, specifically elaborate characters, actions, or situations. He did, however, in the single note taken under "Exiles (.III.)," delineate one of the basic themes, the dream with its constituent risk and guilt implications: "characters exhibit to terrified protagonist their dream malevolence" (VI.A.331).[14] Even before either characters or an identifiable protagonist developed, Joyce had found a powerful moving principle.

The notes under "THE SISTERS" suggest that narrative and narrative procedures were of immediate concern at that time to a writer who had revoked all the edicts of narrative discourse in the closing chapters of *Ulysses*. This could astonish. Still, we should probably not be surprised to see Joyce taking a giant step backward in order to leap impetuously forward. In the event, that leap turns out to have been less than impetuous.

What did occur, as the notes of the "Scribbledehobble" period reveal, was far more complicated and considerably more interesting. Beyond turning to his earlier work for encouragement, if not inspiration, Joyce soon began to toy with the topics of the four earliest sketches. This he did under a variety of headings, though in an order that is difficult to determine. Beyond the "Exiles" notes, which represent the fullest such elaboration and to which we shall return later, the "Scribbledehobble" contains notes on the life and deeds of St. Patrick ("GRACE" and "PROTEUS") and St. Kevin ("GRACE") and on the behavior of the contemporary father-daughter couple, Pop

14. Ibid., p. 105; ibid., p. 85.

and Is ("EVELINE" and "A PAINFUL CASE"), which eventuated in "Here Comes Everybody." Oddly, there is little evidence for Joyce's research into the story of the "last high king of all Ireland," another avatar of Pop and a historical figure whose sketch is the high and low point of the book's secular narrative, if narrative it can be called.

In March 1923, by his own account, Joyce wrote the first skit, a portrait of the monarch as an old and discouraged host.[15] A missing first draft was followed by a clean copy in ink which he revised in a variety of hands[16] to such an extent that the interlinear spaces and margins were blackened, and spidery lead lines crisscross the page.

Shortly thereafter, drawing mainly on notes under the "Exiles" headings in "Scribbledehobble" and scattered materials in VI.B.3, Joyce drafted, revised, and extended his parody of the seduction scene from Act II of Wagner's *Tristan*. We will be studying the prehistory of this passage elsewhere, but it is worth noting here that Joyce moved in his "Exiles" notes between a more or less faithful precis of the tale retold by the French philologist Joseph Bédier and a splendidly sardonic and anachronistic spoof. In the process and in the course of his attempts to fill out, analyze, and extend his treatment, he began developing the traits of his juveniles together with those of king Mark. Of the former, Isolde/Is/Issy, quickly identified with the adolescent Lucia Joyce, retained her shape the longest. Indeed, the tale with its two Isoldes provided the pattern for the schizoid "linkingclass" girl even before Lewis Carroll provided the mirror motif. Eventually Joyce evolved for her the triple sigla $\perp$, $\vdash$, and $\dashv$, of which the latter two denote "Iseult la Belle" of Ireland and "Iseult Blanchemains" of Brittany, personae for whom he created different voices.

15. *Letters* 1:202.

16. *JJA* 55:446a. At different stages of the revision, Joyce's hand varied as did the writing materials and the condition of his pencils. A pause in the notetaking or revising was apt to lead to visible changes in his handwriting style. Frequently such changes can help us determine the relationship between the notes. A cluster in a given hand is generally an indication that we are dealing with a coherent series rather than random items. At times, that awareness can lead to startling discoveries.

Early on he recognized the powerful contradictions in Tristan's nature: "Tantris is shadow of Tristan (EP)" (VI.A.301).[17] That insight, combined with the two modes of sanctity exhibited by Patrick and Kevin, led ultimately, though by a circuitous route, to the brothers Shem and Shaun. It should be noted that the "T" for Tristan, to whom Giorgio Joyce contributed some behavioral traits, remained the siglum for the young male(s) until it was finally supplanted by the three signs for "*Shem and Shaun and the shame that sunders em*" (*FW* 526.14) or /\, ⊏, and /⊏. Something similar may be said of the letters "K" (for St. Kevin) and "P" (for St. Patrick), whose opposite equivalence accorded so well with those of "T." For a short while Joyce also used those of "O.G." (for Oliver St. John Gogarty) and "SD" (for Stephen Dedalus). Far from beginning with abstractions, the *Wake*'s personae obviously derived from historical, literary, and autobiographical figures from whom the abstractions could be developed. Joyce followed precedents set by his earlier novels before making an apparent 180 degree turn.

The first available version of the "Tristan and Isolde" is an ink (second) draft in the same hand and format as the "Roderick O'Conor." On the back of the first page Joyce began an extension in pencil which he carried over to the verso of "Roderick O'Conor," where it framed a previously drafted and carefully centered version of the poem "Nightpiece" (1915). As I have suggested elsewhere,[18] finding the poem's mood and verse form reminiscent of Wagner's libretto, Joyce may have thought it appropriate for his Wagnerian spoof. He realized his error only after he had completed the setting drawn largely from notes in notebook VI.B.3. What is remarkable is not only the compositional procedure but also the fact that he jettisoned a fully imagined (though weak) passage.

The decision not to cannibalize earlier work was an important one. It may well have fixed the form of the early sketches, which were never the extended or fully elaborated parodies implicit in the

17. *JJA* 28:95; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 81. See also "2 Tristans (Doppelgänger)" in VI.B.3.129; *JJA* 29:244 (Spring 1923). Here Joyce was indulging a passion for doubling, reflected not only in the novels but even in the Sinbad note under "EUMEUS": "there are 2 Sinbads" (VI.A.803; *JJA* 28:196; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 153).

18. *FDV* 210, n. 9.

abortive passage. What all of them share is the status of the fragment, a wry semi-farcical tonality, and the muted use of commedia dell'arte and pantomime situations and personae: Harlequin/Pierrot (Tristan, St. Kevin, St. Patrick), Columbine (Isolde), Pantaloon (King Roderick, King Mark, and of course, Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker).[19]

The first two sketches, a drunken scene and a semi-adulterous seduction, were followed by the two mock-hagiographic sequences: a broadly portrayed dumb show (Kevin) and a farcical disputation (Patrick and Berkeley). Joyce drafted the Kevin sketch[20] in notebook VI.B.3.42–45 before transcribing it. The same notebook contains preparations for the pseudotheology of the Patrick skit and a significant defense of the ur-HCE, Pop, the seed for the fifth sketch.

What is most striking about "Here Comes Everybody," which qualifies as the real beginning of the book, is the extent and nature of its narrative content. A pocket biography of a "great citizen" type, it clearly marks HCE as the sort of "carnival king" celebrated by Mikhail Bakhtin. Unless we accept the possibility that the "Scribbledehobble" version of Pop sat for this portrait of the semi-public man who can stand in for "everybody" and have "childers" everywhere, the preparations for HCE are remarkably slight. But then, it is his absence rather than any marked presence that generates the action, or rather it is the rhetorical presence behind chapters I.2–4. No god, a mortal man capable of establishing himself and falling, this urban Adam was designed to supply the special kind of absence that complements the unfillable presence of the Judeo-Christian deity, whose Pascalian circumference is everywhere while his center just isn't.

A sixth passage, "Mamalujo," may qualify as a true sketch if we

19. See my "Farcical Themes and Forms in *Finnegans Wake*" (*James Joyce Quarterly*, 11 [Summer 1974], 323–42), which develops the impact of these types on the shape of the novel. It should, of course, be clear that no single pattern suffices to explain the impulse behind or the effects of any aspect of the *Wake* and certainly not of the characters, chapter structure, thematics, or plot. Further, though those are precisely the aspects treated in this study of the transition from *Ulysses*, they are not, in this stripped-down form, the essence of Joyce's innovations, nor can their complex interaction be fully stated here.

20. *JJA* 29:201–2.

bear in mind that it was written out of sequence in September 1923 at a time when Joyce may have seen it as related to "Tristan and Isolde." In preparing for this sketch he focused less on literary models than on the aging process and senile dementia. The letters OM, found in VI.B.2, profile both the humorous and the pathetic side of aging, underscoring yet again the writer's genuine interest in the realistic or human foundations of his last work. In passing, we may note that the discreet coexistence of the Tristan passage, which was never published outside the *Wake*, and the "Mamalujo," which was the first bit of the *Wake* ever published (1924), is unique in the history of the *Wake*. The disposition of these two passages, like that of "Roderick O'Conor," ALP's Letter, and the other two sketches for Book IV, was not established until they were integrated into their respective chapters, the last to be assembled. Of course, by that time "Mamalujo" had become the four winds/waves/provinces and the four bedposts, and achieved broadly privileged perspectives throughout the book.

Even stranger is the history of Anna Livia's famous and truly seminal Letter, the only sketch that grew as much out of the drafting process as out of the notes. The development, fate, and consequences of that passage will be fully treated later. For now, it should suffice to repeat that the character of the mature female was a late development.

The Sketches as "Prime Nodes"[21]

Like the book's title, the early sketches occupied a special place in Joyce's creative imagination throughout the *Wake*'s extraordinary germination period. Even after 1926, when he wrote his overture, "Here Comes Everybody" retained its position as the narrative and expository lynchpin, the true beginning of what could be described as the male "action" of this ostensibly plotless text.

21. For a fuller treatment of the sketch-inspired nodal systems, see my "Nodality and the Infra-Structure of *Finnegans Wake*," *James Joyce Quarterly*, 16 (Fall 1978/Winter 1979), 135–49, from which part of this discussion has been drawn.

Similarly, though neither the heroic giant Finn nor the stage-Irish hod-carrier Tim Finnegan appears in the early notes, the idea of the night as death and of dreaming as a wake made an early and dramatic appearance. On notebook VI.B.3 (mid-1923), Joyce wrote three crucial conceptual notes:

> wake story (VI.B.3.101)
> Is dream of last day
> vision of T —
> Setting —a wake?/! (VI.B.3.131)[22]

The last two items, which are preceded by "Pop in shirtsleeves makes political lovespeech" (VI.B.3.131), constitute a powerful sequence. Pop, as the ur-HCE, is already clearly linked to sex and politics. (One thinks of HCE's futile self-defense in II.3 and his magisterial monologue in III.3.) The "Is . . . T" note, taken immediately after this idea for a Pop sequence, introduces into the contemporary setting the powerful incest theme by confirming Pop's relationship to King Mark, the fatherly husband of Isolde. Isolde's "dream" of the "last day" (the day of judgment?), together with her "vision of T[ristan doing something unspecified]" foreshadows the subject matter of the *Wake* and complements the idea of the juvenile letter.

The most significant of these early notes is the reference to the "setting," a concept that stands out by virtue of its ambiguous punctuation as a gesture of decisive indecision. Whether Joyce meant to question or to emphasize his idea, he was clearly moved by it. More than three years before he began to draft his new overture/opening, precisely three years before he requested and received from Harriet Weaver the "idea" for I.1, Joyce appears to have established the "setting" for his new book, if not part of its title. About eight months later, in February 1924, he conceived the idea of holding a contest to guess the name of his own "untitled" manifesto.[23]

22. *JJA* 29:230, 245.

23. The note, "competition for name of □" (VI.B.1.66; *JJA* 29:35), suggests that Joyce lacked and wanted a title for his new work precisely at the moment when he was working through the "botched" proofs for the *transatlantic review*

Whatever Joyce's enthusiasm for the book's title, his secretiveness about its structure and especially about the five unpublished sketches is of greater moment. Since he arranged for separate publication of every other set piece, we may ask why he never thought to publish these entertaining and relatively accessible snippets. A volume of Irish sketches would certainly have made its way in the market. The answer is obvious enough: like the title, these sketches were seen both as items of suspense and as clues to the secret of the book's structure.

Like the *Wake* itself, the sketch concept was commodious, capable of expanding to comprise a vision of the Irish consciousness through time. "Here Comes Everybody" and the Letter use seventeenth- and eighteenth-century conventions in the service of the modern Earwicker universe; the other sketches draw upon history, myth, religion, and the ages of man, to (not quite) complete the survey. In due course Joyce supplemented them with three clown acts (Jute and Mutt, Butt and Taff, Muta and Juva), which suggest a more general social substratum. These encounters also fill in the historical frame and ground the brother battle that finds its principal statement in the second half of II.2, the geometry lesson or "The Triangle" (published as "The Muddest Thick That Ever Was Heard Dump"). A moral dimension had previously been added by the two Aesopian fables. In short, the sketch principle was subjected to a variety of treatments mainly in set pieces added late to the basic structure, all functioning as rhyming elements in the completed novel.

The conflict between nocturnal and diurnal experience is implicit in the distribution of the initial sequences. Chapter I.2 opens with a triptych revealing HCE as the historical and emblematic center of the

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publication of "Mamalujo" (Ellmann, p. 563). That does not mean, as Ellmann asserts, that he then knew the title or that he had already told it to Nora. After all, the concept for the opening chapter did not ripen until 1925–26; the concept of the female or Letter-delivery plot had only just developed during the previous month; and the name of Finn and Finnegan had yet to appear in the notes. Significantly, Joyce always designated the book in his notebooks as a square or something resembling an empty building site.

Earwicker family. The book ends with a diptych, the twice-articulated voice of the family's uncentral support: ALP. The action is thus framed by treatments of the two significant figures whose relative absence as voices from the body of the text motivates its plot structure. In addition to the two frame sequences, there are five passages dealing with avatars of other characters. Thus a book supposedly without a beginning or an end has an Aristotelian center clearly demarcated by a portrait of the aging male in "Roderick O'Conor," an inexperienced tippler. Joyce buttresses that sketch with two studies of the consequences of an older man's (sexual, physical, and emotional) weakness. The account of how Tristan deflowered his uncle's bride is best seen through the scrim of the toothless maunderings of the four old men who extend the image of degeneration in II.4. The "Tristan" introduced not only a rather ambiguous cuckolder (an athletic seducer with a pale complexion and poetic inclinations) but also a youthful and insipid female. The point is, at this stage in the book's, history's, and society's development, and in the depths of the night or antiday, the protagonists are mere shadows of their (mythical) vigor. Seen from a different perspective, if the dispirited Roderick O'Conor is the shadow of the vigorous old Adam/HCE, the two lovers are distinctly inferior products, simpering dolls devoid of promise.

Something very different is occurring in the two remaining sketches. True, the Shaun-like St. Kevin, with his portable altar encircled by nine watery rings, is less than vibrant. He is a figure for the sort of monastic enclosure that occurred at the beginning of the Irish Christian era, but he is also an ardent womb-wisher in full retreat from life. St. Patrick, on the other hand, is the Shemish trickster taking Ireland out of the darkness toward the full light of day and the (mythical) reality of an emerald Ireland. His demonstration of the trinitarian truth, however tongue-in-cheek its presentation, paves the way for Anna Livia's vibrant, if comic, defense of the husband lying by her side. The ostensibly weak and recursive Book IV was greatly strengthened by the inclusion of three clearly articulated moments to which Joyce ultimately added two others: the Muta and Juva dialogue establishing a setting for St. Patrick's argu-

ment and the "Soft morning" monologue ushering in the day as the second panel of the diptych.

Though revised early and then refined along with the chapters to which they eventually pertained, these passages remained essentially what they were from the start: discrete narrative vignettes. This fact leads me to suggest that the qualities of the central personae were already present in germ by the end of 1923. For example, the resourcefulness of Patrick, the carrier of the Christian word to pagan Ireland, is of a piece with his blatant use of metaphor as statement and with the character of James/Shem the pen. The difference between the two servants of God, Kevin and Patrick, corresponds on the one hand to a third or bridging quality, but so does, with even stronger force, the ambiguous nature of Tristan, and so on.

In 1923, Joyce had only begun his odyssey of discovery and self-disclosure, but the trail was already projected in the sketches that reveal it by hindsight to us today. He had only to meditate, in his notes at length and at greater length in his manuscripts and revisions, on the potential of his personae to arrive at the seemingly endless intricacies celebrated by the *Wake*, the details, that is, of a universal human nature.

In a letter to Harriet Weaver written in October 1923, when he was working on "Mamalujo" and before he began work on the body of I.2, Joyce gave the following account of his procedures and plans:"these are not fragments but active elements and when they are more and a little older they will begin to fuse of themselves."[24] Clearly at that stage he himself had only a general idea how he would connect these disparate passages of parodic prose. The manuscript record shows in some detail precisely how far he had to travel before he could establish anything like a definitive outline. It also shows him struggling with the form of Book II well into the 1930s. Still, the initial choices implicit in the sketches became clearer as he built the background for his protagonists and came to understand the implications of his narrative and expository frame.

As we have seen, Joyce committed himself early on to the unification of these passages. That commitment, attested to by their sur-

24. *Letters* 1:204.

vival and eventual location in the beginning, middle and end of the book, is most emphatically demonstrated by what I will be calling the prime nodal system. The existence of important chains and interlocking systems of allusions to these passages suggests that, in casting those disparate but profoundly symbiotic sketches as the contact points of his fiction, Joyce set in motion the nodal procedures that would guarantee coherence.

2

Nodality: The Disposition and Reverberations of the Sketches

> One great part of every human existence is passed in a state which cannot be rendered sensible by the use of wideawake language, cutanddry grammar and goahead plot.
>
> —Letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, 24 November 1926

When he decided to base his text on discrete sketches rather than establish a unified context and action, Joyce was obliged to constitute a bridging system that draws more upon the conventions of musical composition than on those of narrative.[1] To see how the sketches contributed to that system I will have to describe the book's allusive "infrastructure,"[2] the signifying apparatus set in place by the writer's strategy at the very beginning of the writing process, before he had fixed upon either his dramatis personae or his plot structure. That is, we must elucidate nodal procedures motivated and conditioned by his decision to make the sketches his armature.

1. See Clive Hart, *Structure and Motif in "Finnegans Wake,"* (London: Faber & Faber, 1962). The emphasis here will be on the rhythmic component outlined in the chapters "Nodality" and "Paratactics" in my *Re-Forming the Narrative: Toward a Mechanics of Modernist Fiction* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

2. For a more comprehensive treatment see my "Nodality and the Infra-Structure of *Finnegans Wake*," *James Joyce Quarterly*, 16 (Fall 1978/Winter 1979), 135–49, from which part of this argument is drawn. See also the chapter "Nodality, or Plot Displaced" in my *Re-Forming the Narrative*.

As used here, the term "node" applies to a more or less clearly developed and displayed cluster of signifiers to which reference is made systematically in the course of the novel. Such clusters tend to generate, above and beyond the structure of chapters and sequences, a coherent but unhighlighted system of relationships. Beginning with the sketches, the compositional process generated many other nodal systems that together become at once a skeleton and scaffolding not only for the writer but also for the reader eager to control the mass of impressions to which he/she is being subjected. Joyce's goal was to produce the effect of the random in a work that was in fact meticulously controlled and crammed full of interactive (and often conflicting) patterns. Ultimately, the nodal infrastructure is only one of many sorts of patterns, but the manuscript evidence suggests that it figured among the earliest and was decisive in the later development of the book.

Nodal systems in the *Wake* may be built around or evolved from narrative sequences, descriptive tropes, clusters of words in an exotic language, song tags—indeed from anything remarkable enough to be isolated by the reader. In more conventional narratives similar procedures help establish the "symbolic," "thematic," or "motival" status of a given image or body of images. My purpose in differentiating between conventional usage and Joyce's essentially anti-narrative nodality is to establish the existence of a special function and emphasis. The conventional fiction uses such images to color its narrative discourse and to shape interpretations. The sort of non-narrative or narrative-resistant structure demanded by the *Wake* necessitates a device that works more like a melodic line upon which variations can be played but that remains capable of carrying structural weight. If the nodal systems contribute ultimately to rhythm and coherence, their immediate role is more obvious and direct: to supply the pegs upon which to hang a reading and to give readers a sense of confidence in the writer's control over his language.

Procedures may vary, the principle is invariable. At some point in the text a significant cluster of closely related details will coalesce. The result is a first nodal level: a well-articulated, free-standing textual circumstance that will find strong secondary resonances strategically located elsewhere. A weaker, tertiary level of allusion will

be more broadly scattered. This last is usually supplemented by a fourth level composed of highly stylized and broadly scattered allusions. Together these materials constitute the fully articulated nodal system.

The early sketches owe their privileged role as "prime nodes" partly to Joyce's decision to unite them, but ultimately to their placement at the beginning, middle, and end of the book. These sketches are after all the passages from which Joyce continued over the years to draw allusive energy, and it is to them that readers of the *Wake* are continually referred. Long before 1939, readers of *Work in Progress* were conditioned to the prevalence of the Tristan and Isolde theme, even though Joyce deliberately published only the four gospellers' portion of II.4. There was also plenty of evidence for the existence of ALP's Letter not only in I.5 but in all of Issy's appearances and in Book III. Indeed, the sketches' absence must have been a half-felt presence to those readers who felt compelled to work through the pages of *transition*.

The decorum imposed by the compositional process tended to favor the Letter, "Tristan," and the already-published "Here Comes Everybody" over the remaining topics. Patrick and Kevin, though expansively treated in the early notebooks, were gradually and subtly identified with Shem and Shaun as opposite-equivalents. Roderick O'Conor, like King Mark of Cornwall, was overshadowed by and identified with HCE. The same process of reconceptualization and thematic peristalsis caused other nodal topics with different thematic resonances to emerge. Each of the latter in turn generated or contributed to a more or less important and discrete nodal system. Ultimately, given the extraordinarily simple and rigorously interconnected subject matter (the nuclear family, the nocturnal setting, the basic components of race/religion/place, the Irish focus, and so on) from which the book developed, it is hardly surprising to find all the nodal systems coalescing to form a powerfully integrated, but unstable and only partially recuperable infrastructure. The latter is of course an analogue for the universal human situation that underlies the mythic dimensions of the text.

To illustrate the prevalence of this structural dynamic and its palpable impact on the reader, I need only cite such neatly organized

mini-systems as the Jute and Mutt/Butt and Taff/Muta and Juva dialogues or the two Shaunish fables that coalesce around the geometry lesson of II.2 (published as "The Muddest Thick"). Each of these is a powerfully integrated unit characterized by its clear focus, its active personae, and the obvious interconnectedness of its parts. The reader of one dialogue will have no problem recognizing the others, and the reader of one Shaunish fable will immediately spot the other (and perhaps relate both to the brother battle focused by "The Muddest Thick").

From a nodal perspective, distribution and chronology are key factors. The dialogue system is capped by the extensive and structurally central tale of Buckley and the Russian General, itself intimately linked to the encounter of HCE and the cad in the park, which is in turn part of the "crime" plot initiated by the "Here Comes Everybody" sketch. Perhaps the best way of perceiving the generative role of that sketch from I.2 is in relation to the dialogue system that clearly buttresses and deepens it, linking the presence and identity of the "great [common] man" to the very foundations of history: the history of scandal and rebellion, to say nothing of father-murder and usurpation.

Though the Buckley tale appears as a projected topic in the earliest "Scribbledehobble" notes under "THE SISTERS" (VI.A.21),[3] the dialogues were not initiated until 1926 with I.1; the Buckley dialogue itself was elaborated late in 1936 as part of the novel's central chapter, II.3; and the third plebeian dialogue was written in 1938 as a scene-setting transition for the Patrick skit. Thus, this particular system spans both the history of *Work in Progress* and the body of the final text.

If the dialogues pit the brothers against authority more than against each other, the fable system has a contrary valance, pitting brother against brother. Less widely distributed, this group of sup-

3. See *JJA* 28:23; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 25. Further and more revealing notes are found in VI.B.2 and VI.B.11. We should not forget that Berkeley/Buckley is cast as the Druid in the Patrick sketch (*FW* 611–12; *FDV* 279; *JJA* 63:146a), in which the roles are appropriately reversed. There is also an important allusion to Buckley in the first draft of I.4. (*FW* 101.15–22; *FDV* 80; *JJA* 46:49).

plementary sketches was written to reenforce the parallels between Shaun's self-justificatory question ten in I.6 and his explanation of his role as deliverer of the Word in II.1. Like the dialogues, "The Mookse and the Gripes" and "the Ondt and the Gracehoper," which Joyce drafted in July 1927 and February 1928, seem at first glance to have been afterthoughts. Joyce had previously (1926) devised Shem's geometry fable which he published as "Muddest Thick." Now located in II.2, that crucial depiction of a Shemish triumph functions as the centerpiece of the system and anchors it firmly within the female Letter plot.

It follows that with his sketches in mind and at different points in the composition process, Joyce deliberately strove to equilibrate the various systems. His sense that the *Wake* required all manner of balancing or rhyming devices was clearly more than instinctual. Note, for example, that the three dialogues have radically different focuses: the first on prehistoric cultural exchanges, the last on the emergence of Irish Catholicism, and the middle one, with its intermezzi and stage directions, on a historical moment, the battle of Sevastopol, which took place in the supposed original homeland of the Gaelic peoples. (These systems also illustrate through parallels and differences the variations possible within this mode of structuration.) It follows that those aspects of the text that seem most closely to approximate narrative developments or temporal moments retain the quality of fragments within the languaged substance of the *Wake*.

Since the book comes close to being cyclical, since it is free of narrative suspense, and since it is subject to multiple readings (none of which is truly the first, though each may have the impact of a first reading), it makes no difference theoretically where the prime sketch or first-level nodal element is located. The fact that a given nodal system has been stated early on alters only slightly the interest repeatedly generated by the omnipresence of clues to its existence. After all, it is the process of informing and fulfilling (the finding of fullness rather than resolution) and the recognition and focusing of rhyming allusions and sequences that inspires reader interest, ensuring the effect of control and order. If the major statement falls in Book IV, as do the "St. Kevin," "St. Patrick and the Druid," and the Letter, it illuminates and reenforces earlier passages and allusions while providing light for later readings.

In a larger sense, by virtue of their contribution to the verbal fabric, the nodal systems guarantee the constant presence of varieties of narrative experience in the absence of coherent threads of narrative discourse.[4] Even in their most explicit (prime) statements, the Letter, the tale of Tristan and Isolde, and even the fall of the great man are full of predictive mystery. It is in this sense that something approximating suspense might have arisen had the book not sublimated and subverted the very narrative and plot conventions in which the sketches, fables, dialogues, and other episodic devices are based. That is, we bring to and find parodically reflected in these various narratives the expectations of romance, melodrama, comedy, and even tragedy. The dawn implications of St. Kevin's self-enwombment or St. Patrick's gift of light to the gentiles evoke, condense, and focus elements of utopic and pastoral narrative, to say nothing of hagiography. The chronicle account parodied by "Roderick O'Conor" is confirmed by "Mamalujo." Eighteenth-century epistolary and medieval romance modes are obvious in the Letter and "Tristan"; the seventeenth-century success narrative and the eighteenth-century Gothic mystery both underlie "Haveth Childers Everywhere." Thus, in a variety of ways and in a variety of suggestive contexts, the traditional narrative subgenres are at once subverted and conserved as an aura.

Joyce's determination to build the *Wake* around the early sketches clearly enabled and conditioned the networks of echoing and interacting passages. In its turn, the nodal procedure inverted Joyce's practice in *Ulysses* and set off a revolution in narrative methods that has yet to run its course.[5] Clearly, nodality does not constitute the

4. For all the efforts made by critics to establish a plot for the *Wake*, it makes little sense to force this prose into a narrative mold. Clive Hart (in *Structure and Motif in "Finnegans Wake"*) is closer to the mark. From his perspective, *Finnegans Wake* is a composition in the Gesamtkunstwerk tradition, an extension of a tendency already evident in *Ulysses*.

5. I have begun the inspection of this post-Wakean tendency in *In the Wake of the "Wake"* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978). The writers discussed and excerpted there all go beyond aping Joyce's punning. All have constructed plotless fictions controlled by some sort of nodality. The point is that, even in the most radical texts, readability (to say nothing of what Roland Barthes calls writability) depends on the availability of patterns and hence on controls.

only structuring mechanism. One can point inter alia to the chapters themselves, to the 3 + 1 Viconian structures that justify the chapters' arrangement and even characterize their internal organization, to the movement from evening to morning, and to the portrait of the primal Earwicker family. All these mechanisms are available to the reader engaged by the book; but access to the larger formal components and to the tenuous narratives they frequently embody is achieved only by means of and through the dense weave of a language designed as much to shield as to reveal them. Thanks to that thicket of words, nodality is essential in the process of acquiring the *Wake*, acquisition being a condition of reading. The excess of signification we encounter finally signifies far less than the process of engaging ourselves in and becoming the text.

No matter what the method, context, or moment of the *Wake*, by recalling and reasserting familiar themes and providing a center for their respective nodal systems, the sketches guaranteed from the beginning the presence of an extensive range of textual and even narrative discourse. Beyond providing much-needed bearings to the edgy reader and confirming authorial control, they gave the developing text free rein to play upon both our expectations and the recognition factor. Through their offices, the narrative tradition was at once buttressed and destroyed in ways best illustrated in relation to the nodal auras generated by two of the most powerful sketches: the "Tristan and Isolde" and the Letter.

On the very first page of the *Wake*, we are alerted to the Tristan theme: "Sir Tristram, violer d'amores, fr'over the short sea, had passencore rearrived from North Armorica on this side of the scraggy isthmus of Europe Minor to wielderfight his penisolate war" (*FW* 3.4–6). From that point on, even the uninitiated reader may pick up and retain certain familiar details from the narrative; however, if the recognition of such rhyming details arouses interest, their random and achronological distribution obviates suspense.

The nodal presence of the Letter is radically different, demanding much more piecing together before ultimately yielding the illusion of narrative progression. Though narrative only by extension and mainly in relation to the larger framework of HCE's guilt and fall (the crime plot) and its own conception and delivery (the Letter plot),

the Letter nodal system is firmly anchored in and conditioned by the *Wake*'s structure. In its details, it is characterized by repetition, variation, counterfeits, and deception. Its prime node is a rambling analphabet attack/defense addressed to the highest authority: a "revered majesty." In chapter I.5, where the theme is first developed, the questions how, by whom, and what concerning the Letter's discovery, genesis, and nature are asked by a pedantic investigator. A second treatment occurs during the children's lessons in II.2, where Issy writes a practice letter, reinvigorating the tired format but revealing nothing more than the perennial concerns of a father's daughter (*FW* 279). In II.3, the Chapelizod publican, HCE, returns from the outhouse where he has perused and perhaps used what seems to be a published version of the "sacred" text (*FW* 356–57):

> I have just (let us suppraise) been reading in a (suppressed) book—it is notwithstempting by meassures long and limited—the latterpress is eminently legligible and the paper, so he eagerly seized upon, has scarsely been buttered in works of previous publicity wholebeit in keener notcase would I turf aside for pastureuration. Packen paper paineth whomto is sacred scriptured sign. (*FW* 356.19–25)

In III.1, Shaun is questioned concerning the Letter's content (*FW* 412–13). Finally, in IV the mystery is solved by a text, inserted in 1938, one that is both exceptionally brief and remarkably clear. The major narrative development and a major nodal system have come simultaneously to their climax/anticlimax.

When, after a delay of six hundred pages and nearly two decades, the actual Word of ALP is heard clearly and without interference, it is a word that holds itself up to ridicule as do those of Smollett's maid servant Winifred Jenkins and her mistress Tabitha Bramble, two of Joyce's models.[6] But then the letter with its formal con-

6. To get an idea of the prose from which ALP's discourse departs, see Tabitha's letter of May 19 and Winifred's of June 3 in *Humphry Clinker*. The latter contains, along with an allusion to Welsh barrows, a reference to the ninth commandment so comically amended by Anna Livia: "thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor wife" (*FDV* 81.21–22 [simplified]; *JJA* 46:255). I

straints is not ALP's true medium, as we see when the nine-page "Soft morning, city" monologue carries us out to the morning and the sea.

Ultimately, the Letter's function as nodal pre-text outweighs its role in the "plot" development. After all, the "suspense" generated by this motif is not dissipated by the revelations in Book IV. Readers hardly need to solve the mystery of the missive's contents when the *Wake* itself remains a source of endless surprises and ever-changing vistas. By contrast, the text of the Letter tends to coalesce with other motifs,[7] themes, and narrative elements while generating on its own a multitude of implications. The Professor's question "who in hall-

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would suggest that there are other borrowings from this novel, from Smollett, and from eighteenth-century comic fiction and polemics. See, for example, the descriptions of Shem's mind and habitat in relation to Matthew Bramble's splendid polemics against aspects of England (like Bath society, London, cathedrals, and so on). Little has been written on this topic, but see James S. Atherton, *The Books at the Wake* (New York: Viking, 1960), p. 280, and Adaline Glasheen, *Third Census of "Finnegans Wake"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

7. I am using Clive Hart's term here partly in tribute to his original insight. Hart's "leitmotiv" overlaps with and foreshadows the concept of nodalization, but like the term "node" advanced by other critics (e.g., Umberto Eco, Marcelyn Pleynet, and Stephen Heath), it functions in very different ways. Hart is preoccupied mainly with brief allusions that would be placed low on any nodal scale. His practice of building up from the minimal evocative marker or motif to the larger cluster leads him to posit "motif agglomerations" of which there are two sorts, the first a simple grouping of disparate motifs, the second and more important the "true interacting *leitmotiv*-complex, of which the Letter is the most outstanding example" (p. 180). I would suggest that this sort of "complex" is more handily viewed as a prime node, that it is used in the *Wake* far less sparingly than Hart claims, and that it should be seen as generating as well as joining motifs. Hart also makes use of the term "node." But for him the "nodal point" occurs when Joyce, in his catalogues, halts the "narrative for a moment . . . filling the pause with . . . concentrations of motifs" so that the "reader can contemplate the primary materials at his leisure" (ibid). From our perspective nodes are effectively prime materials and the prime nodes halt not the narrative (which they may in fact constitute in its purest form), but the flow of the rhetoric before they once again break down into their component parts. I believe this distinction is crucial if we are to understand how the nodes help structure the book.

hagal wrote the durn thing anyhow?" (*FW* 107.36–108.1) is in important ways beside the point, being precisely the reductive sort of thing one does not seriously ask of the *Wake*. It is also, needless to say, along with other openended questions (who dreams the *Wake*, who sat for its characters, and so on), among the most frequently asked.

As we have seen, and like the other sketches, the Letter read to us (by us) in Book IV has its secondary nodes: (1) the description of the manuscript, its discovery, and its presumed origins;[8] (2) a treatment of Issy as the young ALP practicing writing; (3) HCE telling the pub(lic) his reactions to the document he may have wiped himself with; (4) Shaun telling a Shemish questioner about the Letter and his obligation to deliver it. These passages, some of which are as long or longer than the primary node, are not chronologically ordered in the book, a fact consistent with the essentially undiagetic nature of all nodal systems. Further, though we find examples of what Clive Hart calls "major statements" of the Letter motif in both I.5 and II.2, those "statements" do not constitute the substance of any of what I am calling secondary nodes.[9]

Each secondary node is in turn the source of at least one further nodal system. For example, the professorial account given in I.5 points up the sacred book analogy, turning the text dug up from the kitchen midden by the neighborhood hen and rescued by a schoolboy into a fragment of the lost past, a mysterious scripture. It also illuminates a stage in the development of religions, the moment when theological scholarship brings myth, rumor, and suspicion into focus and begins the process of evolving a rational code of belief and practice. Further, by using a male voice to describe the *female* Word, it at once introduces the apparently subdominant[10] nocturnal

8. For a fuller treatment of the Letter in the context of this chapter, see Bernard Benstock's "Concerning Lost Historeve" in *A Conceptual Guide to "Finnegans Wake,"* ed. Michael H. Begnal and Fritz Senn (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), pp. 33–55. Benstock's focus is on the sort of narrative development to which my current approach is opposed.

9. Hart, *Structure and Motif*, p. 232.

10. As we shall see below (in Chapter 7), this term should be modified. The book can be seen as dividing itself into male and female halves, and the early history of chapter I.5 illustrates how Joyce established that division.

force and hides that force's subjective energy behind a mask of male objectivity. Or, again, we have the metaphor both for the creation of this book and for aesthetic creation in general, a mystery that haunted Joyce throughout his career. Such systems are also secondary in respect to the overall structure of the *Wake* because the reader need not perceive their organization. All, however, are clearly generated by and subservient to the sketch that had to be drafted and even revised before I.5 could be written in the winter of 1923.

With this in mind, one can point to a tertiary level of the Letter system. The latter is composed of significant passages that are more oblique in their rendering of the nodal subject and function mainly as brief asides. Since the message is presented in a more sublimated form, the Letter's content tends to be garbled in such passages. Still, as Clive Hart's listings indicate, recognizable allusions are worked into their texture along with the Letter's distinctive subject matter and terminology.

On pages 11–12 in chapter I.1, we find a description of an avatar of the hen Biddy Doran, the "gnarlybird," who scavenges on the field of battle. Buried here are "masses of meltwhile" Letter (*FW* 111.30). These include an echo of the children's Christmas letter (*FW* 308) in "we wish for a muddy kissmans"; an allusion to the letter from Boston in "boaston nightgarters"; the salutation "Majesty" (*FW* 625.13) in "muchears and midgers and maggets"; and following the catalogue of battlefield detritus, the complementary close, "With Kiss. Kiss Criss. Cross Criss. Kiss Cross." Appropriately, the passage ends with another close and a signature: "Undo lives 'end. Slain." Since the "gnarlybird" is scavenging on the field of "glory" and figuratively destroying and mending reputations, we need not be surprised that the next paragraph ends with a reference to the enigmatic tea stain ("the tay is wet") with which the Letter examined by the Professor of chapter I.5 is signed.

Joyce knew that he was building intratextual connections: the Letter references were all added during one revision of the second draft of I.1 (November 1926).[11] In July 1926, he began drafting the

11. See *JJA* 44:64. A note to Miss Weaver makes this procedure transparent: "By the way the pieces in /\ abcd connected with the Roderick O'Conor passage

geometry lesson for II.2, the first draft of which contains a Shemish meditation (now *FW* 301.2–302.10) on letter writing, a *Schwärmerei* or "jimmyinswearmorose."[12] This confusing and tentative, but extensive, passage was elaborated upon in a series of drafts. In 1934, however, when he composed, dismembered, and reconstituted the "Storiella" opening for II.2, Joyce blotted the male letter with a more powerful female one: Issy's meditation on her letter-writing lesson and her letter-footnote on pages 278–81. Because the Issy passage is a long and fully developed secondary node, we should probably read Shem's letter project as preparatory, a trial run, so to speak. It too figures as part of the lessons, and it too uses tags drawn from letter-writing conventions. Flowing smoothly from another sort of composition (the geometric diagram), it describes a bout of self-pity during which Shem contemplates among other things writing his own letter to his lady (Issy or an extension of his mother). Beginning as an instance of Shemish self-abasement before Shaun's characteristic rage ("I remain to fallthereatyourfeet jimmyinswearmorose"), it quickly evolved into a fullblown mock-formal epistolary conclusion.[13] Only later did Joyce insert the semi-autobiographical male opening: "Dear and he went on to scripple gentlemine born, milady bread, he would pen for her, he would pine for her. . . . My animal his sorrafool! And trieste, ah trieste ate I my liver!" (*FW* 301.10–16). Direct allusions to ALP's Letter occupy only a fraction of this two-page passage, most of which deals with Shaun's reactions to the exposure of his mother and his confused

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are respectively pp. 52, 53, 82, 83, 102 [of the second typescript]." *Letters* 1:243.

12. Joyce seems to have put himself directly into this complex pun on romantic posturing before retreating behind "hurryaswormarose" (*FW* 302.27; *FDV* 165.31; *JJA* 53:6).

13. Among the additions to the primitive draft is a sentence appropriate to the formal and "male" business letter, which would naturally conclude with something like "With best apologigs for again trisposing on your bumficence" (*FDV* 165.27–28 [simplified]; *JJA* 53:6). A more childish and feminine (see "pissing") final version reads, "With best apolojigs and merrymoney thanks to self for all the clerricals and again begs guerdon for bistrispissing on your bunificence" (*FW* 302.4–7).

attack on his erring brother. As often occurs, references to other nodal systems are worked into the densely textured final version. Thus, Tristan appears as the teastain signatory: "With a capital Tea for Thirst" (*FW* 302.8–9).

Other tertiary nodes can be listed briefly: the "NIGHTLETTER," a ghoulish juvenile spoof at the end of II.2 (*FW* 308); the account of ALP as secretary bird/scavenger, which briefly interrupts the pubjury's deliberations in II.3 to summarize schematically the Letter's history and mark the decline of the hero (*FW* 369–70); and a few lines from Issy's response to a departing Jaun in III.2, during which her gift handkerchief (a version of Veronica's cloth) is identified as a letter and signed with "x.x.x.x." (*FW* 457–58). It should be clear from this partial listing that, while none of these passages adds significantly to our sense of the nodal subject, each of them furthers the system by connecting the Letter to other facets of the night world, increasing its physical presence and range. Further, the location is in each case fitting, pointing up some aspect that has been developed elsewhere.

The three strata of the system outlined above suggest at least two more levels that would broaden the base of the pyramid. On a fourth level we find a strongly marked allusion hidden in an account of the development of the alphabet (*FW* 18.30). Somewhat less accessible and belonging to a fifth level is an isolated allusion to the catchphrase "it begins to appear" randomly pasted onto a passing reference to the critical reception and publication history of *Ulysses*: "it agins to pear like it" (*FW* 292.8). Such fleeting references are doubtless the most numerous and widespread, but they are also the hardest to locate and chart. Occurring as they do in less immediately appropriate places and being quite unaccented, they constitute an allusive substance that would slip readily through Clive Hart's motival net, losing itself in the text's more fluid substrata.

Because the nodal systems were not preplanned, but rather grew into and with the text, each of them sets its own rules. Not surprisingly, the Tristan and Isolde, based as it is on a more conservative principle of plot, differs in order and magnitude from the Letter system. Its primary node falls near the middle of the book in II.4, where the seduction scene is witnessed by the senile four. Like the

other sketches, the published sequence is remarkable for its clarity of presentation and, despite the intrusive comments of the old men, for its chronological development. In 1938, Joyce was able to meld "Tristan" and the "Mamalujo," retaining the rhythms of both without significantly altering the *fin-de-siècle* and American twenties overlay of the original Tristan skit (March 1923) in which he had incorporated so many of his early notes:

> It brought the dear prehistoric scenes all back again . . . and after that now there he was, that mouth of mandibles, vowed to pure beauty, and his Arrah-na-poghue, when she murmurously, after she let a cough, gave her firm order, if he wouldn't please mind, for a sings to one hope a dozen of the best favourite lyrical national blooms in Luvillicit, though not too much, reflecting on the situation, drinking in draughts of purest air serene and revelling in the great outdoors, before the four of them, in the fair fine night, whilst the stars shine bright, by she light of he moon, we longed to be spoon, before her honeyoldloom, the plaint effect being in point of fact there being in the whole, a seatuition so shocking and scandalous and now, thank God, there were no more of them . . . listening, to Rolando's deepen darblun Ossian roll, (Lady, it was just too gorgeous, that expense of a lovely tint, embellished by the charms of art and very well conducted and nicely mannered and all the horrid rudy noisies locked up in nasty cubbyhole!) (*FW* 385.18–386.3)[14]

14. Among the most accessible sequences in the *Wake*, this medieval/Hollywood seduction mediates between two other sexual interludes: the more obliquely rendered mating of earth and water, mountain and stream, HCE and ALP in I.8 and the grotesque and unsatisfactory bedding of Mr and Mrs Porter in III.4. The latter sardonically turns the married couple into a landscape of love, a map of Phoenix Park, and hence a symptom of renewal out of bitter ashes. We may note that these three passages are cast respectively in the mythic, romantic, and realistic modes, that all fall in the terminal or recorso chapter, and that (along with ALP's "Soft morning" monologue) they are among the very few sequences that feature normal sexual attitudes and behavior. Thus, the central lovemaking sequence ultimately contributed to a secondary nodal system that is not necessarily less important than the elaborately developed Tristan and Isolde system.

Most striking about the Tristan system, along with its generative function, is its integrity and omnipresence. If the most explicit sequence is the Wagnerian kiss/philtre, secondary nodal sequences recount with less clarity other adventures. On pages 94–96 in chapter I.4, an irreverent narrative voice tells how the senile four ("four-bottle men, the analists") spy on and malign King Mark of Cornwall without once alluding to Tristan and Isolde by name except in terms of "dear Sir Armoury, queer Sir Rumoury"[15] (*FW* 96.7) and "trickle trickle trickle triss" (*FW* 96.15). The emphasis here is on the role of Mark ("old markiss their besterfar" [*FW* 96.5]) and "marcus" (*FW* 96.6) as one of several of HCE's avatars as the deceived father/husband. In this context Mark is also "Singabob, the badfather" (*FW* 94.33) from the *1001 Nights* and "Dirty Daddy Pantaloons" (*FW* 94.34–5),[16] the commedia dell'arte lecher/merchant/husband. The passage dismisses him as "that old gasometer with his hooping coppin and his dyinboosycough" (*FW* 95.7–8) and a "big brewer's belch" (*FW* 95.26). Though the intratextual allusion to Mark and the events of II.4 are unmistakable, the ship has been replaced by a field and a forest, Issy is identified with the flirtatious Molly Bloom, and the seducer coalesces with the pub-crawling dun of "Cyclops" if not with Lenehan, the aging parasite:

> O breezes! I sniffed that lad long before anyone. It was when I was in my farfather out at the west and she and myself, the redheaded girl,[17] firstnighting down Sycomore Lane. Fine feelplay we had of it mid the kissabetts frisking in the kool kurkle dusk of the lushiness. My perfume of the pampas, says she (meaning me) putting out her netherlights, and I'd sooner one precious sip at your pure mountain dew than enrich my acquaintance with that big brewer's belch. (*FW* 95.18–26)

15. The reference is to the Norman conqueror Sir Amory Tristan, ancestor of the lords of Howth. See Glasheen, p. 289.

16. In the first draft of the Tristan skit, Mark is "that tiresome old pantaloon" (*FDV* 209.23–24 [simplified]; *JJA* 56:3).

17. In II.4, Isolde has "nothing under her hat but red hair and solid ivory" (*FW* 396.9–10).

The passage continues with a reference to the babes in the woods and the sly adultery aspect of the Tristan tale (see the lovers' exile in the wood of Morois) as the four discuss

> her whosebefore and his whereafters and how she was lost away away in the fern and how he was founded deap on deep in anear,[18] and the rustlings and the twitterings and the raspings and the snappings and the sighings and the paintings and the ukukuings and the (hist!) the springapartings and the (hast!) the bybyscuttlings and the scandalmunkers and the pure craigs that used to be. . . .(*FW* 95.28–35)

As so often happens in well-developed secondary nodes, this passage has taken on a life of its own, falling simultaneously by associative linkage within a number of other nodal systems. Still, those elements belonging to the Tristan development are preponderant, effectively prefiguring and extending a sequence the reader will not reencounter for three hundred pages.

Another secondary node falls in III.4, a chapter whose central event is the Porters' unsuccessful coitus. Leading up to that act is a thinly veiled account of the lovers' tryst by the pine in the castle garden. A close reading of that passage reveals the following sequence of allusions: Issy-Isolde and the forest theme (*FW* 556); Issy-Isolde and the philtre (*FW* 561); Shaun as Tristan the opportunist (*FW* 562); Shem as the sad romantic lover of Isolde (*FW* 563); Shem as Tristan by the pine, carving out messages in wood chips (*FW* 564); and finally, a map of love recording the erotic zones of the parents that conceals, among other things, the trysting lovers (*FW* 570–72):[19]

18. This is an allusion to ALP's origins as a brook in the hills of county Wicklow (see I.8) and HCE as the Norwegian captain, an avatar of the sea (see II.3), but then Tristan and Isolde are really a version of the parents' youth.

19. Here a secondary subject is Oscar Wilde and sodomy. The emphasis is reversed on page 588, where a passage on Wilde's crime, trial, and incarceration includes references to "issy's busy down the dell" and to a variety of trees.

> This place of endearment! How it is clear! And how they cast their spells upon, the fronds that thereup float, the bookstaff branchings! The druggeted stems, the leaves incut on trees! Do you can their tantrist spellings? I can lese, skillmistress aiding. Elm, bay, this way, cull dare, take a message, tawny runes ilex sallow, meet me at the pine. Yes, they shall have brought us to the water trysting, by hedjes of maiden ferm, then here in another place is their chapelofeases, sold for song, of which you have thought my praise too much my price. O ma ma! Yes, sad one of Ziod? Sell me, my soul dear! Ah, my sorrowful, his cloister dreeping of his monkshood, how it is triste to death, all his dark ivytod! Where cold in dearth. Yet see, my blanching kissabelle, in the under close she is allso gay, her kirtles green, her curtsies white, her peony pears, her nistlingsloes! I, pipette, I must also quickingly to tryst myself softly into this littleeasechapel. (*FW* 571.3–18)

The principal episode to be farcically distorted here is the assignation made by Tristan, who sets cleverly carved chips afloat in the stream that passes through the royal chambers, asking Isolde to meet him at the great pine in the garden. The lovers' cunningly disguised names are distributed throughout the passage: "tantrist . . . trysting . . . sold . . . sad one of Ziod . . . my sorrowful . . . triste . . . blanching kissabelle . . . tryst. . . ." It is precisely this sort of concentration of variously broad and subtle hints and particularly the allusions to episodes and proper names that marks the typical secondary node.[20]

We may now see how Joyce contrived to give an aura of integrity to the primary and secondary nodes. If II.4 has a couple orientation, focusing more or less equally on each lover, I.4 (1923) focuses mainly on Mark, and III.4 (1924) emphasizes Isolde's role. Joyce seems to have worked out these permutations of focus even before he completed them with an extended parenthetical treatment of

20. Other episodes are also being flagged: see Tristan's disguises, first as Tantris and later as a monk, and the death of Tristan associated with Iseult Blanchemains underlying the reference to "tantrist spellings," "his cloister dreeping of his monkshood," "dark ivytod . . . blanching kissabelle." In a sense the entire romance is encapsulated in these pages.

"Dolph, dean of idlers" (*FW* 287.18) in II.2 (1926), which conflates Tristan's voyages to Ireland with those of St. Patrick. The parenthesis interrupts the extensive and dramatic exposure of female genitalia in the geometry lesson or "Muddest Thick," just as the "trist" passage in III.4 intrudes upon a treatment of HCE/Porter's Wellington Monument. Like all the other secondary nodes, II.2's parenthesis is narrated from the perspective of the "four." By including it in a central chapter, Joyce has achieved a semblance of formal balance while preparing us for the more frontal treatment in II.4.

Like the Letter system, the Tristan and Isolde proliferates, taking on different tonalities in different contexts, frequently blending with other systems but achieving strong coherence and consistency. We can point to six fairly distinct nodal levels: (1) the central statement in II.4; (2) tributary statements where the plot is elaborated in I.4, II.2, and III.4; (3) extended passages where, despite references to the personae and aspects of the tale, the tale itself is subdominant; (4) passages of a line or two that coherently evoke "Tristan and Isolde" but in an alien context; (5) passages containing brief allusions to correlative romances like the Dermot and Grania tale or the various Arthurian legends; (6) brief and generally unsupported references to the chief personae or to some central attribute. The components of each succeeding category are more numerous than those of the preceding one, and category (6) is by far the largest. There we find items like "Chapelldiseut" (*FW* 236.20), whose spelling underscores the French origins of this village name and the presence of the heroine but whose immediate context, though evocative of young maidenhood, is one of several versions of the Edgar Quinet citation.

Elements from these various levels tend to form clusters while blending into the larger allusive fabric of the *Wake*. For example, page 238 bristles with references to Oscar Wilde's career while foreshadowing Jaun's sermon in III.2. In that context we find, along with an oblique reference to Tristan's death at Penmark, three clear references to Isolde of Brittany and fidelity: "isaspell . . . ishibilley" (*FW* 238.3–4), "for sold long syne" (*FW* 238.12–3). To this same category (4) belong relatively coherent allusions like this one in Pidgin English to the bath given Tristan by Isolde: "An they bare falls witless against thee how slight becomes a hidden wound? Sold-

woter he wash him all time bigfeller bruisy place blong him" (*FW* 247.22–25). On the very next page we find a category (3) allusion to the kiss and to the adventure in the forest in a passage that includes references to Isolde and Mark. In keeping with Joyce's allusive method, the same page contains references to St. Kevin and to Arthur Rimbaud in his role as "le voyant" (*FW* 248.23–249.4).

Though the other sketches generate systems that are less elaborate, all the many statements concerning HCE's vulnerable eminence, his mature vigor, and his mysterious crime evolve from and refer back to the "Here Comes Everybody" sketch. The fall from eminence along with aging and impotence are clearest in "Roderick O'Conor," to which all the Mamalujo sequences are tributary. From the "St. Kevin" we may trace not only references to the Kevin myth, but also to Shaun as Kevin and to Shaun's (false and sentimental) piety, his youthful innocence, and his identity as a solar being. Similarly, there is the large and virtually unexplored system of allusions to St. Patrick, to the confrontation of brothers, to victories won by sleight of hand, and so on. Inevitably these interrelated systems contribute to a single overriding network/skeleton/scaffolding of allusions to the post-fall man subject to the daily, seasonal, and life cycles and to the vicissitudes of history and human relations. Far from being static, the result of Joyce's decision to link his sketches is a proliferating, dynamic, and virtually uncontrollable infrastructure of relationships, rhymes, and echoes.

Though I am claiming for the sketches a distinct role as the initiators of the nodal infrastucture, they constitute only the first of at least nine categories that I shall list in something like their order of importance:

(1) The early sketches through the Letter.
(2) Passages devoted to character exposition: the profiles and monologues.
(3) Symmetrical passages such as the brother confrontations and the fables.
(4) Expositions of major themes: the fall, the flood, the crime, historical decay, sexual activity, sexual deviance, writing, language, etc.

(5) Exposure of aspects of the landscape: river, mountain, tree, stone, city, park, sea, fauna and flora.
(6) Allusive parallels drawn from history, religion, and literature: Oscar Wilde, Shakespeare, Ibsen, Swift, Sterne, Smollett, Renan, Bishop Berkeley, Parnell, Christ, Buddha, Freud and Jung, etc.
(7) Allusions to Joyce, his work, and his family.
(8) Key rhythmic clusters: the tonality of the river, the legalistic "tion" references to the twelve apostles/patrons/judges/hours/months, the Quinet passage, HCE's stutter, the thunder words, song and poetic tags, etc.
(9) Foreign-language word clusters.

In composing *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce was neither filling in the blanks of a prefabricated structural plan nor indulging in free association. On the one hand, he did not complete his plan before 1926, and important changes were made as late as 1932. On the other hand, the decorum or rule system established by the procedures of composition owes much to his determination to integrate all the early sketches. Furthermore, from the early compositional stages on, even before the *Wake* language was established, the text was destined to run after its own language, adding allusions or picking them up in an effort to gain and regain mastery over an increasingly comprehensive body of material, a self-contained and universal all-bookness similar to the one posited by Mallarmé for his "Livre." Joyce's effort was partly to make language obey *his* rules rather than its own, partly to exploit the potential of words and syntax, partly to discover and disclose his quintessential "givens" everywhere. It is the result of this process to which the reader reacts in a mirror struggle to master the "proteiform graph" that has enmeshed him. Like the writer's, his is an effort to assert a self (by imposing a pattern or a flux of patterns) or rather to win a self back from the language over which he repeatedly gains and as often loses mastery. To this process the "proteiform" network of nodal systems, initiated by the sketch concept, makes important contributions by imposing on the very texture of the text it permeates rhythmic orders with recognizable but fluid dimensions.

3

Tristan and Isolde: Rethinking *Exiles* and Beginning the *Wake*

In the beginning was the idea of narration, the theme of an adulterous liaison between a Cornish knight and an Irish princess and perhaps the concept of a guilt-ridden dreamer. It was "Tristan and Isolde," however, that provided Joyce with the first spark and the most persistent flame. Since no other early idea or passage played so significant a role, a careful analysis of the theme's derivation and development is crucial to our genetic approach.

A clue to the nature of Joyce's early engagement with the "Tristan"/*Exiles* complex is to be found in two of his letters. In the first, dated 11 March 1922, he wrote Harriet Weaver of "a sketch which somebody did, unknown to me, while I was meditatively whistling bits of *Tristan and Isolde*."[1] One month later, he wrote her, "It will surprise me very much if that society you mention ever produces *Exiles*. At regular intervals somebody appears suddenly from somewhere professing great enthusiasm for the play and affirming that he is going to put it on. Nothing more is ever heard of him."[2] Though separated by a month, these comments suggest that both the play and

1. *Letters* 1:183.
2. Ibid.

the romance were on his mind in early 1922, one year before he drafted "Roderick O'Conor." If we relate these comments to the passages under "Exiles" concerning Fritz Vanderpyl, one of which includes an allusion to Lillian Wallace, that dating seems even more plausible. Joyce met Vanderpyl through Pound in mid–1920;[3] he met the Wallaces in the "spring and summer of 1921."[4] Given a reference to Pound under "Exiles (.II.)," ("Tantris is shadow of Tristan (EP)"),[5] it seems reasonable to assume that the very early "Exiles" notes were taken by mid–1922.

None of this establishes either when Joyce actually entered the "Scribbledehobble" notes or what plans he had early on for the use of the Tristan romance. About the latter, however, I have a theory supported by another letter and a few notes. On 6 February 1923, in response to a query, Joyce wrote Harriet Weaver "What can I say about the *Odyssey*? I made heaps of notes about it (supposedly) which I could not fit in. I was trying lately to sort these out according to a brandnew system I have invented for the greater complication and torment of myself.[6]. . . It is curious that no critic has followed up Mr Larbaud's clue on the parallelism of the two books. They think it is too good to be true."[7] We should be struck by the fact that, shortly before he began writing his sketches, Joyce was still concerned with Homer and Homeric analogies. His notes in the contemporaneous VI.B.10 show that he had also begun to relate the *Odyssey* to Tristan. In that notebook we find first an entry that precisely parallels Pound's remark, "Polyphemous is Ul's shadow" (VI.B.10.2)[8] and only a few pages later a sequence of notes that take us to what appears to be the center of Joyce's earliest plan. On that page we find first a list of writers who had used or were presently

3. Ellmann, pp. 490–92.

4. Ibid., p. 516.

5. VI.A.301; *JJA* 28:95; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 81.

6. The system in question could relate to "Scribbledehobble," but more likely it is the one contrived for a lost notebook full of entries under headings related to the *Odyssey* and *Ulysses* and available to us only in France Raphael's transcription (VI.C.7.136–269; *JJA* 41:406–40).

7. *Letters* 1:200.

8. *JJA* 31:81.

rewriting "Tristan," and second a comparison of the two Isoldes with Penelope and Calypso:

Tristan — Binyon
Tennyson
Wagner
Michael Field
Swinburne
Arnold
Debussy
Gordon Bottomly
write it in love

O la musique
Avec les soldiques

Isolde of Britt — Pen[elope]
[Isolde of] white hands Calyp[so]
(VI.B.10.15)[9]

It is entirely possible that Joyce was contemplating using the Tristan tale much as he had the *Odyssey*, as a template for his new novel. The writers and composers listed (Bottomly being appropriately squeezed in at the end of the list) were doubtless viewed as competitors just as those using Homer had been when Joyce arrived in Paris. Of course, there is no way to tell whether or not he contemplated the contemporary parallel or whether he was thinking of an extended and broad parody/pastiche. It is certain, however, that he continued to consider Tristan as *the* central model even after he had discovered and begun to develop the family romance. The line "write it in love" is not so much enigmatic as unclear, and the doggerel may be a citation, but this sequence, more than any other

9. Ibid., p. 87. Perhaps inadvertently, perhaps because he had in fact not yet researched *Tristan*, Joyce has made the same Isolde do double duty. One would think that he meant to compare Isolde of Ireland, not Isolde of Brittany (or "Blanches Mains"), to Penelope. However, the use of English suggests that he had yet to read his French source, Bédier (see below).

and along with the considerable evidence for research in the theme, suggests that Joyce was leaning toward a smaller, slighter, and more transparently pantomimic allegorical work. We should remember, however, that the notes date from a period of indecision and exploration of which the first half of this notebook seems to mark the terminus. It is that period which we are about to explore.

As we have seen, the tale of Tristan and Isolde, quite apart from the themes it generates, functions in *Finnegans Wake* as a variable complex of recognizable motifs contributing, along with a number of other themes, to the book's unity. More explicit and baldly ironic than the *Odyssey* parallel, it is presented even less consecutively, chronologically, or fully. In *Ulysses* and *A Portrait* there are allusions to the founding myth, but no attempt is made to retell the tales. Here the myth is recounted or enacted in segments, which, though usually occulted, nevertheless follow some aspect of the narrative line. A parodic version of "Tristan and Isolde" that assumes an awareness of the traditional versions functions as part of the actual substance of the novel. Along with other narratives reproduced or reenacted in the text, it helps fill a void by constituting a narrative subtext for an essentially non-narrative textual procedure. These same procedures enabled Joyce to suggest a Tristan subtext contributing to the book's major "narrative" concern: the fall, exoneration, and reinstatement of the male or daylight force embodied by the everyman HCE ("the story of the house of the 100 bottles").

The location of the Tristan sketch, its setting, and the counterpoint set up between it and the collapse of the mature male all contribute mightily to what might be called the dramatic structure of the *Wake*. On the other hand, the complex analogical functions of this narrative reflect a further stage in the development of allegorical analogy, one that simultaneously foregrounds and obscures the patterns from which it departs. Joyce seems to have learned from *Ulysses* that readers, to say nothing of critics, don't always see what is spelled out for them. From the opening page, the timeless "Sir Tristram, violer d'amores," is a textual presence demanding to be released from his textual bottle.

No surprise, therefore, that, once we get beyond the basic sketch,

and even more emphatically than other well-articulated themes, Tristan's tale is everywhere one cares to look and seldom fully extricable from the verbal fabric. Beyond the nodal allusions to the traditional tale is a system focused by "Storiella" and four complementary monologues, two each for Isolde of Ireland (la Belle) and Isolde of Brittany (Blanches Mains).

It is noteworthy that, while Tristan receded as a persona after the first few years of composition, giving his traits to Shem and Shaun, Isolde became Issy, who grew ever more complex, never changed her name, and even donated her identity to the locale of HCE's pub, Chapelizod. The notebook history of these transformations would in itself provide material for a long essay. For now it should suffice to say that directly or indirectly the romance provided primary substance for fourteen long passages and nine shorter ones.

Depending on the context, the tale's protagonists are coupled with other figures with whom they share traits. Thus Tristan, fundamentally a Shemish figure, is linked in Book II to other identities for Shem—for example, Patrick, Swift, and Dave the Dancekerl. Likewise, because not all of Shaun's traits coincide with the romance, we find a Shaunish Tristan mainly in Book III. HCE as Mark, on the other hand, shares traits with the commedia dell'arte figure of Pantaloon as the aging lecher, with Swift in the same role, with Roderick O'Conor, and with King Arthur. Issy is, among other things, Lewis Carroll's lookingglass girl, a female narcissus, and a reductive Lilith. And so forth to endless interlacings.

As adapted for *Finnegans Wake*, the tale exemplifies the young adults' attempt to prolong courtship and courting games during an irresponsible or preresponsible period. In addition to much joyous horseplay, the Joycean reading involves the unseating of the parental or limiting force, an event that, when viewed from other angles, becomes either the mock-tragic recognition of the limits of the controlling will or the locus of lecherous voyeurism. In terms of the life cycle, the young adults' attempt to stop time at the optimal hour is foredoomed and potentially tragic. Accordingly, the settings derived from the romance are idyllic or edenic, suspended outside of time: a garden, a forest, a bedroom, a ship at sea.[10] But it is equally true that

10. We may note that this condition corresponds to the carnival achronology

the temporal element and the watchful eye constantly threaten to dissolve those illusions as they do in the romance, which is itself, like the Greek epic, an amalgam of many conventions and moods. Whatever its underlying implications, Joyce's reworking of *Tristan and Isolde* is, on the surface of it, uniformly burlesque. From the outset, his handling of the characters suggests a Christmas pantomime that grotesquely distorts passion and yearning, creating dream gargoyles out of the stuff of sentiment. That very handling was premonitory of the large accumulation of pantomime references that were sown throughout the *Wake* and even of the treatment accorded HCE and ALP, neither of whom was derived from the romance roots.

Like the philtre that is love and death, the characters of Joyce's "Tristan" embody the forces that will destroy, or rather dissipate them; for they have no substance other than that of the dream. Thus the Shem aspect of Tristan is a poetic projection of passion. The Shaun aspect performs a mock enactment of sexual activity which culminates in the tired coitus of the parental pair in III.4. Mark-HCE is by turns the dread authority figure, the superseded and impotent voyeur, and the outright clown. He is also a figure who, in the primitive (pre-fall and prenocturnal) past, has been a virile Dermot to ALP's Grania. (Unlike Tristan and Isolde, these Irish ur-heroes do not actually appear on the stage of the *Wake*.) As a projection of the dreamer, he is the most significant of the three figures, just as the reader is the most active protagonist.

The earliest raw materials for the Tristan sketch are a hundred-odd notes found in the "Scribbledehobble" notebook under the headings "Exiles (.I.)" and "Exiles (.II.)" and dealing specifically with events, background, or ramifications of the tale. In *Finnegans Wake*, 247 references, concentrated mainly in the Tristan passages alluded to above, can be traced to fifty-four of these notes.[11] We may even find them in such passages as ALP's farewell speech,

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described by Mikhail Bakhtin, an intercalary moment during which normal activity is suspended in favor of the dangerous joys of celebration. See chapter 3 of *Rabelais and His World* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968).

11. In his edition of the notebook, Thomas Connolly lists only fifteen of these references.

which itself can be traced to the "Exiles" note, "I[solde] points out beauties of hazy Ireland"(VI.A.302).[12] The last passage to be written for the *Wake*, ALP's monologue, significantly enough, treats a sightseeing walk along the Liffey in the early morning haze. How dramatically this fact testifies to the longevity of these early notes as well as to the importance of the Tristan theme!

Three books, one opera and, in all probability, one or two conversations contributed to the development of the early Tristan notes under "Exiles." The first of the books, Joseph Bédier's *Tristan et Iseult*,[13] is a philologist's attempt to reconstitute the basic or ur narrative of the romance. There are a great number of clear references to Bédier in the notes and many more in the *Wake* itself. Of the philologist's other writings, Joyce certainly read his introduction to the Anglo- Norman Thomas' *Tristan*,[14] an essay that contains important if negative references to the Celtic roots of the tale. Less direct, but singularly important was the impact of Joyce's reading, probably at the author's urging, of Ezra Pound's *Instigations*,[15] which, along with an important appreciation of Joyce's *Ulysses*, contains Pound's adaptation of Jules Laforgue's *moralité* "Salomé." It is to Laforgue's anachronistic parody that we may perhaps trace the tone and some of the strategies of the early Tristan sketch. Finally, from Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, Joyce took the subject matter for his notes under "Exiles (.I.)."

Joyce's interest in Tristan can be traced, first, to an emotional commitment, dating at least from 1909, to the theme of cuckoldry. Before *Ulysses*, that theme received its fullest expression in *Exiles*, with its sublimation of the Tristan tale. As we shall see in our discussion of the dreams recorded in the post-"Scribbledehobble"

12. *JJA* 28:96; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 82. See the earliest versions of the monologue in *JJA* 63:209–10; *FDV* 284–85.

13. Joseph Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan et Iseult* (Paris, 1924; first published in 1900).

14. *Le roman de Tristan par Thomas*, vol. II, ed. Joseph Bédier (Paris, 1902).

15. *Instigations of Ezra Pound*: Together with an Essay on the Chinese Written Character by Ernest Fenollosa (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920).

notebooks, that interest evolved into a concern for the problem of incest (father/daughter, brother/sister.)[16]

One may advance any number of further reasons. Springing from Celtic roots (probably from the Irish tale of Dermot and Grania), the tale had become by the twelfth century a monument to literary and cultural cosmopolitanism acquiring a gloss appropriate to the continental courtly tradition. Perhaps that cosmopolitan gloss rendered it unfit for treatment by the poets of the Irish literary revival. Yet by the turn of the present century, this literary exile from Irish insularity was one of the crown jewels of the *fin de siècle*, and ripe for parodic adaptation by a self-exiled Irishman who had rejected his own *fin-de-siècle* roots.

Wagner's version, the only one with which the younger writer was thoroughly familiar, emphasizes, in addition to the Celtic milieu, several themes to which biographical evidence demonstrates Joyce's emotional commitment in 1913: exile, brotherly love and brotherly betrayal, envy, adultery and the half-willing cuckoldry, and mystical, spiritual, or even magical as opposed to legal and religious possession of the beloved. How fitting that, in 1923, while drafting, revising and preparing to extend the initial draft of the Tristan sketch, Joyce turned from the opera scenario to details from the composer's life!

Readers of the essay "A Portrait of the Artist" will recognize strong traces of aestheticism in Joyce's pre-*Dubliners* and pre-*Stephen Hero* style. During 1904, the writer's allegiances seem to have shifted to the point that he rejected aestheticism and moved toward post-Flaubertian "realism." But no clean break was made, and in 1913–15, when he wrote *Exiles* and completed *A Portrait*, he was once again able to draw upon his earlier literary affinities. The last two chapters of his first novel are, after all, a record of Stephen Dedalus' (and probably his creator's) developing "decadence." Sim-

16. This is of course a distinct problematic and perhaps a chicken/egg problem. On the one hand, the tale originally inspired Joyce, who seldom worked without prior intertextual sanctions. On the other hand, when the myth was broadly applied to the universal family of the *Wake*, as when a body of myths was joined in ancient Greece, incest was the natural and inevitable outcome. If all is in the family, the family is bound to be incestuous.

ilarly, in *Ulysses*, Stephen is shown partially severing the cord that binds him to his immediate (English) literary past, breaking or at least denting the symbolic "mauve" lampshade, an act that constitutes the secular equivalent of his religious apostasy in *A Portrait*.

Although, in *Exiles*, Joyce treats that commitment as a thing of the past, the play implicitly embodies a far less objective treatment of European aestheticism. Whereas what he published seems to reject Wagnerianism together with the modish adherence to Nietzsche, Joyce's *Exiles* notes exhibit a deep interest in Wagner's *Tristan*.[17] There may be no contradiction in this. After all, the play mocks the modish behavior of the aging rake, Robert Hand, in order to show how far behind Richard Rowan he has fallen. At the same time, certain themes of the operatic version of "Tristan" are immediately relevant to its action: specifically those of friendship, betrayal, split affections, and exile. It is to this sort of ambivalence and to the fact that Joyce was treating a relatively recent distress that we owe the partial application of the Tristan theme to what is in so many respects a creaky performance.

In Joyce's published work, most of which postdates his *fin-de-siècle* phase, explicit references to Wagner are rare and generally ironic. The florid University College period described in chapter V of *A Portrait* is punctuated and to a degree characterized by the "birdcall from *Siegfried*" whistled after Cranly and Stephen by Dixon.[18] In "Circe," Stephen irreverently "(. . . *chants to the air of the bloodoath in* The Dusk of the Gods) Hangende Hunger,/ Fragende Frau,/ Macht uns alle kaputt" (*U* 15.3649–53) and later cries out the name of Siegfried's sword as he aims his ashplant at Bella Cohen's

17. The extent of his continuing interest in this opera is testified to, however indirectly, by the papers of his daughter. Lucia, who echoes in most of her tastes those of her father, writes that her favorite is Wagner and that in 1921 she "learned Wagner the Preludium of Tristan and Isolde on the piano," attending a performance "at the Champs Elysées Theatre." She shared this taste with her mother. See David Hayman, "Shadow of His Mind: The Papers of Lucia Joyce" in *Joyce at Texas*, ed. Dave Oliphant and Thomas Zigal (Austin: Humanities Research Center, The University of Texas at Austin, 1983), p. 70.

18. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, ed. Chester G. Anderson (New York: Viking, 1968), p. 237.

lamp. In *Finnegans Wake*, as in the the "Exiles (.I.)" notes, the emphasis is on the *Tristan und Isolde* parody. Accordingly, along with references to the *Liebestod* theme, there is a short sequence in chapter II.1 during which a Luciferian Shem identifies with Wagner on an imagined "trist in Parisise"(*FW* 230.13)[19] with Mathilde Wesendonk, the composer's model for Isolde. The only reference to Wagner in *Exiles* is in the stage directions to Act II, where Robert Hand, the prototype of the faithless and envious friend, is seen playing Wolfram's song from *Tannhäuser*.[20]

Nevertheless, at one time Joyce admired Wagner excessively. In "Drama and Life," the piece delivered in 1900 to an audience of peers at the university in defense of a *fin-de-siècle* critical position, he wrote, "Even the least part of Wagner—his music—is beyond Bellini."[21] Though by 1914 he claimed to have reversed his position, to have "no patience with the current adulation of Wagner," preferring Vicenzo Bellini to the German who he said "stinks of sex,"[22] he did not hesitate even then to quote "the song of Brangäne in *Tristan und Isolde* as the perfect expression of Celtic envy."[23] This last remark probably relates to his efforts to develop the character of Robert Hand. It is of a piece with a reference in the notes for *Exiles* to Isolde's fidelity, Tristan's exile, and Richard's and Robert's interchangeability:

> Exiles—also because at the end either Robert or Richard must go into exile. Perhaps the new Ireland cannot contain both. Robert will go. But her [Bertha's] thoughts will they follow him into exile as those of her sister-in-love Isolde follow Tristan?[24]

19. For a discussion of the source of this passage, see note 43 below.

20. *Exiles*, pp. 57–58.

21. *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, ed. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1959), p. 40.

22. Ellmann, p. 382.

23. Ibid.

24. *Exiles*, p. 123. For *Finnegans Wake* Joyce modified the term "sister-in-love" in the following description of Isolde/Issy who is "approached *in loveliness* only by her grateful *sister* reflection in a mirror. . . " (*FW* 220.8–9; my italics).

The hints provided by the notes would lead us to identify Robert Hand with Tristan and Bertha with Isolde, but these identifications need not be taken too literally. In Joyce's hands Robert, the personification of envy, treachery, sensuality, and lust, resembles Melot, a Judas type, as closely as he does Tristan.[25] Joyce may have visualized him as a worthy adversary for Richard, whose behavior ironically reflects that of the forebearing (homoerotic?) Mark. His notes clarify his plan to shift the center of interest from the adulterer to the cuckold. At the same time, Robert is an aging and dedicated seducer, a romantic thickening around the middle, a journalist or wordmonger purveying an outworn morality. Even before the discovery of the notes, Francis Fergusson was able to say that his words "sound like the Nietzsche of *The Birth of Tragedy* or the Wagner of *Tristan*."[26]

Like Tristan, Robert in Act I offers an unresponsive Bertha, his "young and beautiful queen," a philtre of words, speaking of "listening to music and in the arms of the woman I love—the sea, music and death."[27] Wagner's Tristan keeps a tryst with Isolde and fights a duel in Act II; in Act II of *Exiles* Robert woos Bertha with a speech full of "night rain . . . darkness and warmth and flood of passion"[28] *after* engaging in a duel with Richard: "A battle for your soul against the spectre of fidelity, of mine against the spectre of friendship."[29] Wounded, perhaps in his self-esteem, he exiles himself in Act III, going to visit his cousin in Surrey. The parallel is patently ironic,

25. From the perspective of Joyce's biography, Robert is a composite of Vincent Cosgrave, who claimed to have seduced Nora before she eloped with Joyce, and the Triestine journalist Roberto Prezioso, whose flirtation Joyce at once encouraged and denounced.

26. Francis Fergusson, "A Reading of *Exiles*" in *Exiles* (Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions, 1945). See also Hugh Kenner, *Dublin's Joyce* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), p. 81. While agreeing with Kenner that Joyce was then writing Ibsen out of his system, I would suggest that he was also disavowing the aesthetic climate of the nineties. He was writing off such peripheral influences as Wagner, Nietzsche, D'Annunzio, and Oscar Wilde, whose values Robert unconsciously parodies.

27. *Exiles*, p. 35.

28. Ibid., p. 87.

29. Ibid., pp. 70–71.

but, as usual in Joyce, the irony is simultaneously funny and poignant, both a parody of Wagner's high and heavy romantic gravity and a cooption of the tale.

There are also parallels between Richard and Mark—for example, both are possessors who have never taken legal possession. Wagner's king has never approached his wife; Richard has never married Bertha. But if *Exiles* and Joyce's notes for it make Robert an ironic Tristan figure, the notes also affirm a brotherhood between the two Rs similar to that of Shem and Shaun in the *Wake*.[30] They are in a sense equal-opposites, prefiguring Joyce's later practice, though Richard seems to have virtue on his side. Neither man is complete without his complement; neither gets the author's nod; truth and virtue float between Robert's ridiculous pragmatism and Richard's impossible idealism. It is no surprise therefore to see Joyce making the Tristan analogy explicit in a pair of notes under "Exiles (.II.)": "Mark & Trist change characters: Trist & Is change clothes" and "Rich & Rob change"(VI.A.301).[31] Perhaps this alludes to the fact that, after Act II (which roughly parallels Wagner's second act),[32] Richard manages to take Bertha away from a Mark-like Robert. But then, he too has implicitly drunk love and death with his Isolde. By his own admission, he has taken Bertha's soul, robbed it of its irreplaceable virginity. The philtre in his case is a subtle commit-

30. We may also point to the implied sisterhood of the two Bs, Bertha and Beatrice, the companion and the correspondent, both of whom are wooed by each man in his way. I would suggest that a further ironic twist occurred when Joyce, using Isolde as his model, turned Issy into a pair of mirror opposites.

31. *JJA* 28:95; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 79. This last note, containing the only reference to the play found under "Exiles," is buried in a nest of references to Bédier's *Tristan et Iseult*, a fact that suggests it postdates, though not by much, Joyce's letter of March 1922 to Harriet Weaver (see note 1 above). In *Finnegans Wake* Joyce applied the note to Shem and Shaun: "both are Timsons now they've changed their characticuls during their blackout" (*FW* 617.13–14). The latter occurs in ALP's closing monologue, a fact that testifies to the vitality of a theme dating at least from the period of *Exiles*.

32. In both cases there is deception, a trap set and sprung by a husband, a lovers' tryst set in the husband's house amid much light-and-dark imagery, and a duel fought for the love and possession of the mate—a duel rendered abstract by Joyce, who retains the motives of jealousy and envy while ironically altering the relationship.

ment with its accompanying guilt and remorse. As the play shows, it works like magic, holding Bertha by a negative bond to a man who has warmly/coldly left her to her fate. Both men, the masochistic Richard and the sadistic Robert, have been wounded in the duel. Robert has been wounded at the very least in his masculine pride. Richard has desired and received a wound of the spirit, "a deep wound of doubt."[33] Like the opera, the play closes upon a (symbolic) death-in-love when the wounded hero stretches out on the couch, and his faithful Bertha, after pleading with him to return (as her lover), "*closes her eyes.*"[34]

In a broader context, we may discover similarities between the play's closing lines, Isolde's "Mild und leise" aria, and the poem "Nightpiece," which Joyce wrote in 1915 while he was still under the spell of a chaste flirtation. Both Ellmann[35] and I draw support from the following note in which Signorina Popper, Dante's Beatrice, and Beatrice Justice (Joyce's second Isolde) are united in and with the imagery of "Nightpiece": "Beatrice's mind is an abandoned cold temple in which hymns have risen heavenward in a distant past but where now a doddering priest offers alone and hopelessly prayers to the Most High."[36]

Between the composition of *Exiles* and "Nightpiece" and the early preparations for *Finnegans Wake*, precisely seven years elapsed. During that time Joyce wrote and published *Ulysses*, moving from Trieste to Zurich to Trieste and finally to Paris. By 1922, he had lived with Nora Barnacle for eighteen years; he was forty; his daughter, Lucia, was fourteen; Giorgio, born in 1905, was three years older than his sister almost to the day. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Joyce, who had previously projected himself as Stephen/Icarus/Daedalus/Telemachus, Richard/Mark/Tristan, and Bloom/Ulysses, should now see himself as the aging King Mark to his son's youthful Tristan and his daughter's Isolde. Neither is it unlikely that he should retain for himself a portion of the youthful identity usurped by the

33. *Exiles*, p. 112.

34. Ibid.

35. See Ellmann (p. 346 and passim) for a discussion of *Giocomo Joyce* as a source for the poem.

36. *Exiles*, p. 119.

years and reflected in his son. We may also discern a displacement of his love/hate relationship onto a range of "faithless" friends and perhaps even his brother (as the German novelist, Arno Schmidt, has claimed).[37] All these possibilities are demonstrated by the notes he took between 1922 and 1925, which disclose an even more intricate set of relationships.

Biographical implications aside, it is certain that the notes grouped under the "Exiles" headings provide us with the most sustained and coherent development in the ink portion of the "Scribbledehobble." In one respect at least these notes indicate a radical shift in the author's approach. Previously, he had projected the present in terms of an archetypal and intertextual past, symbolically and ironically identifying his commonplace protagonists with mythic, literary, or historic prototypes. Here he has begun to project historical and literary archetypes onto the present, a method adumbrated in "Cyclops" where, on occasion, the affinities of the citizen and Bloom with their legendary ancestors are made comically explicit in the chapter's asides. Indeed, it is among the notes taken for *Ulysses* under the heading "Cyclops" that we find the first clear intimations of the mythic and formal substance of the projected book "Irish pantomime Brian Boru & Finn MacCool."[38] Or rather, we find in this note a hint concerning Joyce's project in the "Cyclops" asides, a project that was only partly realized. It is worth noting that the Finn MacCool dimension of the *Wake* remained latent until Joyce prepared to write I.1, in 1926.

Of more immediate interest is the fact that in the "Scribbledehobble," under "SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS," we find a sequence of Jungian notes. These seem to indicate that Joyce was thinking in terms of a work that would approximate the form of night-thought by reversing the process of historical understanding: "dream thoughts

37. Arno Schmidt's articles on this topic appeared in *Die Zeit*, 11 November, 2 December, and 16 December 1960.

38. *JJA* 12:2. See also Phillip Herring, ed., *Joyce's "Ulysses" Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972), p. 82.39. Interestingly, these same notesheets contain a reference to the Buckley tale.

are wake thoughts of centuries ago:[39] unconscious memory: great recurrence: race memories: repressions: fixations"(VI.A.571).[40] Joyce's early decision to focus on the "Tristan and Isolde" is most fitting in the context of his own "ancestral memory," "repressions," and "fixations" and, as we shall see, of his actual dreams of a slightly later period.

The extensive and coherent notetaking under "Exiles (.I.)" reflects with astonishing clarity the author's search for literary means. After a reference to Roberto Prezioso's (aka Robert Hand)[41] distaste for anniversaries, Joyce wrote his description of the hen's discovery of the letter from Boston, Mass., which recalls Richard Rowan's epistolary affair with Beatrice Justice.[42] This is followed by a dramatic epiphany in French and German, depending for its humor on a bilingual pun (see the bilingual Rowan family). Most of the remaining notes parody Act I of Wagner's *Tristan*. It would appear that under "Exiles (.I.)" Joyce dealt with questions of autobiography, theme, and genre before fixing on the problem of analogies as the most fertile and least developed aspect of his play.

Under "Exiles (.II.)" he continued to develop his parody, shifting the emphasis from the second act of Wagner's opera to Bédier's reconstruction of the ur-Tristan and including among his notes references drawn from Bédier's introduction to Thomas' *Tristan*. The abundance of entries under this topic, when there was ample space left under "Exiles (.I.)," suggests that, despite the 1913 reference in

39. Significantly, only this note was actually crossed through. The fact that I have not located it in any of the drafts suggests to me that Joyce may have been registering the *idea's* incorporation into a draft context, probably in relation to I.1.

40. *JJA* 28:134; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 104.

41. In connection with this identification see Joyce's readings of Nora's second and third dreams in the Cornell notebook (*JJA* 3:285–86; Ellmann, pp. 437–38).

42. See Adaline Glasheen's article "*Finnegans Wake* and the Girls from Boston, Mass.," *Hudson Review*, 7 (Spring 1954), 89–96. Glasheen establishes the role of Morton Prince's study of the split personality in the formation of the Issy character. I might add that the behavior of his adolescent daughter may have stimulated Joyce's interest in that problem (and in Jung's thought) as early as 1922–23.

the *Exiles* notebook to the exile of Tristan, Joyce associated the Tristan theme most intimately with Act II of his play. Paradoxically, despite the existence of numerous clear parallels with the opera, the "Exiles (.II.)" notes contain few Wagnerian overtones, while those under "Exiles (.I.)" (like the Tristan sketch for *Finnegans Wake*) deal almost exclusively with details from Wagner's first act: the boat trip, the *dépit amoureux*, and the philtre. Joyce's first intention may well have been to parody Wagner act by act, echoing the parallels already established in *Exiles*, but clearly his practice led him elsewhere: toward a more genuinely antiquarian and universal vision.

Given the writer's associative bent and his interest in the biographies of writers he chose openly to emulate, one would expect him, even after he had jettisoned the operatic parallel, to go beyond the opera to the composer of genius. He does so, not in the "Scribbledehobble" notebook, but in notebook VI.B.3, which was probably either coterminus with it or next in order of composition. The latter notebook reveals how far Joyce originally intended to carry the Tristan tale as a parallel for the action or as the analogical action for his new book. Beyond his notes on the behavior of the lovers and his attempts to extend the characters of Tristan, Isolde, and Mark/Pop, we may note a brief flurry of notetaking at the moment when he was apparently reading a biography of the composer[43] and focusing his attention on the events surrounding the writing and composition of the opera.

Interspersed with other materials on pages 66–71 of VI.B.3,[44] and taken while he was writing an abortive extension for the Tristan sketch,[45] is an important group of notes relating to Wagner and Mathilde Wesendonk. The sequence begins on page 66 with an allusion to Wagner's death date ("1883 RW"). It continues with a reference to Mathilde's age at the time of her marriage ("MW 20"). What follows is a logical sequence. The unfaithful(?) Mathilde "re-

43. Geert Lernout has traced some of these entries to an article published by Wagner's friend Mathilde Wesendonk in the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* (1896). But Joyce must have found them in another (English) source.

44. *JJA* 29:213–15.

45. Material drawn from some of these notes was appended to the second draft of the sketch in May-June 1923.

proach[ed] herself"; the lovers were together in Zurich between 1853 and 1855, when their "love [was] born beneath the shield of friendship." "She sen[t] bills as mortgages, he replied with music books, a volume of his own composition." Mathilde, who was "at home with the music," said of Wagner that "he introduced me to Schopenhauer's philosophy."

While remaining faithful to the biographical context, the notes soon turn not only toward the Tristan theme but also toward Joyce's adaptation of it. Thus, among the crossed-through items, we find snatches of Wagnerian mood-painting: "at the twilight hour/ visibly tired/ clouds dissipate." Mathilde's husband (Wagner's Mark and perhaps a figure for Joyce himself) "formed a third in this noble intimacy (O[tto] W[esendonk])," receiving "payment in music & personal company." Wagner was "admired by her husband"; the lovers were like "T[ristan] & I[solde]—en famille" complete with "soul—intimacy." There is even a reference to "Sweet plantation (MW's res)/ the branches there"(VI.B.3.68–71).[46]

After a hiatus of three pages, Joyce resumed, but in a different key, interspersing direct references to Wagner and Mathilde with materials about the pompous and self-centered Tristan and the cute/silly/sentimental Is. A reference to Wagner on page 77 ("Ark of sonorous silence/ sleep/ RW—music") is followed by a Tristan line ("Let us talk about me (Trist)") and by a reference to "Is's musical sneeze."[47]

However crude these early efforts may seem, they reflect Joyce's acquisition in a pantomimic mode of the Wagnerian situation. In fact, they bore their strange fruit in 1930 when Joyce incorporated in the peevish Jerry/Shem's projected "moraculous jeeremyhead" his participation in a Wagnerian interlude: "he would accoster her coume il fou in teto-dous as a wagoner would his mudheeldy wheesindonk at their trist in Parisise after tourments of tosend years" (*FW* 230.11–13). This reference is preceded by an allusion to Wagner's Bayreuth, to Mathilde's husband, and a heroine ("heldin"). Jerry/Shem is hyperbolizing his youthful frustrations and artistic poten-

46. *JJA* 29:214–15. It should be noted that this is an unbroken sequence.
47. Ibid., p. 218.

tial, writing "a most moraculous jeeremyhead sindbook for all the peoples . . . a hadtobe heldin, thoroughly enjoyed by many so meny on block at Boyrut season and for their account ottorly admired by her husband in sole intimacy" (*FW* 229.31–36). Wagner's passion for Mathilde, as it is reflected in Joyce's early notes, constituted the armature of this comic passage, which ends with a musical reference to tragic fate into which he has woven the early "sonorous silence" entry (*FW* 230.23).

What concerns us here is the fact that Joyce used at a late date (in 1930)[48] the Wagner notes taken in mid–1923, that he used them in a context that identifies the yearning juvenile with the social-climbing and egoistical composer, and that Tristan ("trist") figures in the background of a romantic interlude patterned on the composer's affair with his Isolde. The integration of these materials is at once complete, ironic, and ambiguous, leaving much room for interpretation, sympathy, and ridicule. Though the fate of the Tristan and Isolde sketch parallels with important differences that of the Wagner notes, its eventual location in the final or recorso chapter of Book II suggests that it constitutes less a commentary on the composer or the opera than a reading, in starkly contemporary terms, of a historical moment and a mindset: decadence.

By taking the *fin de siècle* at face value, while probably equating the Tristan theme with the decline not only of the pagan and the medieval but also of the modern tradition, Joyce was continuing his tendency to denigrate and mock the intellectual climate that spawned him, to disown the parent from whom he had to escape in order to "forge" his own identity. Already under "Exiles (.I.)" some notes seem to point beyond Wagner to Jules Laforgue's and Aubrey Beardsley's burlesques of *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser*.[49] Notice, for

48. Added to the first typescript, *JJA* 51:55.

49. Beardsley's infamous homoerotic fantasy, published in 1896 as "Under the Hill" by Arthur Symons in *The Savoy*, underlies HCE's confession in II.3. Joyce was certainly aware that the banned book "ambullished with expurgative plates" that gave HCE his "warmest venerections" and was produced by "this early woodcutter, a master of vignettiennes . . . Mr Aubeyron Birdslay" (*FW* 356.30–357.3) was a spirited parody of *Tannhäuser*. The vignettes and "venerections" may even conceal a reference to Wagner's death in Venice.

example, the reduction to absurdity of youthful love, the flattening out of heroic circumstance by means of comic analogies and anachronisms, the accretion of trivial detail, the allusions to behavior appropriate to the Christmas pantomime.

The Tristan and Isolde developed under "Exiles (.I.)" are both provincials, though Tristan has apparently come to Ireland "to learn [the] best English."[50] While there, he has posed as a "hawker" (see both the noble sport of falconry and the ignoble occupation of the peddler/huckster). The setting suggested by the notes is a pleasure steamer complete with "jazzband, chess, casino," and the philtre is a glass or bottle of "cervoise" (the beer of the ancient Gauls) drunk by Tristan during a "good dinner" after which they "dance by [the] moon." Tristan, incidentally, is a "teetotaller." Their conversation is about as banal as their behavior. They discuss the trip and the entertainment, inventing pet names for each other. At one point Isolde puts on airs; as "Queen of Cornwall . . . she married England." As might be expected, they quarrel and make up: "I hate you, I love you, I love your chuckly neck." Appropriately, other characters from Wagner's Act I (Brangäne and Kurvenal) are also present, and mention is made of Isolde's father, O'Gorman of Wexford (VI.A.271).[51]

In such notes we have the essentials of Joyce's primitive sketch, which retains most of the burlesque touches and adds a few new ones, derived, as we shall see, mainly from Laforgue. By contrast, the entries under "Exiles (.II.)" contributed little to the texture and content of the sketch. As I have said, they contain only a scattering of recognizable Wagnerian or pseudo-Wagnerian references, most of which were taken during the early stages of the sequence's development (e.g., "Fluchende Frau: . . . nur(?) etwas schlimm!" [VI.A.301]).[52]

Joyce began the second phase of his notetaking after he had read Bédier's attempt to reconstitute the ur-text's noble tone and savage content. That reading led to an unusually large number of notes, at

50. See also Stephen's bitterness over the failure of an Englishman to appreciate the purity of his own tongue as spoken by the Irish (*A Portrait*, p. 188).

51. *JJA* 28:89; *Scribbledehobble*, pp. 76–77.

52. Ibid., p. 95; ibid., pp. 79–80.

least twenty-seven. It provided not only facts but also inspiration, permitting Joyce to broaden his treatment of the Tristan theme and eventuating in the nodal system in which so much of the tale's action was eventually included.[53]

The first recognizable Bédier note is a quotation, or rather misquotation, of a characteristic bit of authorial intrusion. Concerning the treatment of the captive Tristan, Bédier's narrator exclaims: "par Dieu! ce fut vilenie de l'entraver ainsi!"[54] which Joyce altered to "par Dieu, c'était vilenie"(VI.A.301).[55] Thereafter, on notebook pages 301 and 302, the notes follow in swift succession, though not in chronological order. Two chapters interested him particularly: "Le Saut de la chapelle," which describes the lovers' escape from the vengeful Mark, and "La Forêt de Morois," which deals with their Garden of Eden exploits.

In general Joyce annotated details unavailable in Wagner's romantic distillation. What is perhaps more characteristic, despite the wealth of detail available to him, he preferred to take from Bédier only those aspects that fit his preconception—conforming to and filling in the outline traced by Wagner and applied by Joyce to *Exiles* and to his evolving burlesque treatment. It is also typical that, though most of the recognizable notes are literal renderings from Bédier, they are frequently interlarded with comic interpretations: "Mark (my Eng.[lish] subjects): le Roi il parle:—not without solemnity."[56] After "par Dieu, c'était vilenie" he added a comic aside, "hear, hear, God."[57] Not surprisingly, he foreshadowed his later practice by noting analogies like "Tristan (Swift)."[58] The Wood of Morois sequence reminded him of "[Thoreau's] Walden—babes in the wood";[59] the incident concerning Isolde's hair becomes "Mark

53. For an attempt to trace the notes and their ramifications in the *Wake*, see David Hayman, "The Distribution of the Tristan and Isolde Notes under 'Exiles' in the Scribbledehobble," *A Wake Newslitter*, n.s. (October 1965), 3–14.

54. Bédier, p. 84.

55. *JJA* 28:95; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 79.

56. Ibid; ibid., p. 80.

57. Ibid; ibid., p. 79.

58. Ibid; ibid.

59. Ibid; ibid, p. 80.

erotic swallow passes with hair in beak."[60] Even Gaston Paris' introduction contributed to Joyce's store of materials: "Trist stained glass crusader attitude"[61] is an adaptation of Paris' statement:

> Le Tristan et l'Iseult de Béroul . . . avec leurs façons de vivre, de sentir et de parler moitié médiévales, seront pour les lecteurs modernes comme les personnages d'un vieux vitrail. . . . Je ne doute pas qu'il [the romance] ne retrouve auprès de nos contemporaines le succès qu'il a obtenu auprès de nos aïeuls du temps des croisades.[62]
>
> [Béroul's Tristan and Isolde with their half-medieval ways of living, feeling, and speaking, will seem for modern readers like figures in an old stained-glass window. . . . I believe that the romance will appeal to our contemporaries as it did to our ancestors in the period of the crusades.]

From Gaston Paris, if not from Ezra Pound, Joyce learned of Bédier's intention to recover the most authentically Celtic form of the tale by conserving those versions that best reflect the primitive sources. Joyce's parallel intent, if we may judge from the many notes on folk belief and practice, was to reveal in the Irish present remnants of the living past.

Since he was not yet certain that *Finnegans Wake* could not support a systematic plot parallel, Joyce must have found in Bédier's *Tristan et Iseult* the archetypal romance best fitted to his immediate needs. Doubtless he rediscovered in the tale what he had seen in the opera, an astonishingly accurate delineation of Celtic traits.[63] The notes reflect his attempt to adapt certain details, to reduce action and

60. Ibid; ibid, p. 81.

61. Ibid; ibid., p. 80. See also the late pencil note, "Kevin's chapel procathedral, vitandus, his advent, his stainless soul" (VI.A.32; *JJA* 28:34; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 38). The "stained glass crusader" became a motif in *Finnegans Wake*. See pages 237.11, 277.n5, 382.11–12, 463.14, 464.14, 603.35–36, 609.15. Gaston Paris appears in the notes as "Gaston de Paris" (VI.A.302; *JJA* 28:96; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 82).

62. Bédier, pp. x-xi.

63. Joyce wrote under "SIRENS," "philtre love to hate, essence of Erin" (VI.A.621; *JJA* 28:140; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 107).

character to the level of a Christmas pantomime,[64] to discover analogies (Swift, Renan, Caesar), and to point up aspects of the narrative convention that he later used for the Tristan and Isolde portions of II.4. Eventually, these jottings contributed to the Shem parenthesis from II.2[65] and the sexual reading of the message-pine incident. Joyce's original note, "pine, two rivulets T sends leaves to Is" (VI.A.301),[66] slightly distorts Bédier's version of the chapter entitled "Le Grand pin":

> Au lieu le plus éloigné du château . . . un pin s'élevait. . . .A son pied, une source vive . . . contenue entre deux rives resserées, elle courait . . . dans l'intérieur même du château. . . . Or, chaque soir, Tristan . . . taillait avec art des morceaux d'écorce et de menus branchages . . . et . . . jetait les copeaux dans la fontaine.[67]
>
> [At the furthest distance from the castle there grew a pine. . . . At its foot a lively spring flowed between narrow banks into the castle itself. . . . Every evening Tristan cleverly carved bits of bark and small branches . . . and . . . tossed the bundle into the stream.]

As we have seen, Joyce eventually turned this episode into a Rabelaisian spoof, identifying the tryst and its erotic consequences, making the setting a Pheonix Park water closet or the hinder parts of ALP and HCE:

> And how they cast their spells upon, the fronds that thereup float, the bookstaff branchings! The druggeted stems, the leaves incut on trees! Do you can their tantrist spellings? I can lese, skillmistress

64. For a discussion of the pantomimic aspects of the *Wake*, see James Atherton's classic essay "*Finnegans Wake*: The Gist of the Pantomime," *Accent*, 15 (Winter 1956), 14–26, and my own "Farcical Themes and Forms in *Finnegans Wake*," *James Joyce Quarterly*, 11 (Summer 1974), 323–42.

65. *FW* 287–92.

66. *JJA* 28:95; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 79. Joyce apparently mistook "rives" (banks) for "rivulets" and forgot the detail of the carved pieces of bark floating through the royal sleeping quarters, but the distortions may indicate that he was quoting from memory after a hasty first reading.

67. Bédier, pp. 64–65.

> aiding. Elm, bay, this way, cull dare, take a message, tawny runes ilex sallow, meet me at the pine. Yes, they shall have brought us to the water trysting, by hedjes of maiden ferm, then here in another place is their chapelofeases, sold for song, of which you have thought my praise too much my price. O ma ma! Yes, sad one of Ziod? (*FW* 571.4–12)

We may gather from this passage that Joyce pushed his research beyond the tale itself, investigating, for example, the tradition relating to the Celts' use of intricately carved shavings to communicate secrets. But in 1922 the only study he had read was Bédier's scholarly introduction to Thomas' *Tristan* from which he drew the following notes: "Trist 12 cent[ury]: triade galloise: Drystan: fils de Tallwch: mecanicien: porche [*sic*] de Mark [*sic*]: Essyllt [*sic*]: swineherd T's messenger" (VI.A.302).[68] The first of these notes refers to Bédier's theory that the tale we have dates from the twelfth century. Of the Celtic roots Bédier writes, "Les triades 29 et 43 du *Livre Rouge* nomment tantôt comme l'un des trois 'maîtres ès machines' de l'île de Prydein, Drystan ab Tallwch." From the 63rd triad he quotes, "Drystan, fils de Tallwch, garda les porcs de Marc . . . pendant que le porcher allait en message vers Essylt. [Drystan, son of Tallwch, tended Marc's pigs . . . while the pigherd carried a message to Essylt.]"[69] (Joyce must have been struck by the similarity between this incident and the role of the swineherd Eumeus in the *Odyssey*.)

Wagner's opera, Bédier's reconstituted *Tristan et Iseult*, and his introduction to Thomas may be the immediate sources for these notes, but those works could not materially effect either the attitudes governing Joyce's use of the theme, his choice of aspects to treat, or his use of the burlesque mode. The first of these is conditioned by biographical factors and by his experience with the play *Exiles*; the third, which doubtless helped condition the second, is the most interesting byproduct of his reading of Jules Laforgue, for it provided one of the keys to the door through which he entered the *Wake*.

68. *JJA* 28:96; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 82.
69. Thomas, p. 106.

Since 15 December 1913, Joyce had been corresponding with the American expatriate Ezra Pound. In the interim Pound had been free with his assistance, which Joyce readily accepted, and criticism, which the Irishman frequently ignored. It was at Pound's suggestion that, in 1920, he finally came to Paris. There, the *homme de lettres* served as cicerone and mentor, guiding his unworldly protege through the labyrinth of literary Paris and the maze of letters. It appears that, among the books Pound gave or lent Joyce was a volume of his own criticism, *Instigations*,[70] which features a flattering appreciation of *A Portrait* and some inconclusive remarks about *Ulysses*.

Since 1922–23 was a fallow period, Joyce was more than usually receptive to new ideas. He was also still acquiring friends and colleagues whose words and behavior were to be a constant source of notes. Because such sources are not always named, we will probably never know the extent to which his conversations with Pound, Eliot, and Wyndham Lewis, Robert McAlmon, and other young Americans, to say nothing of his contacts with Léon-Paul Fargue and Valery Larbaud, supplied his needs. All the same, the "Scribbledehobble" contains a few tantalizing hints concerning the role of Pound, who may have contributed to Joyce's store of Americanisms,[71] and who certainly provided him with insights into the character of W. B. Yeats and the assessment of Eliot found under "CHAMBER MUSIC": "TS Eliot ends idea of poetry for ladies" (VI.A.11).[72] In what concerns Tristan, Pound's idea that Tantris is the shadow Tristan must have endeared him to Joyce who, as we know, had previously been working on the principle of reversibility. The idea probably altered his view concerning Tristan's unity as expressed in the earlier note "Mark & Trist change characters" (VI.A.301),[73] and influenced the conception of the equal-opposites Shem/Shaun as aspects of HCE. However indirectly, it may have

70. Joyce mentions this book in a letter dated 12 July 1920 (*Letters* 1:142).

71. I have suggested elsewhere (see "Pound at the *Wake* or the Uses of a Contemporary," *James Joyce Quarterly*, 4 [Spring 1965], 204–16) that Pound's letters provided Joyce with a mine of usable puns, most of which served to point up the poet's contribution to the Shaun persona.

72. *JJA* 28:13; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 15.

73. Ibid., p. 95; ibid., p. 79.

generated the image of Shaun/Tristan in Book III, of the double Tristan of II.4, and of the puzzling portrait of Shem as Jaun's shadow, Dave the Dancekerl, in III.2.[74]

More than likely it was at Pound's suggestion (the twelfth century was, after all, one of his favorite periods) that Joyce read Paris and Bédier as well as *Instigations*. We know that Joyce was sufficiently impressed to read Pound an early draft of his "Tristan" sketch on which the American later commented, "Up to the present I have found diversion in the Tristan and Iseult paragraphs that you read years ago . . . mais apart ça. . . ."[75] Without realizing it, honest Ezra was attracted in 1923 by the glitter of a familiar object in the raw prose. Nothing in Joyce is more Laforguean, hence more Poundian, than that sketch.

There is evidence throughout "Scribbledehobble" for Joyce's reading of *Instigations*. Two notes under "EOLUS" were drawn respectively from Pound's essay on Jules Laforgue (1860–87) at the beginning of that volume and Fenollosa's article "On the Chinese Written Character" at the end. Joyce's "ah que la vie est quotidienne!" (VI.A.511)[76] is a mistranscription of Jules Laforgue's "Ah! que la Vie est quotidienne. . . ."[77] Joyce's "a true noun does not exist in nature (Fenollosa): any pronouns?: phonetic theory is unsound: be careful!"[78] (on the same page) is taken directly from Fenollosa, who writes not only, "A true noun, an isolated thing, does not exist in nature,"[79] but also "Pronouns appear a thorn in our

74. This last passage (*FW* 462–68) is particularly rich in materials drawn from the "Exiles" notes. Structurally, it parallels the Shem/Tristan/Patrick parenthesis in II.2.

75. *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce*, ed. Forrest Read (New York: New Directions, 1967), p. 228. Another Pound letter, written in 1917, comes remarkably close to foreshadowing Joyce's account of how HCE got his "agnomen": "My Dear Job: . . . At what period the shift of terminal sound in your family name occurred I am unable to state, but the -yce at the end is an obvious error. The arumaic -b, simply -b is obviously the correct spelling. Possibly an intermediate form of Jobce can be unearthed, but the line of your descent from the patriarch is indisputable" (ibid., p. 121).

76. *JJA* 28:120; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 95.

77. *Instigations*, p. 16.

78. *JJA* 28:120; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 96.

79. *Instigations*, p. 364.

evolution theory, since they have been taken as unanalyzable expressions of personality,"[80] and finally, after a discussion of the metaphorical roots of language, "we must believe that the phonetic theory is in large part unsound."[81] In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce pokes accurate fun at his Fenollosa notes and at Pound ("Hotchkiss Culthur's Everready") during the inquisition of III.3:

> . . . . for if we look at it verbally perhaps there is no true noun in active nature where every bally being—please read this mufto—is becoming in its owntown eyeballs. Now the long form and the strong form and reform alltogether!
>
> —Hotchkiss Culthur's Everready, one brother to never-reached, well over countless hands, sieur of many winners and losers. . . . (*FW* 523.10–16)

The articles from which Joyce chose to quote, given Pound's ardent advocacy of both Laforgue and Fenollosa, can hardly be coincidental. Under the heading "SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS," he wrote "Yeats says China has no railways because they can't draw straight lines: . . . chune (WBY): chewn" (VI.A.571).[82] Though these lines are probably taken from conversations, Joyce must have seen the following in Pound's essay on another protege, T. S. Eliot: "Find a man with thematic invention and all he can say is that he gets what the Celts call a 'chune' in his head. . . ."[83] In *Finnegans Wake* a somewhat Poundian Shaun succeeds in mixing metrics, music, and food:

> All the vitalmines is beginning to sozzle in chewn and the hormonies to clingleclangle, fudgem, kates and eaps and naboc and erics and oinnos on kingclud and xoxxoxo and xooxox xxoxoxxoxxx. . . . (*FW* 456.20–23)

Elsewhere, we find an echo of a Jamesian remark that occurs in Pound's article on Laforgue: "It [the 1880s in America] was a period

80. Ibid., p. 375.
81. Ibid., p. 385.
82. *JJA* 28:134; *Scribbledehobble*, pp. 103–4.
83. *Instigations*, p. 201.

when writers besought the deep blue sea 'to roll'."[84] In the fair copy of the Tristan sketch Joyce's hero recites to an admiring Isolde Byron's "Roll on, thou deep and darkblue ocean, roll!"[85] Finally, in the first draft of chapter III.3, in the midst of a Laforgue-like catalogue of noble foods and dry goods, there is a reference to Pound's translation of "Salomé" as "Our Tetrarchal Précieuse": " . . . Salame, the tetracha. . . ."[86] Doubtless other facts could be marshaled, but these should substantiate Joyce's knowledge at a crucial point in the *Wake*'s development of Pound's book and of Laforgue. More important, they constitute an adequate basis for a study of creative adaptation.

Internal evidence would suggest that the "Scribbledehobble" notes for "Exiles" follow the early "EOLUS" notes and that the latter, which include a reference to the "house of the 100 bottles" and a series of folklore notes, followed "THE SISTERS." Joyce apparently moved from an interest in narrational techniques and oral conventions to a study of the rhetoric of the oral tradition, and then to an application of sophisticated *fin-de-siècle* rhetoric and modes to the previously exploited Tristan theme. In this respect, at least, the early "EOLUS" notes exhibit a unity of purpose to which Pound's book and comments contributed in important ways. It seems likely that not only did Joyce's reading of Pound for "EOLUS" result in what may have been an unconscious attempt to write a Laforguean parody under "Exiles," but that the method explored in the "Exiles" notes was further exploited for the "Roderick O'Conor" and indeed for all the early sketches.

If a mature author with set creative ways is to be influenced by his reading, several factors have to be operative. There must be some relationship between the work read and the spirit of the times; there must be a creative vacuum, a profound need; there must also be a genuine and personal echo or a deep affinity that will occasion some sort of recognition on the part of the influencee. These factors were

84. Ibid., p. 16.

85. *JJA* 56:2; *FDV* 208.14–15 and 208.19–23; *FW* 385.35–36, 389.8–9.

86. *JJA* 58:38; *FDV* 238.34 (simplified); and *FW* 497.33, where the Tetrarch allusion is absent.

all present in 1922–23 when Joyce read his second appreciation of Laforgue.

Though, in 1898, during his University College years, he had read Arthur Symons' chapter on the poet in *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*, it is hard to determine how much further he read.[87] But his early exposure doubtless increased the force of Pound's advocacy and therefore of the verse and prose explored and exposed in *Instigations*. So did the acknowledged influence of Laforgue on Eliot, whose work Joyce apparently admired. Furthermore, unlike other "symbolists" whom he read before he left Ireland and later wrote out of his system, in the early 1920s Laforgue, like the other Breton Celt, Tristan Corbière, was a *coterie* poet perceived as having written in a strangely modern idiom. He provided an example of original and polished rhetoric, of intensely personal and brilliantly contemporary parody, and of the literary application of the burlesque conventions that Joyce himself had previously used in "Cyclops" and "Circe." Besides, Laforgue was a consummate ironist. Pound correctly calls him one who "suggests that the reader should think," and adds that that "process being unnatural to the majority of mankind, the way of the ironical is beset with snares and with furze-bushes."[88] Pound's appreciation is enriched with a very well selected sampler of the poet's most strikingly epigrammatic lines. Joyce had no need to go back to the books to be impressed, amused, and inspired.

The location of the Laforgue quotation under "EOLUS," a chapter whose art is rhetoric, emphasizes Joyce's appreciation of the poet's extraordinary gifts: his ability to restore freshness to the commonplace by capitalizing on its vulgarity, his epigrammatic technique, which T. S. Eliot imitated in "Prufrock" and elsewhere, and

87. See David Hayman, *Joyce et Mallarmé*, I (Paris: Les Lettres Modernes, 1956), pp. 27–33. Joseph Prescott has traced Stephen's "nightmare" of history to Laforgue's *Mélanges posthumes* ("Notes on Joyce's *Ulysses*," *Modern Language Quarterly*, 13 [June 1952], 149). See also Don Gifford and Robert J. Seidman, *Notes for Joyce* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1974), p. 26. Kenner, *Dublin's Joyce*, pp. 196–97, makes a good case for Laforgue's "Hamlet" as one source for the Hamlet theme and the "comic" dimension of Stephen.

88. *Instigations*, p. 16.

his punning, which Pound took pains to reproduce in his version of "Salomé."[89] Perhaps it was in imitation of Laforgue that Joyce tried his hand at writing (or recalling) epigrams:

> she did not believe in God and ignored the existence of her neighbours: Millet court protected by the monosyllables of its yokels: . . . he did not know how to get hold of his hands: . . . rhetorical scenery, God in a poster mood: superlatives slink away ashamed of their loose lives: kissed her as if she were a crucifix: . . . Steer her through heavy traffic of facts: . . . . (VI.A.511)[90]

A tendency to refurbish commonplaces is evident in the *Wake* as nowhere else in his work, though I do not wish to ascribe its presence in any great measure to his exposure to Laforgue. It seems likely, however, that the poet's meaningful punning appealed to Joyce's highly developed sense of language as it did to Pound. We have no difficulty finding analogues in the *Wake* for "crucifige" (freeze in the attitude of the crucifixion) or for Pound's creations for his version of "Salomé": "omniversal," "ubiquitarian," "cosmoconception," "parthenospotlessness." Joyce coined words like "deboutcheries," "Piscisvendolor," "sadisfaction," "deciduously," and "circumveiloped" and employed them in phrases like "honour bound to the cross of your own cruelfiction!"[91]

For Pound, Laforgue is "a finer 'artist' than either" Corbière or Rimbaud. He is the "'last word':—out of an infinite knowledge of all the ways of saying a thing he finds the right way."[92] Pound quotes from several of the poems in which the poet's Pierrot persona parades his misery in comic guise, occasionally posing behind the mask of Harlequin. Readers of *Ulysses* should be aware that the Pierrot-Harlequin theme pre-dated the *Wake*. Garbed as they are in

89. It may have been Laforgue's example (and Pound's tutoring) that led Joyce to label Tristan's love speech in the fair copy of the sketch "Parataxis" and Isolde's reactions to the speech "Hypotaxis."

90. *JJA* 28:120; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 95.

91. *FW* 350.16, 408.36, 445.08, 468.21, 244.15, 192.19–20 (this last in a passage condemning Shem for his "*pas mal de siècle*").

92. *Instigations*, p. 7.

mournful shades of night, Stephen and Bloom are clearly set in opposition to the trickster and the usurper, Mulligan and Boylan. (Almost any Mulligan passage will illustrate his Puck-Harlequin-Mercury attributes, and Stephen's mournful clowning is available from "Telemachus" on.)[93] Both poses are pertinent to a discussion of the Tristan theme as farcically rendered by Joyce and of the *Wake* as a whole, where, even without the aid of biographical details, we can readily discern the happy-sad Mr. Jinglejoys, peeping from behind the verbal drapery or concealed in the portraits of Shem.

More to the point is Pound's discussion of the *Moralités légendaires*. These narratives are tongue-in-cheek fables, not too different in kind from Joyce's "The Mookse and the Gripes" and "The Ondt and the Gracehoper," though they are far more transparent as parodies of contemporary manners. Ultimately, the *Moralités* are deceptively brittle, sharply edged, self-deprecatory, if not satiric, portraits of the artist, reconstitutions of his loves and of his frustrations. No matter what the origin of the tale or the date of the model, Laforgue's heroes and heroines (all ingenu(e)s in fact) are thin-skinned, callow Pierrots and nubile, cliche-ridden Columbines; the action and the landscape are generally coyly lunar but familiar; the idiom is contemporary tending toward the baroque; and, despite the artfully concealed pathos, the mood is one of hilarious and finger-pointing good fun.

Of the eight tales, three are certainly among his best and most mature works: "Hamlet, ou les suites de la piété filiale,"[94] "Lohengrin, fils de Parsifal," and "Salomé." His Hamlet is an aspiring playwright-actor, half-brother to the court jester, Yorick; Lohengrin is a girl-shy ephebe, a dreamer for whom the prescribed honeymoon cottage to which he is escorted by the pigeon-breasted moon-priestess Elsa is a "fosse commune" or common grave. According to Pound: "Laforgue was a purge and a critic. He laughed

93. For a fuller treatment see David Hayman, "Forms of Folly in Joyce: A Study of Clowning in *Ulysses*," *ELH*, 34 (June 1967), 260–83.

94. The title and the action of this tale (deliberately) recall Sade's *Justine; ou, les malheures de la vertu*. Like Joyce's novel, the *Moralités* are exercises in intertextual overkill.

out the errors of Flaubert, i.e., the clogging and cumbrous historical detail. . . . His *Salome* makes game of the rest."[95] In support of these statements Pound printed his "Our Tetrarchal Précieuse (A divagation from Jules Laforgue)," locating it strategically after his discussion of writers "In the Vortex" (Eliot, Joyce, Lewis). Even if he did no more than skim *Instigations*, Joyce could hardly have overlooked the adaptation of "Salomé" for which he had been so well prepared.

Several other factors doubtless colored Joyce's view of Laforgue's *moralité* and certainly affected his treatment of the Tristan theme in the *Wake*. From Pound's reference to the Laforguean character of Aubrey Beardsley's polymorphously perverse "Under the Hill," Joyce may have derived or renewed his interest in that narrative. Beardsley, as illustrator of the early numbers of the *Yellow Book* and of Arthur Symons' *Savoy*, was, like Oscar Wilde, a symbol of the English *fin de siècle*. He was also the illustrator of Oscar Wilde's *Salomé*, for which Laforgue's earlier version may have served, however obliquely, as a model. (Joyce and Pound could easily have seen the tale as a preemptive parody of the play.) It is no coincidence, therefore, that Wilde's decadence is underlined in the "Scribbledehobble" under "AN ENCOUNTER" and that his *De Profundis* is alluded to when Joyce's Tristan addresses Isolde. In *Finnegans Wake*, Wilde and, by extension, Beardsley symbolize the high decadent moment.[96]

The most immediate result of Joyce's reading of *Instigations* was the parody burlesque outlined in the "Exiles (.I.)" notes, in which he adapted Laforgue's methods to fit his present needs. If, in his *Moralités*, Laforgue lampooned the present by turning its accomplishments and preoccupations into something approaching farce, Joyce tended to generalize the present while turning the generic romance into farce. Bédier and the "Exiles (.II.)" notes pushed him further in this direction, sending him back to the romance to discover implications that were far broader, more universally applicable. Whereas

95. *Instigations*, p. 16.

96. See James S. Atherton, *The Books at the "Wake"* (New York: Viking, 1960), pp. 95–97.

the original impulse resulted in the early Tristan sketch and the clearest evidence of Laforgue's influence, the "Exiles (.II.)" notes contributed heavily to the characterization of the *Wake*'s "people" as shadow players in an oneiric pantomime and to the development of the nodal system in which Laforgue's influence is at best diffused and sublimated.

The sketches Joyce wrote between March and August 1923 bear witness through the underlying unity of their style and matter to a single creative impulse and a desire to experiment with various narrative and rhetorical approaches. The first of them, "Roderick O'Conor," drew more or less directly on Joyce's research into the character of Mark of Cornwall. Its clownish "last high king of all Ireland," who dances tipsily around the scene of his desolation, may even owe something to Laforgue's ineffectual Tetrarch, Emeraud Archytypas.[97]

The "Exiles" notes and Laforgue were certainly crucial when Joyce rewrote the first act of *Tristan und Isolde* as a pantomime that lampooned both an advanced society and its means of expression. (After all, the staged pantomime is not a primitive form but rather the product of advanced decay.) The action was originally described by an unidentifiable narrator in a preposterous medley of styles from at least three points of view. It should be noted that Joyce had yet to evolve the idea of putting the tale in the mouths/eyes of Mamalujo.

Even the language of the sketch frequently approximates clownish gestures, at once overexplicit and outrageously incongruous: "By elevation of eyelids that She addressed insinuated desideration of his declaration."[98] True to pantomime and commedia traditions, Joyce's Mark was first described as "that tiresome old pantaloon in his tiresome old twentytwoandsixpenny shepherd's plaid trousers." Alternately pretentious, vulgar, precious, "scrumptious," and crudely

97. Joyce paid tribute to this wonderful name when he called HCE "Haveyou-caught-emerod" (*FW* 63.18–19).

98. This and the following citations all occur on *JJA* pages 2 and 3 (vol. 56); *FDV* 208–9 (simplified).

sensual, Isolde is a reasonable approximation of Columbine: a brainless but "strapping young old Irish princess" six feet tall ("18 hands high" by animal measure) though she weighs only 138 pounds. In her dress, "well in advance of fashion," as in her behavior she combines medieval and modern traits. Tristan is, as we have seen, a composite Harlequin-Pierrot: the filmstar crossed with the football hero and the lunar poet or poetaster. When "his deepsea peepers gazed O gazed O dazedcrazedgazed into her darkblue rolling ocean eyes," this narcissist was enjoying his own reflection there.[99] Pretentiously, he clears his throat before intoning a mixture of philosophical and theosophical jargon inappropriate enough to negate his every action.

Assuming that Joyce did not read the original French version of Laforgue's "Salomé" in the 1920s, it is hard to imagine a more striking literary precedent for his "Tristan" than Pound's free rendition.[100] Like Joyce, Laforgue was not bound by the demands of verisimilitude. Herod's capital is located on the edge of a jungle on one of the "White Esoteric Isles"; his palace is a preposterous baroque pile "encrusted, bespattered and damascened with cynocephali, sphinxes, winged bulls, bulbuls and other sculptural by-laws" of the various nineteenth-century revivals. Even the naturalistic detail takes on an aura of fantasy, but when we read that "water, sprinkled in the streets in anticipation of the day's parade, dried in little circles of dust,"[101] the sumptuous Tetrarchal establishment becomes just another French provincial town. Laforgue's St. John is a leftwing political agitator, a bearded, bespectacled propagandist with "his nose in a great fatras of papers over-scrawled with illegible pothooks."[102] In short he is a fitting precursor for the Shem of I.7. The Tetrarch himself is a tired aesthete who "desired to observe his own

99. "T. steps aside & has a look at himself" (VI.A.302; *JJA* 28:96; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 82). The style in this instance recalls the narrative manner of "Sirens" where various subjects also interact incongruously.

100. Until recently, no integral translation of these wonderful tales was available. We now have William Jay Smith's version, published as *Moral Tales* (New York: New Directions, 1985).

101. *Instigations*, p. 253.

102. Ibid., p. 257.

ruin, the slow deliquescence of his position, with a fitting detachment and lassitude."[103] Salomé is a budding virgin with a Laforguean taste for astronomy, an adolescent who feels she has ritually sacrificed her virginity to St. John or Jao Kanan. She is a petulant and immature *fin-de-siècle* femme fatale crossed with the café *diseuse* and the blue stocking. Most curious and most amusing of all is the aura of rightness achieved by this relentless accumulation of incongruities. Laforgue accomplished by indirection much more than did the contemporary reconstructors of past glory.

The French poet's spiritual virgin resembles Joyce's protagonist in several ways. Manifestly a product of the age (the 1880s), she bears a curious physical resemblance to the flapper of the 1920s with her boyish build, her tiny breasts, her naughtiness, and her intellectual pretensions. Like a flapper, she wears a tightfitting sheath of jonquil-colored mousseline spotted with black, an outfit to which the author never tires of referring.[104]

At this point we may begin to pick up Joycean parallels. Salomé's casual dress, together with her evening wear of "mousseline of deep mourning-violet with gold dots on the surface"[105] and a reference to the "brocaded and depilated denizens of the escort"[106] may have suggested Isolde's dress of "oceanblue brocade with iris petal sleeves & overdress of net darned with gold."[107]

Like Joyce's Tristan, whose "tallow complexion" suggests the lunar clown and who calls the starry heavens "our true home,"[108] Laforgue's anaemic and pigeon-toed heroine belongs to the fraternity of the stars. In Part IV of "Our Tetrarchal Précieuse," the little votary of the star cult, after inspecting her twenty-four million subjects ("Orion's gaseous fog was the Brother Benjamin of her galaxy"),[109] falls to her death "with a cry finally human. . . .And the

103. Ibid., p. 254.

104. We may compare the heroine and the decor of this tale to Beardsley's *fin-de-siècle* visions, with which Joyce probably associated them.

105. *Instigations*, p. 263.

106. Ibid., p. 256.

107. *JJA* 56:2; *FDV* 208.2–3 (simplified).

108. Ibid., pp. 4–5; ibid., pp. 209–10 (simplified).

109. *Instigations*, p. 264.

heights of heaven were distant."[110] Though Joyce did not incorporate this idea in his polished sketch, he did use it in the prose setting for the poem "Nightpiece," a passage designed as an extension of the original scene. In the preamble to the "Nightpiece" extension, Tristan seems to his provincial princess like the "Deity Itself strewing, the strikingly shining, the twittingly twinkling, our true home and . . . the lamplights of lovers in the Beyond. Up they gazed, skyward to stardom. . . ."[111]

Again like Tristan, despite her china-doll air and her excessive feminine vanity, Salomé has mystical and philosophical inclinations and even fancies herself something of an entertainer. The improbable and inappropriate recitation Laforgue substitutes for her famous dance illustrates all of these traits:

> She cleared her throat, laughing . . . the sexless, timbreless voicelet, like that of a sick child asking for medicine, began . . . :
>
> 'Canaan, excellent nothingness; nothingness-latent, circumambiant, about to be the day after tomorrow, incipient, estimable, absolving, coexistent. . . .' [Pound's ellipses]
>
> ' . . . Concessions by the five senses to an all-inscribing affective insanity; latitudes, altitudes, nebulae, Medusae of gentle water, affinities of the ineradicable, passages over earth so eminently identical with incalculably numerous duplicates, alone in indefinite infinite. Do you take me? . . . Hydrocephalic theosophies, act it, aromas of populace, phenomena without stable order, contaminated with prudence. . . .
>
> ' . . . The pure state, I tell you, sectaries of the consciousness, why this convention of separations, individuals by mere etiquette, indivisible? . . . There is no ticket to the confessional for the heir of the prodigies. Not expedients and expiations, but vintages of the infinite, not experimental but in fatality.'[112]

Characteristically, Laforgue is sacrificing some of his favorite ideas on the altar of parody and burlesque. Elsewhere, as Joyce was to do

110. Ibid., p. 265.

111. *JJA* 56:5–6; *FDV* 210.7–11 (simplified).

112. *Instigations*, pp. 260–62. Pound elided only the segment noted after "coexistent."

with his "Nightpiece," he included some of his own verses, deepening the effect of auto-satire.

Joyce's Isolde is wooed in language no less preposterous than that of Salomé. After he has "elecutioned to her a favorite lyrical bloom," Tristan clears his throat like Salomé and delivers "what follows from his toploftical voicebox":

> — Isolde, O Isolde, when theeuponthus I oculise my inmost Ego most vaguely senses the deprofundity of multimathematical immaterialities whereby in the pancosmic urge of Allimanence of That Which Is Itself exteriorates on this here our plane of disunited solid liquid and gaseous bodies in pearlwhite passionpanting intuitions of reunited Selfhood in the higherdimensional Selflessness.[113]

Joseph Campell and H. M. Robinson derive Tristan's ideas from Schopenhauer's *World as Will and Idea*.[114] I suggest that Joyce is also using Nicholas de Cusa's neoplatonic concepts and that, like Laforgue, he is ridiculing some of his favorite ideas.

The tone of Tristan's harangue is more significant than its ideas, however, and Joyce's reference to *De Profundis* supports my contention that, from the start, he associated this sketch most directly with the *fin-de-siècle* modes. Wilde was clearly not his only target, though he was a major model for HCE in decline. When Joyce chose Tristan as the exemplar of a dying epoch, he was probably also thinking of Yeats and Maude Gonne and the Celtic Twilight.[115]

Laforgue's "Salomé" gave Joyce part of what he needed to crystalize his vision at the precise moment of necessity: a mime of decadence in which sophisticated values are seen in dissolution, in which the point of view and even the characters are denied both depth and stasis. Doubtless he also saw in Laforgue, as in the Tristan

113. *JJA* 56:2–3; *FDV* 208.24–209.11 (simplified). See also *FW* 394.20–395.2.

114. Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson, *A Skeleton Key to Finnegans Wake* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1944), p. 253.

115. See Joyce's attempts to fit Yeats into his pattern under "GRACE" and "SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS" in "Scribbledehobble" (*JJA* 28:77, 134; *Scribbledehobble*, pp. 67, 104).

theme, reflections of tendencies already available in his earlier work and an example congenial to his talents.

The notes and sketches that followed this "shock of recognition" may, however, have been more like imitations and more derivative than even he cared to admit. As the abortive "Nightpiece" extension to the fair copy of "Tristan and Isolde" seems to show, Laforgue and Wagner (and even perhaps Bédier) took him too close to an explicit parody that failed to engage his imagination. In the event, he corrected his course, salvaged what he could of the effort and stored the rest for future use (see the Issy monologues and chapter III.2 with its stellar flirtation). By the time the Laforgue-inspired Wagnerian parody reached print, the multiple sources of his handling of the Tristan theme had been assimilated, and Joyce had long since reclaimed his own.

4

Regrouping, Reconnoitering, Advancing: Notebook VI.B.3

> I'm real glad to have met you, Tris, you fascinator, you! she said, awfully bucked by the gratifying experience of the love embrace from a bigtimer with an interesting tallow complexion like him who was evidently a notoriety also in the poetry department. . . .
>
> —From the extension to "Tristan and Isolde"

An Aborted Extension

If the composition of the initial sketches was important, the next stages in the book's development, though far less dramatic, were crucial. In "Scribbledehobble" Joyce had begun to establish his cast of characters; this he continued in the early notebooks, expanding and deepening but also generalizing and beginning to diffuse character traits, actions, themes, and historical/intellectual contexts. That process, which led to the standardization or siglification of his dramatis personae, will be treated in the next chapter. Here a discussion of "Tristan and Isolde" in relation to its aborted extension is in order.

The main stage of our mini-drama is a single notebook, VI.B.3 (*JJA* 29), one of several that Joyce worked on in 1923. Appropriately, it contains early notes on the lives of Patrick and Kevin together with the earliest draft of the Kevin sketch. There are Tristan notes scattered throughout, along with a rich cache of highly charged personal observations or "epiphanoids," and many entries relating to

what was to become the Earwicker family. With the aid of such notes and in the light of their contexts, we can see both how Joyce moved from a more literal to a sublimated burlesque and how he decentered his consideration of what remained a principal node in the *Wake*, preparing for a looser and broader treatment of the night.

Tristan, Isolde, Mark, and a Mark prototype called Pop are developed under several "Scribbledehobble" headings, but their major development began during the revision of the sketch. It was then that Joyce not only took further notes on Bédier but also began to explore the broader implications of the tale in relation to his own family, a procedure that evolved only gradually into something more inclusive and dynamic. While far from proving that the "Tristan and Isolde" was in itself *the* seminal passage/node, this development suggests that the tale provided a pattern and platform from which Joyce could readily depart.

Similarly, though the *Wake* cannot be read as a Joyce family melodrama, it is useful to recall that Joyce always tapped his own biography, preferably his most intimate and disturbing life, for its aesthetic potential. This raw stuff he ultimately sublimated. Proof that he knew what he was doing can be found in the uses to which he put the autobiographical epiphanies, in the notes for *Exiles*, in his letters to Nora in 1909, and in the reading he made of Nora's first dream in 1916. Since the last is of most immediate interest, I shall cite it and Joyce's analysis in full:

1) At a performance in the theatre
A newly discovered play by Shakespeare
Shakespeare is present
There are two ghosts in the play.
Fear that Lucia may be frightened

—

Interpretation: I am perhaps behind this dream. The 'new discovery' is related to my theory of the ghost in Hamlet and the public sensation is related to a possible publication of that theory . . . or of my own play. The figure of Shakespeare present in Elizabethan dress is a suggestion of fame, his certainly (it is the tercentenary of his death) mine not so certainly. The fear for Lucia (herself in

> little) is fear that either subsequent honours or the future development of my mind or art or its extravagant excursions into forbidden territory may bring unrest into her life.[1]

Joyce's reading reveals much more about him than it does about Nora. (It would not be too difficult to make a radically different, and equally specious, interpretation along more conventionally Freudian lines.) Clearly, he is imposing his own desires, ambitions, and fears on her subconscious life, that is, colonizing it. But what matters more to us here is the particular choice of interpretive details.

As we shall see when we examine the writer's own dreams,[2] the reference to Lucia as a younger version of Nora is especially predictive. The movement from Nora and Lucia to ALP and Issy suggests an inversion of precedence, given the role of Molly in *Ulysses*. Perhaps because Milly Bloom was slighted in that book, Isolde/Is/Issy received an inordinate amount of attention in the early *Wake* notes, where she is explicitly the object of her father's amorous attentions. On the other hand, the interchangeability Joyce seems to have sensed may have helped ground the schizoid doubling already implicit in the two Isoldes of the Tristan tale. But then we may take it as axiomatic that the motivations behind the basic scenario tended to be multiple from the start.

To return to the dream: if, as Nora's husband, Joyce feels justified in seeing himself "behind this," it is probably because he himself has been bombarding Nora with visions of sugarplum successes and fears of overstepping the limits of contemporary decency. Ellmann mentions in passing the tensions caused by the writing of *Ulysses* and suggests that Nora may have expressed genuine apprehensions.[3] The point is that with all of Stephen Dedalus' "sheet lightning courage"(*U* 15.3660), the writer is clearly fascinated by his awareness that he is about to create a stir. It is 1916, and the prepublication of the early chapters has already reached the negotiation stage. Given the reactions of a reader like John Quinn, Joyce, if not Nora, has

1. *JJA* 3:285; Ellmann, 436–37.

2. See below, Chapter 6.

3. Ellmann, pp. 422, 433, and passim; see also Brenda Maddox, *Nora* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), p. 158 and passim.

reason for concern. His native paranoia is probably leading him to feel and court disapproval and to glory in and fear the sort of attention and notoriety *Ulysses* will bring him.

Too engaged by the subject of Nora's dream to make a credible reading, he was also too scrupulous to omit any detail of the dream from his analysis. This is the sort of analogical scrupulosity that characterizes all his fiction. It seems that once a given pattern, especially one relating to his own experience, asserted itself, he felt bound to fill it out. In the process of exploiting such patterns, he could also—he did occasionally—make a futile step, commit an error that might or might not open one of Stephen Dedalus' "portals of discovery." Such an error is the abortive extension to the original Tristan.

Because errors and abortions are so rare in the development of the *Wake*, every one of them seems to demand an explanation. Occurring as it does very early in the developmental process, the abortive extension marks a moment of decision and a turning point:[4]

> —{I'm real glad to have met you}, Tris, you fascinator, you! she said, {awfully bucked} by the gratifying experience of the love embrace from a bigtimer with an interesting tallow complexion from whom great things were expected like him who was evidently a notoriety also in the poetry department for he never saw an orange but he thought of a porringer and to cut a long story short taking him by and large he meant everything to her just then, being her beau ideal of a true girl friend, handsome musical composer a thoroughbred Pomeranian lapdog, a box of preserved crystallised ginger clove cushions peppermint choc [?] satinette puffs, lime tablets and Nay even the Deity Itself — strewing, the strikingly shining, the twittingly twinkling, {our true home} and (as he wranographically remarked), the lamplights of lovers in the Beyond.
>
> Up they gazed, skyward to stardom, while in his girleen's ear that lovelier, lover sinless sinner, breathed:

4. *JJA* 56:4–7; *FDV* 209–11 (simplified). I have placed material taken from notebook VI.B.3 between braces.

Gaunt in gloom
The pale stars their torches
Enshrouded wave
Ghostfires from heaven's far verges faint illume
Arches on soaring arches,
Nights' sindark nave.

—

Seraphim
The pale stars awaken
To service till
In moonless gloom each lapses, muted, dim
Raised when she has & shaken
Her thurible

—

As long and loud
To night's nave upsoaring
A starknell tolls
As the bleak incense surges, cloud on cloud,
Voidward from the adoring
Waste of souls

How gentle & kind I am, Isy. I never hurt the feelings of another. And, I say, what a lovely nature is mine!

{It wasn't exactly anything he said or it wasn't anything he exactly did but all the same it was something} about him like the way he was always {sticking his finger into his trousers pocket and then sticking it into his eye like a bony baby}, the great big slob that she let out a whistle or the once she dropped her ittle {hanky-fuss} and the way so grateful he {picked it up with his hoof and footed} it up politefully to her ittle nibblems.

—{Go away from me} instantly you thing she roared. Curse your stinking putrid soul & and all belonged to you you scum {Forget me not!}

—{Perfect, you bloody bitch}, he said.

He took leave of her and {circulated} as bidden. Hearing his name called {before many instants had passed} he most sagacious-

> ly ceased to walk about and turned, his look now charged with purpose.
> —{No, come back}, she cried. How sweetly you have {responded} to me. I so want you!
> —It is perfect [?], her nephew, who was very continental, said, stopped & {circulated} at a walker's pace in an opposed [?] direction

All in all, this is an astonishingly bad performance: by borrowing first from the voice of "Eumeus" and then from that of "Nausicaa" Joyce produced a flat pantomime, whose main function was to provide a setting for a poem written eight years earlier. Nothing like this coy lovers' quarrel and reconciliation occurs in the *Wake* though the idea of the poetic insert persists in the Mamalujos' insinuating doggerel at the end of II.4.

As I have suggested in Chapter 3, the poem "Nightpiece," which Joyce wrote in 1915, may have been inspired by Wagner; at the very least, it reminded Joyce of Wagnerian lines. What is amply demonstrated by this passage is the impulse to explore the comic potential of the conjunction he had established between two callow ingenues. The poem's setting represents his misbegotten attempt to develop and extend the personae and the theme even though he had only a limited idea how that was to be done. When he abandoned most of this material almost without revision, he was momentarily floundering. Ultimately, Joyce evolved radically different procedures, less in reaction to than as the consequences of this early and tentative probe.

Notebook VI.B.3 constitutes no more than a part of the environment that enabled the writer to discover his path. There are, after all, other early notebooks and other manuscript records, and there are biographical details. Still, VI.B.3's clarity and coherence make it an unusually worthy focus for our discussion, especially since it begins with notes for the revision and extension of the "Tristan." Indeed, the first eighty pages contain an unusual number of widely scattered entries that were actually incorporated in the revision of the first available draft and in the composition and revision of its extension.

Of special interest are the quality of the Tristan and Isolde ("T &

I") notes and the environment within which they flourished. For example, though the first note on page 1 ("to circulate (Trist)") is indeed applied to Tristan in the draft, the second note, "Trist—Go away from me you [blot]/ (she goes) O come back," was given to Isolde, who sends Tristan packing in the draft version.

The next important sequence, implicitly rather than explicitly applicable to "T & I," suggests how free Joyce felt to try out formulas and how close he still was to the procedures of *Ulysses*: "She loaded her trunk & four extremities on board of the Chapelizod & Lucan Steam tram & paid for the transport of the same to Parkgate terminus"(VI.B.3.2). We may assume that this anomalous and stylistically anachronistic sequence was inspired associatively by the preceding note from page 1, obviously taken to record a Dublinism ("I am trying to get *into* Jervis Street").[5]

Several things set this tram sequence apart from the other notes. First, it is written in a darker, clearer hand than what precedes it, probably in a rush of inspiration and at a slightly later time. Second, it is not canceled. Third, it has a clear narrative flow that harks back in a startlingly direct manner to the style of Stephen's "Parable of the Plums." Like the "Parable" it is written in a lightly accented and humorous *style indirect libre* ("four extremities on board of") and contains a superabundance of incidental detail. Though it seems unlikely that Joyce actually intended to return to this sort of prose, there is evidence throughout the early notebooks of research into what would become the colloquial background style for certain early passages.

Beyond the "Parable" echoes, this entry rhymes stylistically and thematically with *Dubliners*, stylistically through the flat but ironic prose. Thematically, it rhymes most obviously with "A Painful Case," which takes place in Chapelizod and features an embittered intellectual, a morally isolated internal exile modeled after Joyce's brother Stanislaus and presumably capable of such an utterance.[6] Under the heading "A PAINFUL CASE" in "Scribbledehobble" we find an important cluster of references to Pop, a slightly stuffy and de-

5. My italics.

6. See Stanislaus's own account in *My Brother's Keeper*, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1958), pp. 159–60.

cidedly quirky middle-class Anglican with an overly strong attachment to his marriageable or adolescent daughter. Though we are not yet at the site of the "crime" of HCE, both the plans for the *Wake* and Joyce's letters underscore the tale's relevance to the vision of an establishment father whose vulnerability, like that of the celibate Mr Duffy, is finally exposed (at least to himself).

It is to HCE's most important chapter (II.3) that Joyce refers in his letter of 15 July 1926 as " ○ [pubclients] discussing . . . *A Painful Case* and the □—△ household."[7] Still, the locale of the *Dubliners* tale reenforced Joyce's exploration of the Tristan and Isolde plot, and the preparations for the *Wake* shifted the immediate focus from the solitary Mr Duffy to the French triangle. Mark's solitude as the complacent husband is clearly different from that of the story's protagonist, but then *Exiles* and *Ulysses* have intervened since Joyce wrote his story. On the other hand, one can readily imagine the anachronistic Issy of the sketch doing precisely what this female figure does.

Most significant, this note dating from early 1923 contains what may be the first of several mentions of the *Wake*'s setting: the ancient Chapel of Isolde/Iseult. On 3.28, after an allusion to a king serving the "priests table," we read "King of Chapelizod," and on 3.31 Joyce makes the linkage to "T & I" explicit: "Chapelizod in what constituency[?] local Govt [(]Is—Spousa Trist)."[8] There is pointed irony in these notes, which turn a sleepy village into a kingdom, introduce anachronism, and deliberately confuse Tristan's

7. *Letters* 1:242.

8. This is followed by some notes referring to members of Joyce's mother's family, the Murrays: "Alice Murray why nurse? Nurse Grier. Father Murray's brother. How much money did he have?" Ellmann (p. 537) mentions Alice Murray and her sister Kathleen, Aunt Josephine's daughters, in connection with Joyce's trip to London in August 1922. His source is Patricia Hutchins, who focuses on Kathleen (one of several Kathleens in Joyce's life at this time). There is no mention of Alice's being a nurse, though the detail struck Joyce, and he transposed it later when he called Isolde a nurse. Later still he made Issy speak of her own nurse Madge (*FW* 459.4). Doubtless, Joyce had occasion during one of his encounters with his cousin to speak of the family. Months later we see him returning to such conversations as he began the lengthy process of building his extended family into the *Wake* universe. It may well be that "Father" Murray constituted one of the links with Chapelizod.

bride, Iseult Blanches Mains of Brittany, with the Irish queen of Cornwall, Iseult la Belle. Moreover, the placename Chapelizod is, like the tale itself, continental or, more precisely, French. The last entry cited above is preceded in a nearly identical hand by the first reference to Shem's "first riddle of the universe: . . . when is a man not a man?"(*FW* 170.4–5). Clearly referring back to *Ulysses* rather than forward to the *Wake*, and featuring the name of Isolde's Irish father, the note reads "The O'Gorman Mahan. When is a man not a man? (LB)"(3.30).[9] The association of King Gorman with Chapelizod was on Joyce's mind when he wrote this sequence. Perhaps he was even reading up on the history of the town.[10]

Beginning with page 5, the pages of notebook B.3 are filled with the observations of contemporary behavior I am calling epiphanoids. The same pages contain, interspersed with the Tristan and Isolde development, a significant cluster of references to Irish lore, prepa-

9. Under "Exiles (.I.)" Joyce wrote "Father O'Gorman Westfort" (*JJA* 28:89; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 77). The name O'Gorman is supplied by Thomas, whom Joyce read in Bédier's edition. I have not succeeded in tracing down what appears to be the Irish (Bloomish?) pun in Joyce's note. There has been considerable speculation concerning the solution(s) to the riddle in the *Wake*, and Patrick A. McCarthy has analyzed briefly the "Scribbledehobble" reference "God ⊏ 1st riddle" (*The Riddles of "Finnegans Wake"* [Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980], pp. 82–83). Unfortunately, McCarthy assumes that this pencil note dating from the mid–1930s belongs to the "Circe" complex. As is too commonly done, he also fails to consider the context. This note belongs to the sequence: "agnostic determines, God ⊏ 's 1st riddle, /⊏ fish × pur et pia bella teloscup eyetrompit" (VI.A.759–60; *JJA* 28:177–78; *Scribbledehobble*, pp. 142–43). This grouping supports one of the standard answers ("when he is Christ or the fish"), but it seems also to suggest that the joined sons are the second member of the Trinity. Of greater interest is the fact that, at a very late date, Joyce was still speculating concerning the answer to the folk riddle he had appropriated in 1923 for the second draft of I.7. Beyond this, the textual materials have taken on an indeterminate life of their own even in the mind of the author, a characteristic repeatedly underscored not only by the text of the *Wake* but also by the notes and the manuscripts.

10. I don't know precisely what sources Joyce consulted, but see John d'Alton, *History of the County of Dublin* (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1838), pp. 540–49, for a good account of the town that provided Sheridan Lefanu with a setting for his gothic mystery *The House by the Churchyard*.

rations for the St. Patrick[11] and the St. Kevin themes and sketches,[12] for the Letter (obliquely),[13] and even for what was to become the Butt and Taff dialogue from II.3.[14] Most of this, including to some

11. For instance, pages 8–9 of VI.B.3 contain one of the earliest summaries of the saint's life: "Succoth (Patrick)/ Calpurnios Concessa/ master Milcho/ Slieve Mish/ 6 yrs Antrim/ 4 yrs/ Tours (S Martin)/ 14 years/ S Germain Auxerois/ (Fochluth (wood of)). . . ."

12. The earliest version of the Kevin sketch is found on pages 42–46 of this notebook, where it was written apparently in space left during the notetaking process.

13. On pages 18–19 we find the first version of part of the postscript to the second draft of the Letter, a passage that was not actually included in the *Wake* but that foreshadowed the delivery theme developed so fully in Book III. Here, HCE's first avatar, "Is[olde] father [would like to] take Queen Elizabeth out to the people's garden in the park with a chambered revolver & blow her bloody brains out." For the later versions, which feature HCE and ALP, see *JJA* 46:294–95, *FDV* 91, and Chapter 7, below.

14. See VI.B.3.80–83. The early appearance of the Buckley tale in "Scribbledehobble" has been noted above. These somewhat later notes develop, however sketchily, the implications of the tale, its context, and its rendering. (Note that some of the lines given to Butt in 1936 were attributed to Tristan in 1923.) The first two notes, "Blanco Buckley is the wild goose" (3.80) and "Crimea War (Buckley)/ Arabesque of Buckley/ 'limewhite mansions'" (3.81), were eventually used in: "His husband, poor old A'Hara (Okaroff?) crestfallen by things and down at heels at the time, they squeak, accepted the (Zassnoch!) ardree's shilling at the conclusion of the Crimean war and, having flown his wild geese . . . soldiered a bit with Wolsey under the assumed name of Blanco Fusilovna Bucklovitch. . . ." (*FW* 49.2–9). In these lines, Buckley is identified, if not with the Russian General, at least with a Russianized Irishman. The long final sequence of B.3 notes, uncrossed here, had to wait thirteen years to be incorporated in the first draft of the opening dialogue between Butt and Taff. Prefaced with another Joycean riddle: "So Buckley shot the Russian general but who shot B[uckley ?]" (3.82), it contains a puzzling but significant reference to Tristan: "T[ristan] said negrily[?]/ I was that mad (he was furious) I was that mad (he was foaming with rage) it was in the Crimean War on the Black Sea (it was raging with foam)" (3.82). The following notebook page (3.83) is blank save for a bit of scatological doggerel in a similar hand:

The turd swiftsure
Flew down the sewer
& the Sluicehounds
Flushfleshed after

Though the Tristan note is distinct from the other notes, its placement within

extent the epiphanoids, was probably generated by the impulse to develop the Irish background and personae for the projected "T & I" narrative. That is, Joyce was deepening and broadening the context for what would have been a full-blown and perhaps fairly explicit parody of the romance in a motley combination of period and contemporary dress.

Joyce's revisions to the first-draft formulation of the abortive "T & I" extension added only gratuitous details to the classic *dépit amoureux*. But then the segment of the original draft which was retained is only slightly more meritorious. Still, we may wonder why Joyce decided so rapidly to discard both the new dialogue material and the poem. A clue may lie in that portion of the initial paragraph Joyce did not delete, a passage loaded with intertextual games. There we find twentieth-century upper-class English and American twenties jargon ("fascinator," "awfully bucked," "big-timer," "in the poetry department"), but there are also many sentimental cliches like "gratifying experience of the love embrace," "evidently a notoriety," "her beau ideal." Like the *précieux* fairy tale and its *fin-de-siècle* cousins, it uses double-dipped metaphors to describe Tristan as a lapdog and assorted sweets. There are echoes both of the diction of "Nausicaa" and the overstuffed syntax of "Eumeus." There is even a fairly direct reference to the star cult of Pound/Laforgue's Salomé. Joyce did well to cut the paragraph after this portrait of Tristan as a callow and tasteless "aesthete." In so doing he played down the star cult and Dresden china shepherd effects, mitigated the tangle of contemporary cliches, and closed off the action.

For all its obvious weaknesses and its intertextual overkill, the

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this startlingly clear development suggests that Joyce intended Buckley, the killer of the father, to be an avatar of Tristan, the betrayer of King Mark. In this way he also foreshadowed the development of Shem as the cad. At the same time, the development of the Buckley tale at this point suggests that the crude pub tale was seen as yet another sketch. (See the list of titles under "THE SISTERS" in "Scribbledehobble.") We may still think of it in that way, especially since the exchange cited above reads like a pub dialogue. Joyce left space on the bottom of this notebook page perhaps because he anticipated further developments.

opening paragraph of the extension, together with the sentence that precedes the poem, eventually provided a smooth transition. Perhaps when he took the highly unusual step of suppressing over a page of fully conceived and heavily revised material, Joyce felt that "Night-piece" was too good for its farcical setting. Wagnerian or not, decadent or not, that rather mellow bit of doggerel manages to convey a moment of epiphanic intensity. Indeed, even in 1923, it may have carried with it too much residual emotion to merit open ridicule as the work of a poetaster. There is support for this view in the fact that he eventually published it in *Pomes Penyeach*.

The basic strategy of the extension was both conserved and modified when Joyce composed and appended the seabirds' song, foreshadowing and eventually complementing the famous "Rann" of I.2. In doing so he avoided the pitfalls inherent in the complex dramatic frame while employing burlesque verse better suited to the mood and tone of the sketch than was the lyrical poem.

But could he have rejected this material only because it was made of inferior stuff? He clearly meant this passage to be in a subliterary mode. After all, little if any of the subtext of the *Wake* is written in a polished or self-consciously literary style. Going Flaubert several better, the later Joyce consistently wrote up from the subliterary, bringing aesthetic dimensions to the an-aesthetic, working as much against as with his materials. An elaborate and comically plausible buildup, for example, can justify stylistically the refreshingly outrageous idea that the letter/Letter spoken/dictated by an "analfabet" housewife in a modest Dublin suburb could approximate the lost, ineffable, and perhaps unspeakable Word upon which every system of belief is built.

In rejecting the possibility of an extended comic development, Joyce opted early on for what could be called a minimalist approach to his prime narrative materials. He apparently reached that point of decision when he tried to go beyond the seduction viewed in profile (eventually by the four) to a frontally slapstick sequence. I suggest that the mode of the sketch was, from the start, a limited one, that Joyce established through his words and then in his mind a decorum that did not admit the dramatic rendering of action, no matter how

absurd.[15] It seems appropriate that in both "Roderick O'Conor" and "Tristan and Isolde" gently irreverent voices mediate between the manner of the oral narrative meditated upon under the heading "THE SISTERS" and that of the literary parody that grew spontaneously from Joyce's inspection of Wagner's *Tristan* in relation to his reading of Laforgue/Pound's "Salomé."

Doubtless there are other reasons for the abandonment of the extension. Perhaps the writer sensed that the passage took him too far afield, extending the trivial toward the inane. Perhaps he wrote it as part of an exploratory action rather than with a clear plan of development. What is more likely, the notes taken in conjunction with this passage led him in new and more fertile directions. At any rate, the copious early notes developing the character, attitudes, and actions of the Tristan and Isolde romance suggest that Joyce felt compelled to follow that trail as far as it would lead him, exploring the paths that branched off from it, and that he ultimately recognized its lacunae.

A Family Man: From Pop to HCE

Even when he had other seemingly overriding concerns, Joyce was eager to play with the romance, myth, and cultural materials uncovered by his research and reflections, applying them even to the life around him and especially to his personal affairs. In the event, Isolde quickly shaded into Issy, the young female of his imagination, a persona who borrowed much of her nature from Lucia Joyce.[16] Beyond that, Lucia/Issy shaded into all young girls and

15. This rule does not apply to other aspects of the text since there is all manner of frontality elsewhere: e.g., in the dialogues, the fables, the action of I.8, II.2, II.3, and most of III.1–2. What I am referring to here is the apparent decorum of the early sketches, a decorum explained more by its simple existence than by any rational principles I can at this point discern.

16. The manuscripts, combined with newly available information about Joyce's relationship to Nora and Lucia, have proven the extent to which biography and creativity interpenetrated even in *Finnegans Wake*. Far from claiming

splintered into phases of the female psyche, a mystery the writer seems to have found more intriguing as he aged. What may be involved here is something we are not yet prepared to explore, the writer's perception of the nature of sanity.

In connection with the Breton and the Irish Isoldes, we find references to Is that clearly allude to Lucia and may also be read as epiphanoids: "Is—they haven't the heart to make a cup of tay (Bretonnes)" (3.8) and "Isolde—ornaments her father's caligraphy/ Vere Foster/ scribe" (3.10). The first of these records a remark that could have been made by Lucia during or after one of the family's many trips, but it applies to Isolde of Ireland, who would have found the manners of her Breton rival primitive. The second is curiously premonitory of the "Lettrines" Lucia made at Joyce's instigation in 1932, when he felt the need to find outlets for her increasingly strange personality.[17] Joyce was very proud of his daughter's "beautiful" handwriting and perhaps even eager to take himself and her back to the age of the monastic scribe. It is significant that there is no evidence in the Tristan tale, or any likelihood, that King Gorman was a scribe. As early as mid-1923, the web of interrelating themes, places, characters, and periods had begun to tangle.

Joyce's own life and personality had also begun to mingle insistently and confusedly with those of his male protagonists. Thus, the extremely personal, folklore- and superstition-inspired epiphany "I heard the banshee 10-30 6/ 4/923" (3.5), a *cri de coeur* found in the midst of Irish notes, is followed immediately, though in a lighter and more cursive hand, by another "I" note, this time ascribed to Tristan, "I offer you this Divided heart (Trist)" (3.6). The latter precedes what is either a revealing idea with personal overtones or a disguised epiphanoid transposing writer and musician: "Young girl back from concert explains fugue to Bach (he astonished at its other senses)" (3.6).[18]

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that such information supplies us with any keys, I suggest only that it can deepen our apprehension of the creative procedures.

17. See Ellmann, pp. 658–59. The note suggests that Lucia was making ornamental letters a decade before her father thought of using the "Lettrines" as therapy.

18. Paul Valéry is said to have experienced something similar, though with

As he took notes on the early versions and origins of the tale, Joyce established a contemporary twist (of the sort seldom employed in the *Wake* itself). "Trist wounded at Landsdowne Rd" (3.16) suggests that the writer had residual anxiety for his family which had recently been at risk in Ireland. So does the following conflation of the bird (elsewhere called an "erotic swallow") that carried Isolde's hair to Cornwall with a carrier dove/document from a record office explosion: "Is—receives wounded dove from I[reland] & sends back. It is a document from blown up record office" (3.29).[19] This entry precedes one relating directly, though not without mockery, to Nora Barnacle, whose association with Aughrim is celebrated at the end of "The Dead":[20] "Aughrim where her dear cousin Farrogil[?] had been hewn asunder by her dear foster-brother Lundy Ruadh" (3.30).[21] Continuing in the same comic-Irish vein, but apparently referring back to *Ulysses*, Joyce wrote: "The O'Gorman Mahan. When is a man not a man? (LB)" (3.30).[22] The associative process took him immediately from that entry, which may recall a family or a Dublin joke, to another Chapelizod note and from there to a discussion of his maternal line, the Murrays. Their development was probably not fortuitous. King Gorman's kingdom is associated with Chapelizod, and the Murray family may have been associated with that suburb. Such a linkage would have reenforced the association with "A Painful Case" and led Joyce to locate his family group in that modest town, tying it automatically to the romance.

How then did the preparations for the abortive extension lead Joyce to abandon the idea of producing a complex dramatic vignette

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an opposite valence, when he attended a lecture during which one of his poems was explicated. Joyce is clearly celebrating insights of innocence and perhaps indirectly indulging in wishful thinking about his own daughter's intelligence.

19. Note the conflation of Isolde with the Virgin and the comic play on the Annunciation. Joyce's Isolde sends her dove back.

20. See Ellmann, p. 248. The note suggests that Nora may have told Joyce a tale about Aughrim that goes beyond any reported association.

21. The tone of this passage in West Country dialect is captured in chapter I.4 (see particularly *FW* 81–83) where we find a mention of the "Ruadh Cow at Tallaght" (*FW* 83.19). Joyce left this note uncrossed.

22. See above, note 9.

and to initiate a radically different approach not only to theme and narrative but also to characterization? One further answer may lie in the notes dealing with Pop and Mark and the late-blooming pre-ALP figure, Mum/Mop. These contain important clues beyond those listed earlier, suggesting that the family, the crime, and the Letter are rooted in the Tristan theme and that they proved to be a more powerful and immediate stimulus than the updated romance they eventually eclipsed. As we shall see, it was the Letter that led Joyce finally to create the twins Shem and Shaun, whose word occupies so much of the novel's textual space.

In "Scribbledehobble," under "EVELINE," which clearly followed "Exiles" chronologically, Joyce seems to assimilate Pop with the indulgent father of Isolde/Lucia: "Is & Pop beat time in church" (VI.A.51).[23] Pop is mentioned again under "AFTER THE RACE," but the major development is under "A PAINFUL CASE," where he exhibits the traits of a solid citizen, an establishment Protestant with "anglican ethics." Though this version of Pop is still far from the pubkeeping HCE and though Chapelizod is never named, Joyce was already on track: "(Pop ([*sic*] sits back to sea: [he is a] naturfreund: saving daylight: [he is remarkable for] his anglican ethics: . . . General X—kept gen[eral] drapery stores: his year made up of anniversaries: . . . in WC [keeps] blotting paper: . . . sleeps in park, paper over face: joy to sit under a grating:[24] . . . takes Is for walk, explains [that he wants]: to see people come back from Fairyhouse

23. This association is fairly clear from the fact that the notes under this heading refer to adolescent behavior in relation to a parent, significantly altering the subject matter of the story. Add to this the fact that Joyce included one of these notes in his "Tristan," "mouth vowed to pure beauty"; that he alludes to a childish "illustrated" letter and to a train trip "Belfast-Dublin, change of Porters (H.B.P.)" that may correspond to the ill-fated voyage of Nora and the children to Ireland; that Is engages in some obscene sexual behavior: "Is milked Dan Tollan—without indecent exposure—near Fox and Geese every Tuesday and Friday"; and that the name Is is used throughout. *JJA* 28:51; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 55.

24. The overtones of the voyeuristic crime are already in place here, as is the scandal in "the noise of the explosion was so disagreeable that the night polishman [?] retired into his box and slept" (VI.A.121; JJA 28:70; *Scribbledehobble*, pp. 63–64).

[racetrack]: . . . Pop 'all holla, holla, holla': eats in shirtsleeves: . . . Pop angry with weather wore string for tie: whiskers inside or outside bedclothes: Pop wears 2 pr socks: . . . " (VI.A.121).[25] Such notes, and there are more, are consistent with the first of the Pop entries in B.3, which reads "Pop Hibernis Hibernior" (3.19). Clearly the Anglican Pop is already the Dublin alien who takes on a super-Irish identity. This note follows shortly after the reference to Is's father's hatred of Queen Elizabeth I. Later we read, "Pop gave wh[ole] bob for job & 3d tip" (3.34), which seems to suggest generosity or its display as perceived through the eyes of his daughter.

Something different occurs at the first appearance of the name Earwicker (in association with Isolde and perhaps Noah): "Earwicker's bath/ Is's piss liquid sunlight/ Fingerprints on her drawers/ lovers' silences/ grass grows on the ark" (3.38). This sequence stands out because it was written on the bottom of a single page in a small, neat hand. Each of its elements is significant in the light of later developments. The uncrossed reference to "Earwicker's bath" comes only a few pages before the first draft of the Kevin sketch with its central "hiptubbath,"[26] a sketch it doubtless foreshadowed. Moreover, it recalls the famous bath given Tristan by his beautiful Irish princess, the one that revealed him to be the slayer of the giant Morholt. Clearly, some sort of substitution is taking place.

More important even than the name Earwicker, which may have been conceived in one of the missing notebooks, is the curious description of "Is's piss," in conjunction with the reference to the *inspected* "drawers." Together with the earlier reference to Pop sitting under gratings, they predict the central motifs of the famous crime of HCE. The context is clearly the voyeuristic/incestuous scene from which the male guilt/fall/defense complex evolved, accumulating along the way baroque dream complexities. Whether or not Earwicker is identified with father/Pop/Mark, we have an image that calls to mind and perhaps founded the theme of lost vitality and

25. Ibid. This does not exhaust the appropriate notes under "A PAINFUL CASE," but it should give a sense of what was on Joyce's mind when he began to develop his vision of Is's father. In order to make these notes a bit more coherent, I have filled in some of the blanks.

26. *JJA* 63:38a.

its complement, lost innocence. Perhaps Joyce already envisaged the contradictory image of the solar father who either violates or protects his daughter, is seduced by her sunlit liquid, and, as the earth, bathes in the urinous flow that he himself, as the source of all light, should generate. At any rate, later developments diffuse and sublimate these urges while amplifying the father's fault.

Eventually Joyce took the image of the child's urine as a golden or sunny liquid and translated it in a minor key into the smile of the subtly vicious but solar innocent Kevin/Michael/Shaun.[27] In the first available draft (1930) of II.1, we read, "How he stud theirs so kevinly, a mickly dazzley, with his gamecox spurts and his smile likuid glue, whiles his host of faceful spritties they went peahenning around him. . . ."[28] Striking here is the joining of sunlight ("dazzley"), seduction ("peahenning around him"), girlhood (the rainbow girls and Issy), and the honey/glue/liquid ascribed to Kevin's supersaintly smile. Even more significant is the reversal that has occurred. The virile father, whose demise brought on the night, cedes his place to his infertile progeny, suffering dissolution and replacement by lesser beings.

This sequence of notes takes us from father to daughter to jealousy/vice to "lovers' silences" or the suspected infidelity of the daughter to the father/husband, and finally to a wonderful sublimation of the flood and Noah in "grass grows on the ark."[29] It begins with the image of liquid on earth and ends with that of the interred vessel. Noah's ark was ultimately associated with the post-flood rainbow, a sign at once of renewal and of the girlish emanations who woo Shaun and tempt Shem in II.1 with their different colored panties and return in III.2 to celebrate Jaun.

Though the other Pop-type notes tend to be more circumstantial and less seminal, they take on interest when their context is examined:

"Papa Is[olde] goes to bed in socks" (3.49). Calling to mind the

27. Kevin, a far simpler figure than Tristan, preceded Shaun, who does not appear in this notebook or the "Scribbledehobble."

28. *FDV* 134.16–18 (simplified); *JJA* 51:27; *FW* 234.10–20.

29. The latter image may owe something to Rimbaud's painful recognition of the failure of revolution and recrudescence of habit in his prose poem "Après le déluge" in *Les illuminations*.

notes under "A PAINFUL CASE," this entry follows a curiously regressive biographical item: "S[tephen] D[edalus] meets O[liver] G[ogarty]'s mother."[30] We may assume that Joyce was attracted in both instances by a parental relationship that unveils the privacy of a person or a persona. It seems likely, given the profusion of family notes both in the "Scribbledehobble" and B.3, that the new book was in some sense designed to echo the opening pages of *A Portrait*. Minimal details of mildly quirky family behavior were to be exposed by a young individual whose awareness would put them on display. In II.2 and III.4 and elsewhere, Joyce seems to have followed this prescription, though not to the degree suggested by the Pop notes.

"Is' father produces sounds from behind in bed" (3.53). This bit of dirty linen follows an epiphanoid entry: "man who dines here on Sundays (H)."

"Pop composed extempore verse"(3.93). This note follows immediately after an allusion to the "7 degrees of wisdom" of the ancient Irish ollaves and precedes two references to the poets' social standing, which are in turn followed by a pair of references to SD or Stephen Dedalus, who is called an "amateur writer" and a "scullion to scholars." A few notes later, Joyce went so far as to relate a contemporary utterance, presumably his own, to an ancient one: "a phrase spoken 1500 AC repeated 1923 AD" (3.94). Clearly, the writer, whose persona had claimed that "Ireland must be important because it belongs to me" (*U* 16.1164–65), was already establishing his new project's analogical (spacio)temporality: "Putting Allspace in a Notshall" (*FW* 455.29).

"Pop made † whenever saw éclair" (3.98). Preceded by an epiphanoid in Italian and an allusion to an "amateur bomb," this note is followed by two longish notes in Italian. Pop's gesture, typical of Italian mock-seriousness, suggests an italianate Joyce.

"Is's Mum copies Pop's curses" (3.111). This is preceded by a reference by Tristan to "*The* style" and followed by "makhila =

30. Typically, though not invariably, SD or Stephen Dedalus is the young Joyce, and generally the autobiographical impulse takes us beyond the details of the previous novels.

spiked stick," which together suggest a particular sort of "style." Most striking is the first appearance of "Mum," a clear sign that the Tristan tale has already begun to fade as a central concern.

"Pop's tall hat" (3.112).[31]

"Pop calls early morning with or X— [without?]" (3.112).

"Volumes (Pop)" (3.123). This laconic item precedes the first significant reference to what was to become ALP's Letter: "Mum—letterwriter," which is in turn followed by a transparent psychoanalytic allusion to "Is—her libido/ the Beyond." The book of the father seems about to become the letter of the mother before being buried in the daughter's libido. At this point Issy is still the powerful viewing and experiencing female figure, as witness the first available reference to the "Soft morning" walk/talk of ALP: "Is—mind's eye view of Dub[lin] Bay" (3.127).

"Pop & Mum wrangle *re* a road" (3.126). Obviously referring to a family outing, this note brings to mind what Joyce was to say about III.4: "I know that ∧ d ought to be about roads, all about dawn and roads, and go along repeating that to myself all day as I stumble along the roads hoping it will dawn on me how to show up them roads so as everybody'll know as how roads etc."[32] In fact, when preparing for that chapter, which does indeed treat the roadness of Phoenix park, Joyce took many road notes in B.8.

"Pop has Waterbury watch" (3.130). In the first draft of I.2, the original "enamelled hunter [Waterbury]" watch drawn from his pocket by HCE when the cad requested the time became a "shrapnel Waterbury."[33] The "watch" note is preceded by an allusion to a dreamed Tristan and Isolde who "melts into Mayor of Galway" (3.129). In the first draft of "Here Comes Everybody" the "lord of Offaly and the mayor of Waterford" are in the king's "retinue" for strategic and geographical reasons.[34] If the "Galway" note appears

31. See the repeated image of the hat, especially in connection to the battle of Waterloo in I.1 and the Norwegian Captain's tale in II.3. John Stanislaus Joyce is the probable model here.

32. *Letters* 1:232.

33. *JJA* 45:24–25; *FDV* 64.11 (simplified).

34. Ibid., p. 2; ibid., p. 62.23.

to unite T with I, the one before it splits T: "2 Tristans (Doppelgänger)."

"Pop in shirtsleeves makes political lovespeech" (3.131). In a context full of references to family relationships and human/divine begetting, this possibly oneiric note precedes a reference to Is's "dream of the last day vision of T—." More significant, the succeeding note records the conceptual discovery (to judge by Joyce's hand and the ambiguous punctuation) of the book's overall "Setting—a wake!" in which the terminal question mark was replaced by an exclamation point. A previous isolated note refers to "wake story" (3.101).

"Tris like Pop/ he boasts (Is)"(3.140). This is one of the rare occasions when Tristan, obviously the suitor of Pop's daughter, is associated with him rather than with Mark. Either the Mark character has begun to fade, or Pop, as proto-HCE and citizen/king of Chapelizod, is identified with King Gorman. (See below, "Pop abdicates.")

"Pop holds up traffic—" and "Pop abdicates" (3.159). These notes belong to what appears to be a late sequence taken in a radically different hand.

The sequential development of the Pop notes shows how Joyce prepared during the summer of 1923 to write "Haveth Childers Everywhere," the sketch from which he derived the male-oriented chapters I.2–4. The original childish orientation toward the father figure was altered by a process that was to be echoed in the later evolution of the Issy and Tristan figures and accompanied by an increasing interest in psychoanalytic terms and concepts. Chapters 2–4 themselves are narrated in mature choral and public voices. Joyce revived the childish point of view when he wrote III.4 in the fall of 1924, where a childish voyeur, Shem, peeps at the primal scene. In 1926, he was able to write the "Muddest Thick . . . " or "Triangle" for II.2, which along with II.1 (written in 1932) gives us glimpses of the threatening/imposing/absurd parents. In various other places, through Issy's comments on her father and Shaun's on his mother, he reintroduced the childish perspective. At the same time, it could be said that that perspective was never really abandoned.

The emphasis in the *Wake* is predominantly on the children, whatever their presumed ages. It is their voices that dominate, allowing the parental accents to transpierce only occasionally as echoes and projections.

By the time he wrote the last of the general Pop notes, Joyce had conceived the name Earwicker and written two extraordinarily seminal passages. The first was an abortive piece of persiflage that seems at first blush not to relate to Pop at all: "Though an architect by descent he had composed a mouthwash which had been published by [a] Rlwy [Railway] Company" (3.152). It is followed immediately by the earliest version of the crime, a passage in which Pop is portrayed as the vulnerable hero, slandered in this instance even by his defender: "It is not true that Pop was homosexual he had been arrested at the request of some nursemaids to whom he had temporarily exposed himself in the Temple gardens" (3.153). Apparently, HCE began his criminal life as a flasher! The first note is in a loose sprawling hand, the second in a tighter but similar one, but though both reflect the author's haste, the second was obviously written in such a way as to be readily recuperated. In the light of these notes, an earlier jotting takes on fresh significance. In "⊣—⊣—[Face to Face][35] through foliage/ pants down inside trousers" (3.148), Joyce has rendered graphically the discovery scene described in the pub tale "How Buckley Shot the Russian General." More immediately, he has prepared not only for the guilty secret but also for its discovery by the cad while suggesting a mirroring pro-

35. Joyce later used the device of the horizontal capital Fs, lying head to head but conveying " ⊤ ace to ⊥ ace," to dramatize a conflict in I.1 (*FW* 18.36). Here he uses two rather ambiguously facing capital Fs without the accompanying language for a similar purpose. Possibly this clever figuration prefigures the sigla that emerged only when the characters and concepts they represented had taken shape, growing out of concretely conceived aspects of the developing text. Originally Joyce needed signs that would flag specific components in the course of a quick scan of a notebook page. Thus the sign for the joined brothers or the third element in the male trinity resulted from the simple amalgamation of the signs for Shem and Shaun: ⅄. Though some of them were actually incorporated in the *Wake*, and though Roland McHugh, Jean-Michel Rabaté, and Danis Rose, inter alia, have made extensive and illuminating use of them, I suggest that we still have much to learn from a study of their evolution.

cedure. This last note was followed closely on 3.149 by a reference to "a whispered reputation for strangeness." Almost without recognizing it, while continuing his notations for the Pop persona, Joyce has penciled in and complicated the outline of the crime, providing the justification for the fall, if not the plotline for the male half of the book. This development, grounded in the quirky sexuality of Pop and "Earwicker," may, as we shall see, also have its roots in Joyce's dreamwork. Nonetheless, the sudden, clear formulation of the male plot must have represented an illumination for Joyce, something close to a creative epiphany.

We have come a long way from the indulgent and somewhat silly Pop of the earlier notes. We are also very far from the lampooned Mark, whose presence is felt only occasionally in the Tristan-related notes[36] and implicitly in the notes concerning Otto Wesendonck, the husband of Wagner's Isolde. By this time even Is has lost many of her romance characteristics, or rather has complicated them, since the outlines of the Tristan and Isolde narrative color every part of the *Wake*. Also, Joyce has gradually penciled in the image of the great commoner, HCE as a postlapsarian Adam. Along the way, the correlative image of the everyman dreamer, possibly a citizen of Chapelizod, has achieved a degree of definition, even though he is

36. There are only three clear references to Mark in this notebook. One of them, "Mark auricular confession"(3.34), seems to be related to a preceding sequence of personal notes concerning Joyce and his father: "Cork property mortgaged/ J[ohn] S[tanislaus] J[oyce] when born/ J[ames] A[ugustine] J[oyce] when born"(3.34). It would appear that Joyce's father, along with the mature artist/father himself, sat for this early portrait. Much later, in a context rich in references to the romance, we find two other allusions to the Cornish king: "Is up T down Is blushes M[ark] offers Ls^{d} Beware!" (3.143) and "M[ark] curses felon"(3.144). The first note is clearly contemporary: the situation is that of the older man offering money for Is's services. It follows an explicit reference to sexual positions, "Is up T[ristan] down," suggestive of something other than blushing innocence. The second of these two Mark references is found among several allusions on the same and the next page to the text of the romance, probably in Bédier's version. It relates to the king's dealings with his treacherous/"faithful" nobles. Two notes later we have a preview of the Is/Mark/King Arthur relationship in *Finnegans Wake*, "Is & Arthur her ruse"(3.144). Finally, it should be noted that pages 143–49 are particularly rich in references to the romance.

becoming a (dynamic) stereotype. This figure is clearly the father of a daughter, and as the following conceptual note suggests, he may also have a father or a son: "the son's life repeats the father's. He does not see it make the reader see it" (3.13). Joyce is obviously preparing to create a generational chronicle, but the precise shape that chronicle will take is unclear and the impulse is still mainly autobiographical.[37] Beyond that, the notes reveal Pop/Mark/Earwicker as the victim of dream anguish and the object of the unsparing inspection, first of his daughter, then of his son(s) and more indulgent wife, and only finally of the community at large.

Adam's Rib

In the early notebooks, the identity and nature of the deferred male protagonist, like those of his mate, receive surprisingly little attention. His absence is in a sense premonitory and right. After all, though constantly alluded to in the *Wake*, the primal couple is for the most part off stage. HCE has walk-on parts in Book I, he is largely a bystander in II.1, absent from II.2, and a Cassandra-like presence through much of II.3, in which he has a brief speaking part. His voice emanates from the recumbent body of Yawn at the end of III.3, and he seems actually to perform in the dumb show of III.4. Like her man, ALP is spoken about throughout the book, especially in I.5, the conclusion of I.7, in I.8, and the second half of II.2. She too has walk-on parts elsewhere (especially as the prankquean, the "gnarlybird," Kate the Slop, the hen, and Mrs Porter), but her spoken role is limited to the two final segments of Book IV. Apparently, mature protagonists, like daytime vitality, are out of place in the nocturnal universe that turns them into objects and reverses the novelistic field Joyce established for his earlier fictions. This topic will be more thoroughly explored when we turn to a study of the vicissitudes of ALP's Letter (Chapter 7).

Among the most startling aspects of the "Scribbledehobble," the

37. Most telling are the scattered references to Joyce's father John Stanislaus Joyce, and to his fictional embodiment as Simon Dedalus.

other early notebooks, and the early draft materials is the paucity of references to a mature female persona. Of course, any critical introduction to the book will start with the primal couple and focus on HCE before giving something like equal time to the author of the "Mamafesta." It would appear that when Joyce set out to write his last book, if he was thinking of a female protagonist, it was of the complex juvenile seductress/victim rather than the maternal figure. The famous excavating hen may have been on his mind when he wrote the brief hen passage under "Exiles (.I.)" in "Scribbledehobbles," but Biddy Doran did not become an avatar of ALP until late 1923. On the other hand, there are a goodly number of epiphanoid passages relating the interaction of husband and wife, sequences like the following under "CALYPSO," which suggest that the relationship was latent from the start: "W shakes cloth out of window: H—the litre is cube 1/10 metre 1 3/4 pints. W: How many pints in a litre? H: nearly 2. W—That's the answer. . . . H tells W *re* young lady: among the lasses, O: smbdy brings in a P[ost] C[ard] to show him" (VI.A.431).[38] Even more striking is the preponderance of epiphanoids relating to Nora Barnacle, under "Penelope."[39] Such entries record singulative events, scenelets relating to the interaction of a couple or couples and the revealing comments of individuals. I would suggest that Joyce was interested in woman as foil for her mate, as an ironic counterpoint, but also as an unashamed naive in a cultivated context. In none of these passages does she approximate the condition of the primal force. The same could be said of most of the Pop/Mark notes cited above—and of the handful of Mum/Mop notes in B.3.

The first reference to an unalloyed mother figure appears paradoxically under "A MOTHER" in a cluster of negative "feminist" allusions: "gathered to her mothers: foremothers: W pays taxes Vote. mum [*sic*] afraid in park: Mrs and Mr Agnes Farrelly" (VI.A.141).[40]

38. *JJA* 28:112; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 90. A reference to the *Odyssey* ("Are Ulysses' adventures 12 diseases") separates these two epiphanoid sequences.

39. There are at least seventy distinct items in the two and a half pages of notes taken over what appears to be an extended period (see the variations in Joyce's hand).

40. *JJA* 28:75; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 66.

It is this figure who reappears rather late, in the previously cited "Is's Mum copies Pop's curses" (3.111). At this point Mum is still clearly tributary to the Pop she apes and even to an Is who is no longer simply Isolde. A different sort of relationship is implied by a second note, which contributes to a striking sequence: "Volumes (Pop)/ Mum—letterwriter/ Is—her libido/ the Beyond"(3.123). The first entry may derive from the cliche "to speak volumes." Taken in an exceptionally bold hand, it must have stimulated the Mum reference, which is in a somewhat different hand. What follows is the allusion to Is's libido that eventuated in a second-level alteration to the first draft of the description of the Letter's composition: "who thus marvelling will not go on to see the feminine vaulting ambition/**sex/libido** of those interbranching upsweeps continually controlled and led by the uniform undeviating course of a cold male fist."[41] The importance of this sequence of notes and of the instant of its inscription cannot be overestimated. After all, the Letter/text/book/novel is presented throughout the *Wake* as coming from the libidinous zone repeatedly identified with the mother. It would appear that several months before Joyce actually wrote ALP's Letter, Mum has not only distinguished herself from Pop but discovered her prime function. One could almost say that the Letter has begun conceptualizing itself.

The "Mamafesta" may have crystallized in Joyce's mind when he wrote the notes on 3.123, but even this bit of prehistory has an important precedent beyond that of the hen passage under "Exiles (.I.)."[42] Before the appearance in B.3 of Mum, there were "Is's Pop and Mop (Pa & Ma)" (3.61). A parental figure resembling Kate the

41. *JJA* 46:302; *FDV* 88.28–32 (simplified); *FW* 123.7–10. Second and third versions of the key word are in bold face.

42. If we knew more about its referent, a particularly tantalizing note: "Eglinton & the hen," might illuminate Joyce's inspiration, if not his intentions. It is found, significantly enough, on the last page of the major VI.B.3 sequence (3.156) and clearly relates to a tale or exemplum told by John Eglinton, a possible insider joke. Followed by six pages taken upside down in relation to the bulk of the notebook and in a distinctly smaller and tighter hand, it precedes two oral narrative tags: "he made an end" and "he spake of" and belongs to a sequence of Ireland-related references. Perhaps the oral tags brought to Joyce's mind the actual source of the hen narrative and led him to think of a tale topic not included in the brief list under "THE SISTERS." At any rate, it is hard to

Slop, "Mop spat in WC" (3.63). Once again the context is illuminating. The spitting note is preceded by two epiphanoids and followed by several more: "Is has a dream—it is interpreted by Jung/ Uncle John presented to me [a version of] Jackdaw of Reims/ Mop spat in WC/ letterman (Holohan's cake)/ emergency man/ She drank an orange/ SD wrote themes for Leo Wilkins, Willy Fallon"(3.63–64). The dreamer in the first note is certainly Lucia Joyce, but the preoccupation is that of Joyce, who never forgot his refusal to be psychoanalyzed by Jung and, as Ellmann notes, memorialized the event on page 522 of *Finnegans Wake*.[43] Given Joyce's own fascination with dreams and his growing disquiet over the behavior of his adolescent daughter, we may link this note to the "libido" allusion cited earlier and hence to the still unarticulated Letter theme.

But what could be more startling in this context than the reference to the Dublin layabout, Holohan, who appears in "A Mother" and is referred to in *Ulysses*? Holohan seems to have earned his keep by doing small services; he may indeed have carried letters or messages for his clients. His name appears twice in the *Wake*: in Issy's erotic response in I.6 (*FW* 147.30) and in Jaun's address to the schoolgirls in III.2 (*FW* 452.16). We learn from Joyce that when Nora was working at Finn's hotel, Holohan tried to tempt her with a condom.[44] In the light of this incident, the *Wake* passage and especially the first version of Issy's slyly seductive discourse take on added significance: "Close you, mustn't look, now open, pette, your lips, pepette, like I used to do with Dan Holohan told me, wholohan will have ears like yours."[45] The reference to the "emergency man"

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believe that its inclusion here has no connection with the reference to a letter-writing ALP—even though the Eglinton entry is not crossed through.

43. The passage in question underscores the fact that chapter III.3 can be read, among other things, as a psychoanalytic session: "You have homosexual catheis of empathy between narcissism of the expert and steatopygic invertedness. Get yourself psychoanolised!

"— O, begor, I want no expert nursis symaphy from yours broons quadroons and I can psoakoonaloose myself any time I want (the fog follow you all!). . . . "

44. *Selected Letters*, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1975), p. 158; Maddox, p. 26. Holohan seems to have had a walk-on role in life.

45. *FDV* 98.20–22 (simplified); *JJA* 47:38. Note that the pun on Holohan's name was later suppressed, though the name remained. It is certainly important

provides reenforcement for this assumption. Holohan would be the marginally incompetent fellow, one only called upon when all else had failed. He appears to have served as a model for one of Shaun the post's avatars, that of the feckless and randy letter carrier of III.1–2,[46] but since an "emergency man" is a bailiff's assistant, he may also have sat for the portrait of the mean-spirited and thirsty dun who narrates "Cyclops."[47]

The two autobiographical recollections in this cluster of notes contribute another dimension to our argument. Though Uncle John Murray was among the inlaws despised by John Stanislaus Joyce, the Jackdaw's tale must have had a special resonance both for the child and for the mature James in 1923. He had already used it in "Circe," where Bloom is labeled by the pulp fiction writer Philip Beaufoy a "jackdaw of Rheims, who has not even been to a univer-

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that in the remainder of Issy's response Joyce included material from the abortive "Tristan" dialogue and that he drafted this passage for I.6 two years after taking the notes in B.3. The monologue is essentially that of Iseult la Belle and addressed to her erring Tristan. Already in its first draft it contains an open attack on Tristan's wife, Iseult Blanches Mains: "and that her two hands/**blanc manges/blanche mainges** may rot off her leprously the other little/**winking** bitch I know by your cut, sweetest, you'll be going/**chasing/chasting** afte . . . " (*FDV* 97.34–98.2 [simplified]; *JJA* 47:36).

46. On *FW* 452.15–17 in the midst of a breathy, broguey sentence about his desire to subvert his duty and stay where he is, Jaun speaks of going "forth, frank and hoppy . . . upon this benedictine errand." Behind this attitude and this expression we may well find the spirit of a feckless pub-crawler like the Holohan who slyly cadges drinks from Mrs Kearney in "A Mother."

47. According to Geert Lernout, the Holohan note refers most specifically to the music-hall song "Mrs. Hooligan's Christmas Cake." In a letter to me he suggests that it is a pure citation that probably has no basis in Joyce's life. The actual opening of the song supports his view: "As I sat in my window one evening, a letterman came unto me, with a nice little neat invitation, saying won't you come to tea." Lernout's opinion is that "Joyce simply notes the word and identifies the source between brackets." I have yet to find a reference to the name of Mrs. Hooligan in the *Wake*, and have found only two to the suggestive word (6.15, 622.22). Granting the possible but still unexplained relevance of the song, I would say that the spelling and implications of the name Holohan are more immediately relevant to the notebook context, as they are to the *Wake* contexts listed earlier.

sity" (*U* 15.837–38).[48] The "Jackdaw of Rheims" is a minor and neglected classic, a "grotesque metrical tale" from the *Ingoldsby Legends*, by Richard Harris Barham. It concerns a daw that steals the bishop's ring, receives his curse in exchange, repents and returns the ring, living thereafter a life of pious service and dying "in an odor of sanctity" that prompts the "Conclave to make him a Saint," canonizing him as Jem Crow. The *Britannica* eleventh edition speaks of "the variety and whimsicality" of the verses' rhymes, comparing *Ingoldsby* to Butler's *Hudibras* and admiring its "store of antiquarian learning, the fruit of patient enthusiastic research, in out-of-the-way old books, which few readers who laugh at his pages detect." I suggest that this bit of learned burlesque verse, so innocently bestowed, was precisely the sort of thing that would appeal to the future author of *Finnegans Wake*. It is no surprise, therefore, to find among the out-of-the-way authorities consulted by the Mookse a reference to the "Inklespill legends" (FW 156.3). A very late passage in a context that includes bird and music references contains the following double allusion to the risen and fallen bird and to its "musical" spirit: "Let everie sound of a pitch keep still in resonance, jemcrow, jackdaw, prime and secund with their terce that whoe betwides them, now full theorbe, now dulcifair, and when we press of pedal (sof!) pick out and vowelise your name" (*FW* 360.3–6). Reworking his early inspiration, Joyce has turned Jim into James/Shem and Jack into John/Shaun, adding to them the "terce" or third soldier-spy, the "shame that sunders em." In short, he has found a model in the poem for one of his split personalities and his unholy trinity.

In the light of this crowing, we may consult two entries from a late

48. Beaufoy allies himself implicitly with Joyce when he claims J. B. Pinker as his agent. The history of this allusion can be traced back to Joyce's notesheets for "Circe," where we find the sequence: "Molly's ring. / Jackdaw of Rheims (P. Beauf.) / might have been poisoned / LB & the spinach with hemlock / I was indecently treated" (*JJA* 12:51; Phillip Herring, ed., *Joyce's "Ulysses" Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972) p. 315.63–67 [simplified]). I suggest that the Jackdaw reference was probably inspired by the unused allusion to a lost ring and that the Jackdaw led to the idea of poisoned crow and to a Socratic end for a mistreated Bloom.

pencil series in the "Scribbledehobble." Probably taken in 1926–27 for inclusion in Issy's letter-writing assignment for II.2, the following clearly link the jackdaw to the letter: "Kathleen's mind a jackdaw's nest,[49] ⊣ tear up letters, others work or woo for ⊤" (VI.A.12–13).[50] The first draft of "Storiella" cleverly combines these disparate items to read: "Trifid tongue *others woo & work for* ***the backslapper gladhander***[51] and dove without gall *and she whose mind's a jackdaw's nest* ***tearing up letters she never wrote***. . . . "[52] The passage's final version, which includes in a footnote an illusion to raven ("roven"), reads, "And she, of the jilldaw's nest[2] who tears up lettereens she never apposed a pen upon" (*FW* 276.6–7). It is significant that the context of the original Kathleen note includes references to the three phases of Issy/Isolde, her three sigla, the inverted T and the foot to foot recumbent Ts. Thus, the daw was associated in Joyce's mind with both the male and the female trinities. Lucia Joyce was among the models for this phase of Issy. After all, she did the lettrines for the first publication of "Storiella" and may have contributed some of the phrases incorporated here. I would suggest that Joyce had also identified himself with the thieving, deceptive, repentant, and somehow sanctified bird long before he wrote this passage identifying him with Issy/Lucia.

The last note in our B.3 sequence shows Joyce still plumbing his memory. SD or the young James was the amanuensis (and a bit more) for two boys who were his childhood friends. The early notebooks contain a scattering of allusions to such people, most of whom slid through the cracks in Ellmann's biography. As it happens, "Willy" Fallon turns up there as the Belevedere student who asked Joyce why his family moved so often.[53] Bruce Bradley does even better, discovering both Belvedere boys in Joyce's class, describing

49. The Kathleen of this note may be the old servant in *Finnegans Wake*, Kate the Slop. She could as well be Kathleen (Katsy) Murray. The note memorializes the sort of self-deprecating remark the young woman might have made about herself, the sort of remark Joyce tended to jot down as an epiphanoid.

50. *JJA* 28:14–15; *Scribbledehobble*, pp. 16–17.

51. I have italicized first-level and used boldfaced italics to indicate second-level additions.

52. *FDV* 148.2–4 (simplified); *JJA* 52:148.

53. Ellmann, p. 68.

them, and identifying Leo Wilkins as the model for fat Leo Dillon, the "clumsy idler who funked a day's 'mitching' from school" in the *Dubliners* tale "An Encounter."[54] What should engage us here is the fact that Joyce recalled the forgeries of his youth in a context so rich in premonitions of the Letter. We may remember that, in the first draft of I.7, Shaun accuses his brother of forgery and plagiarism: "Who knows how many unsigned first copies of original masterpieces, how many pseudostylous shamiana, how few of the most venerated public impostures, how very many palimpsests slipped from that plagiarist pen?"[55] In his note Joyce seems to accuse himself, but more important, given the preceding reference to the "letterman," he grounds his vision of the artist as handmaiden to his libidinous muse, or even as betrayer of his own creative impulse and misuser of his gifts. In short, even before the reference to the crime of the father (3.153) established the central thread of the male-oriented "plot" of the *Wake*, these notes, followed by the Mum cluster and preceded by the hen reference in "Scribbledehobble," were available as underpinnings for the nodal system of the Letter.

Implicit in these notes are all the elements needed to elaborate the entire female half of the novel: the tale of the wife's defense of her husband in a letter written down by one son and delivered by the other to that ultimate authority, her own man's conscience. Granted that these notes constitute only the first hesitant steps; steps they nevertheless are in the process of shaping the littered refuse that fills the early notebooks.

While all these ideas were germinating, Joyce was still working out the implications and exploring details of the Tristan tale, elaborating on St. Patrick's legend and taking notes on the behavior of St. Kevin. On B.3.131–32 we read "lives of the saints/ S Kevin had never heard of a cunt[56] Kathleen is shocked/ naked girl model more indecent if M[an] + W[oman] present." In other words, Joyce was still thinking of and expanding on the context of the sketches, but he

54. Bruce Bradley, S.J., *James Joyce's Schooldays* (New York: St. Martin's, 1982), p. 97. Father Bradley's detective work has helped me identify other childhood acquaintances mentioned in the early notes.

55. *FDV* 117.10–13; *JJA* 47:355.

56. This might be seen as foreshadowing the Kevin/Shaun of II.2, who reacts violently to the disclosure of ALP's sexuality during the geometry lesson.

was far from ready to elaborate the nature of the twins who would eventually play such dominant roles in the book. The implications of the notes we have been studying are clear to us, as they probably were to Joyce himself, only in hindsight.

We can now return to our analysis of the early Mum notes and their surround. Three pages beyond the "letterwriter" note, we find the reference to "Pop & Mum wrangle *re* a road" (3.126), which is preceded by three allusions to gender distinctions: "(Trist) his acorn he keyed her firedrill/ tree bisexual m[asculine] form feminized" (3.125–26). Sexuality, or at least the reference to "my libido (Is)," is again brought up near the bottom of 3.126. The Tristan note is a fairly typical adaptation of the myth, and the association of Tristan and Isolde with trees, tree cults, and perhaps even with the Irish tree alphabet may have inspired the next entry with its reference to botany and language. In combination, those notes probably led, again by association, to a meditation on the male-female power struggle over travel directions. (Curiously, the element of male/female competition is minimal in the dream world of the *Wake*, where male is more apt to be pitted against male and female against female.)

Within the very brief period of time when he was composing the last third of this early notebook and months before he began writing his chapters, Joyce conceptualized, however roughly and provisionally, the principle of the dual action and a number of significant details for his book. He still lacked the names and identities of the twins, the name and character of ALP, the sigla with their freight of characters/types/groups, the actual Letter sequence, the language, the chapter development, and of course the historicomythical and cultural superstructure that was eventually submerged in a sea of puns.

5

Myths → Individuals → Myths → Archetypes: Forming and Reforming Personae

Joyce's mode of generating characters and plot was both associative and multifaceted. On the one hand the germ of the novel was the brief historico/mythico/literary sketches. On the other, the personae and their evolving situation generated the plotlines and hence the chapter structure. But the characters, if characters they are, grew as much out of the substructure of the author's literary and personal existence as they did from what might be called the book's narrative *amorces* or stimuli.

While fleshing out the initial sketch-concepts in his imagination, Joyce began to conceptualize the *Wake* family, which owes its early evolution in large measure to the sketches' subject matter, especially to the major figures of the Tristan myth: Tristan, the dual Isolde, Mark, and to a lesser extent, Brangaene and the treacherous and inquisitive courtiers. Far from being a unified source, however, the Tristan tale, like the tales of King Roderick O'Conor, St. Kevin, and St. Patrick, served generally to stimulate Joyce's memory and imagination and direct his early researches. Almost from the start, they constituted a frame within which aspects of his family and social experiences past and present, unrealized dimensions of his earlier works, and impulses from his intellectual and dream life could gradually coalesce to generate the unstable and polyvalent ambience of the *Wake*.

Though Joyce could not have predicted it, the last of the initial sketches was the one destined, along with ALP's Letter, to provide a focus for the novel. Like the Letter, but much more directly and even transparently, "Here Comes Everybody" grew organically from the compost I have just described rather than from any of the better-grounded vignettes. Those sketches were based in a rich literature and drew upon a fully and repeatedly articulated historico/religio/literary situation. Each of them was a formally distinct episodic unit. By contrast, "Here Comes Everybody" is a triptych subdivided into three distinct biographical panels.

One could perhaps argue that Joyce conceived of the Kevin and Patrick skits as a complementary diptych and that he saw the Tristan and Isolde skit as a pendant to "Roderick O'Conor." In relation to the latter, "Mamalujo" may originally have been something like a third panel. Indeed, even now there are grounds for considering the three sketches that ended up in Book IV as a sort of triptych. But only the HCE sketch was conceived as an episodic unit involving a single archetypal and ultimately unexceptional persona. Furthermore, while Joyce seems to have planned to extend the Tristan passage and though he eventually did develop aspects of each of his narratives multiplying the appearances of Tristan, Roderick, Kevin, and Patrick, to say nothing of Mamalujo, it is only the HCE sketch that was, from its inception, a true narrative complex, original in its conception and subject to a straightforward, though improbable, plot development.

The portrait of the mighty and vulnerable progenitor doubtless had sources beyond those the notes suggest. For example, its initial panel, with its account of the king's encounter with the turnpike, resonates with Thomas Deloney's fictional account of the carnivalesque ennobling of the merchant Jack of Newbury in the third chapter of the novel to which he gave his name (1597). The novelistic scene is instructive: during a visit from the king, the master weaver performs an elaborate charade designed in part to dramatize the plight of the English tradesmen. He brings his men out to camp on an ant hill, declaring himself with mock solemnity "Prince of Ants," and challenging his enemies, the summer-wasting butterflies. Given the carnivalesque dimensions of the *Wake*, the carnival con-

text is especially significant. Deloney is constructing a myth of origins for the Bartholomew fair celebrated by Ben Jonson.[1] According to C. S. Lewis, the novel "was written to please a coarse, kindly, thrifty, and ambitious society of urban tradesmen."[2] Though it slights the carnival dimension, this view chimes nicely, as does the tale itself, with both the tone and the content of Joyce's panel. If I am correct in suspecting that Deloney was his source, it is possible that Joyce made contact with both the manner and the matter of this tale while researching for "Oxen of the Sun." Perhaps his readings in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century modes at that time or earlier also led him to adopt some of the more remarkable and seemingly revolutionary strategies of both *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. The second panel of Joyce's sketch, with its portrait of the urban lord in his glory, may have a similar or even the same carnivalesque source. This is not the case for the third panel, with its startlingly universal evocation of scandal and crime. If the first panel establishes the origins of the urban man and the second foreshadows the city builder of III.3, the third panel motivates the entire mature male narrative of *Finnegans Wake* by evoking with its dark hints a complex nocturnal sexuality.

I believe that some of Joyce's own dreams may have contributed to this early development, helping to determine the nature of the crime.[3] But another, less overtly personal source is the Tristan tale, which contains in embryo three of the crime's basic motifs: voyeurism, duplicate heroines, and three spies. The most consistent feature of HCE's crime is its double layer of voyeurism, that of HCE watching the girls and that of the three soldiers/sons/spies watching HCE. Wittingly or not, Joyce seems to have adapted these features from Bédier's version of *Tristan*, from which he was still jotting down details when he made his earliest reference to the crime.[4]

1. *The Novels of Thomas Deloney*, ed. Merritt E. Lawlis (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), p. 35.

2. C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 429.

3. See below, Chapter 6.

4. To understand how much Joyce actually took directly from Bédier, see the asterisked items in my "The Distribution of the Tristan and Isolde Notes

Whereas in the "Exiles" notes he mingled research with reactions, in notebook B.3 (and elsewhere), while he was still extending his knowledge of the myth in and beyond Bédier, Joyce began establishing his personal associations with the tale, elaborating from them the early character complexes. Thus at a time when his relationship to his printed sources and even to the notes under "Exiles" was still fluid, he freely juxtaposed the products of his research, his conceptual probes and his character notes shaping not only aspects of Issy and Tristan or Is and T, but also the crime supernode from which he quickly developed the *male* half of the book.

It was in Bédier that Joyce found references to the three villainous barons bent on discrediting Tristan. He also found there a detailed account of Tristan's complex brother/lover/husband relationship to the two Isoldes. The Tantris identity assumed by Tristan in Ireland revealed a fruitful duality, which was reenforced by Pound's idea that "Tantris is shadow of Tristan" (VI.A.301).[5] If this view motivated the shadow relationship between Jaun and Dave the Dancekerl in III.2, the uncrossed conceptual note "2 Tristans (Doppelgänger)" (B.3.129) may well have contributed to the twinning of Shem and Shaun. Add to that Joyce's views concerning Mark's father/daughter relationship to his young bride and his (latent homosexual) relationship to his adopted son, and we have another prefiguration of the crime. A final and crucial factor was Mark's own spying on the couple self-isolated in the Wood of Morois.

Though none of these details corresponds precisely to what Joyce finally wrote, or perhaps *because* none of them does, the similarities are intriguing. We might add that his reading of such details was destined to facilitate the overlapping of his themes. Thus, Patrick and Tristan both came to Ireland twice, both used trickery, both had their forest interlude, and it is such coincidences that help give the Shem/Dolph parenthesis its comic bite.

Joyce was obviously not limited by his need to superimpose and even transpose the past and the present, the real and the mythic. He

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under 'Exiles' in the Scribbledehobble," *A Wake Newslitter*, n.s. 2 (October 1965), 3–14. Note that that list does not include items from other notebooks.

5. *JJA* 28:96; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 81.

also wished to imagine integrally, first himself, and then his universe. Though his focus was never purely personal, the notes show that his private life, like the creative products of his personality, provided extremely powerful stimuli. More than ever, he wished to transpose a self-portrait that would describe "the curve of an emotion." Although that portrait was no longer conceived chronologically, the principle of cyclical repetition, of development as a function of stasis, persisted. Or rather, that principle was accentuated, carried to its logical conclusion, and made more emphatically universal with the help of Bruno and Vico inter alia. It was made to include broadly conceived historical, cultural, religious, and even cosmic developments. The existential center of the pattern gradually became not Dublin, not the "artist," not even Ireland, but rather the dormant consciousness of a lowest-common-denominator (Irish)man. We might think of it as the *tamed* essence of Joyce as opposed to his or his protagonist's heightened consciousness.

Obviously, the writer did not formulate any such position in the earliest notes, but it was implicit in the development of the Pop and Mom figures even before Tristan/Patrick/Kevin (and perhaps Giorgio) and Isolde/Brigid/Lucia became Shem, Shaun, and Issy and were folded into the male and female natures of HCE and ALP. It was also available in the implicit doubling of Joyce/Stephen and his father/Si Dedalus or of Stephen and Bloom, etc. In short, Joyce was looking for ways to extend, nuance, and complicate in a different register, through an inversion of his own procedures, the allegorical potential both of his earlier works and of the human experience.

His notes ultimately elaborated not characters but a cast of metaphors that would play like colored lights on the surface of the mind. Thus, the role of memory and observation in the transition period notetaking was all-important. Joyce's procedure in the early notebooks such as B.3 was a correlative to the treatment of the early works in the "Scribbledehobble" ink notes. That is, he proceeded not so much to treat the substance of his life, its chronology, and its furniture as its implications unmasked and then interred. Accordingly, the Tristan tale functions analogically in an oblique relation to the author's life, and the developing plot of the novel can be seen as enacting a latency grounded in echoes of the double romance plot:

that of the increasingly archetypal family and that of "Tristan." Ultimately, a curious relationship was established between the Joyce family, the everyman family (Pop/Mom/Is/Tris), and the French triangle, a relationship Joyce deliberately chose to complicate.

In order to approximate the author's train of thought at that critical moment, I propose now to list and then study the T & I and Pop allusions that led up to the crystallization of the crime concept: (What follows are relevant items from pages 140–55 of B.3. Joyce's line breaks are not all indicated, but thought units have been separated, even when they appear to be consecutive. I have omitted without indication those items that I cannot at this time link to the tale. The numbers in parentheses mark the end of the page and not necessarily of thought sequences. To avoid unnecessary complication, I have not indicated the colors of pencils used when Joyce crossed through items presumably incorporated in his drafts.)

~~Tris like Pop he boasts~~ (Is) (140)

~~Trist (et Is) cocu~~
~~Is takes his hat~~
~~Both go to the priest~~ (142)

~~analfabet~~
God who hates all excess
One that mad,
~~Priest~~[s?] ~~brings~~ [buys?] ~~Is clothes~~
Is up T[rist] down
~~Is blushes~~
M offers L^{sd}
~~Beware!~~ (143)

~~Mon ami~~
M curses felons
~~The courtesy of God~~
Is & Arthur her ruse
~~pilgrim falls relics~~ (144)

~~Tris charged usufruct~~
~~Curtain puller bough (patent)~~
~~present of foes~~[2][*sic*] ~~tongue~~
~~Bethlem God~~
Watched (twice) (145)

Petit Cru—Lotus—Poesy—Lapdog—Bell—Algolagnie
~~hermit~~ sang ~~Ecoute~~ (146)

ㅋ— ㅋ — through foliage
~~pants down inside trousers~~ (148)

my beautiful face (Trist)
~~a whispered reputation for strangeness~~ (149)

though an architect by descent he had composed a mouthwash which had been published by Rlwy Company (152)

~~It is not true that Pop was homosexual he had been arrested at the request of some nursemaids to whom he had temporarily exposed himself in the Temple gardens~~
Is sees man behind by looking at her shoes (mirror) (153)

dog, howls after biting him
~~what has gone before (story)~~
Is—her business (154)

~~This King Business~~ pressagented (155)

The first of our notes does not so much identify Tristan with as compare him to Pop. Nevertheless, it establishes the pervasive and disturbing incest/homoerotic motif ambiguously reenforced by "Trist (et Is) cocu." The latter, which implies some sort of brother and sisterly love also suggests that Tristan has been cuckolded by Mark (— and Isolde by whom?). Next come the lines "Is takes his hat / Both go to the priest," which open a sequence concerned with the fugitive lovers' conference with Ogrin the hermit in the Wood of

Morois. The word "analfabet," which Joyce later applied to ALP, seems here to apply to the lovers' relationship to the lettered Ogrin, who is probably responsible for the homily "God who hates all excess." As usual, the timeless context is anchored in a variety of temporal contexts. The holy man's behavior as provider of clothing is of course drawn directly from the romance, but its aura for Joyce was more likely that of his evolving family romance. He continued his exploration of role shifts when he had "Is" mounting her lover and Mark propositioning his daughter/wife. Note that the bribe is offered in contemporary (British) currency. Though comical in its notebook context, the exclamation "Beware!" is quite typical of the medieval versions, as is the slightly insinuating "Mon ami."

Given the context with its questionable, though hardly outrageous, sexual behavior, it was natural for Joyce eventually to associate the three noble spies of "Tristan" with the three soldiers of the *Wake* as well as with sexually motivated malice. They may even have inspired Joyce's mysterious trinity, "*Shem and Shaun and the shame that sunders em*" (*FW* 526.14). Even in Bédier's version, the role of the three is highly ambiguous. These implacable enemies of Tristan, whom they see as a usurper of Mark's favors, are faceless villains. Though homoeroticism is not directly at issue, Joyce would not have been stretching things too far if he read it into the romance's situation. Surely, there is something perverse about their curiosity concerning the sexual encounters of Tristan and Isolde. We may suspect Joyce was thinking along these lines when, following the sexual cluster cited above, he wrote "M[ark] curses felons." The next two notes, also in the Tristan mode, include a typical courtly turn of phrase and introduce Arthur, who was to play a minor role in the *Wake*. My point is that, while systematically and chronologically working through the Tristan texts, Joyce discovered the ingredients for the crime, or perhaps they disclosed themselves in relation to his dreams.

By page 145, the notes have returned to associative parody. The idea of charging Tristan "usufruct" for his enjoyment of the property of another plays upon one of Joyce's favorite personal themes. We should recall that, finding the wedding vows absurd, he refused to marry Nora and, before the vogue for free love, he advocated sexual

freedom for the woman as well as the man. That the adulterer should pay the "owner" of his sexual partner is obviously as absurd as the marriage vow (when taken literally). The reference to a (patented) device called a bough used to pull curtains is certainly another ironic reference to "Tristan." We might think of the theater curtain as the fourth wall, but the more immediate allusion is to the episode in the Wood of Morois during which Mark peeps at the sleeping lovers. Note that, just as the felons' spying prefigures that of the soldiers, this watching prefigures that of HCE, who watches the two Issys. The third note plays upon the famous dragon's tongue episode in which Tristan collapses after touching the poison object to his chest. There the poisonous tongue is evidence of the heroic conquest. Joyce conflates two stories, the conquest of the dragon and the slaying and decapitating of the noble caught spying in the wood. In his note, the felon's head and the dragon's tongue are cleverly transposed. On the one hand, the real crime of the felons is not their voyeurism but their tattling to Mark. On the other, there is nothing particularly distinctive about a human tongue. We are beginning to witness the radical transposition process by which the Tristan myth, while retaining its traditional features on one level of the (disjunct or nodal) narrative, will recede before the ambiguous but powerfully foregrounded tale of the crime.

After these flights of fancy, Joyce's notes return to his source. "Bethlem God" is probably his interpolation, perhaps adapted from a medieval source, but "Watched (twice)" is textually accurate. At the instigation of the three, Mark does indeed watch the lovers on two occasions. This reference, combined with the earlier one to the "felons," probably inspired the curious doubling image on page 148. Meanwhile, on page 146, the notes continue to exploit a French source, referring first to the curious magic "lapdog" sent by Tristan to his queen in a complex string of allusions. The most important detail is the clearly interpretive term "Algolagnie" (note the French spelling). Denotating the "morbid enjoyment of sexually related pain, including both sadism and masochism,"[6] this word must have had a powerful resonance for Joyce, who capitalized it here, but the

6. *The American College Dictionary*.

sexual morbidity may also relate directly to the lovers' separation, their self-punishing attraction. Such implications become broader and deeper when related to Bloom's (and Stephen's) behavior in *Ulysses*, to say nothing of Richard's and Robert's in *Exiles*. The puzzling reference to the hermit's song could refer either to the sequence in the Wood or to Tristan's return in monastic habit. The immediate source was still obviously French.

The reference to the Fs facing "through foliage" is consistent with earlier allusions to voyeurism. Joyce seems to have liked this ideogram. In VI.B.11.39, in a context rich in pantomime references, he writes "W[omen] (sitting down) F ⅁ (talking together)."[7] By no means a siglum, the capital F nevertheless functions as will the HCE, Issy, and Tristan sigla, to signify relationships or phases of the self. After all, the four positions of the T (⊤, ⊥, ⊢, and ⊣) signify not only Tristan and Isolde but also the two Isoldes and the generalized juvenile figure, along with perhaps the phases of the moon. When using the T for Tristan, Joyce seems to have been suggesting both sexual ambiguity and sexual activity. HCE's siglum ⊓ can be standing up, supported by its three legs, or recumbent on the landscape, resembling the Chinese ideogram for mountain. In his early note Joyce clearly saw the Fs as shorthand for two people standing face to face and perhaps looking at each other through the foliage of a forest. Were it not for his or their embarrassing situation, caught with his/their pants down, we might see this as an actual (romance) encounter between Mark and Tristan or Tristan and one of his pursuers. If we look ahead, the comic image prefigures the parallel situation of HCE caught with his pants down by the three soldiers/spies. There is a further dimension, however, which I can advance only tentatively: a mirroring of the self or a split identity.

Whatever Joyce meant by this note, it seems to have inspired the following reference to Tristan's "beautiful face." In the abortive extension, a Laforguian Tristan says, "How gentle & kind I am, Isy. I never hurt the feelings of another. And, I say, what a lovely nature is mine!"[8] The "beautiful face" with its effete and perhaps homosex-

7. *JJA* 31:159.
8. *FDV* 211.7–8 (simplified); *JJA* 56:7.

ual overtones led to "a whispered reputation for strangeness" that may in turn have inspired the absurdly precious railway publication and the important rumor note on pages 152–53. Clearly a turning point, the latter was written in haste (see the errors) and crossed through with a particularly bold stroke appropriate to a seminal note. In the first draft of the HCE sketch, which treats a figure more boldly allegorical and grander on a burlesque scale than Pop, we read:

> Nor have his detractors mended their case by insinuating that he was at one time under the imputation of annoying soldiers in the park. To anyone who knew and loved H- C- E- this suggestion is preposterous. Slander, let it do its worst, has never been able to convict that good and great man of any greater misdemeanor [than] that of an incautious exposure and partial at that in the presence of certain nursemaids whose testimony is, if not dubious, at any rate slightly divergent.[9]

These "nursemaids" quickly became "a pair of maidservants," but by the time the sketch was written, we may surmise that both Tristan and Isolde had been broken down into their antagonistic components and the schizoid vision of the night world had been confirmed. In a sense, Joyce was filling in spaces when he drafted this passage, adding color and texture rather than tone or substance to the ideas roughly framed as the immediate consequence of the experience of notetaking for "Tristan" in VI.B.3.

To return to those notes: the next item on our list, which clearly refers to the contemporary Is or Lucia, is taken in the same Joycean hand as, and may even derive from, the exculpatory/accusatory sentence. More important, this note points up the interdependency of the literary, the autobiographical in the sense of familial, and perhaps, ultimately, the oneiric stimuli.

There is a curious circularity at work here. It will be recalled that

9. This is a simplified basic version of the passage which seems rapidly to have taken on flourishes (*FDV* 63.17–29; *JJA* 45:3). We may note that, exceptionally, this draft was written and heavily revised on two sides of a piece of restaurant stationary (taken from the Restaurant des Trianons), a fact that underscores its special status in the canon as a turning point.

Joyce drew on the Tristan myth to characterize certain aspects of the *Exiles* action. That is, he installed Wagner's opera surreptitiously behind the staged activity not only of Robert and Bertha, with Richard playing Mark, but perhaps also of Richard as Tristan to two Isoldes, Beatrice and Bertha. The play, and hence the theme, is profoundly autobiographical in ways testified to by Joyce's letters as well as his *Exiles* notebook, but the autobiography has been bonded with an imagined Ibsenist setting in which the allusions to Wagner serve as period markers. The notebook suggests, however, that, rather than basing his action on the opera, Joyce discovered the applicability of Wagner to his action and added certain touches to confirm it. Once discovered, the Tristan theme apparently stuck to Joyce's sense of the play like a burr. The "Scribbledehobble" elaboration, combined with notes taken elsewhere, bears witness to this and to the fact that the tale and its themes imposed themselves powerfully on the early development of the *Wake*'s narrative line and even its personae—to the point that Joyce even considered grounding the new book as rigorously in "Tristan" as he had grounded *Ulysses* in the *Odyssey*. Toward the end of VI.B.3, however, the process has begun to reverse itself.

What emerges out of a prolonged study of and elaboration on the nature of Tris, Is, and Mark, is an increasingly sharp identification of Tristan with Giorgio or some other male rival, Isolde with Lucia, and Mark with Joyce himself. The latter seems to have evolved in relation to a growing interest in a Nora/Mom/Mop and a John Joyce/James Joyce/Pop, these latter being extraneous to the Tristan myth but implicated in it by proximity. Just as Joyce's family life impinged on the elaboration of the romance implications, the intrusion of Nora, her strong and unavoidable presence in the post-Penelopean era, seems ultimately to have led Joyce to turn from the romantic myth to the family romance. As we shall see, there was a third factor, illustrated all too graphically by Joyce's dreams, namely his subconscious investment in the incestuous fantasy into which Lucia and Nora are repeatedly and forcefully interjected.

Tristan shared pride of place in the original conception with Patrick and Kevin, who were later to be subidentities of Shem and Shaun respectively, but from the outset, and despite the evidence of

considerable research into the saints' myths, his role was more complex than theirs and his place in the book remained more secure and obvious. This is true despite the fact that Kevin's name is attached to Shaun in II.2 (just as Michael's is in II.1) and even though Patrick is identified with Tristan and Shem/Dolph/Joyce in the "Muddest Thick" parenthesis of II.2. One reason for this dominance is Tristan's pairing with Isolde, whose split identity dominates the persona of Issy. Another is clearly the fact that his persona and situation, like that of the cuckolded Mark, has deeper roots in Joyce's sense of betrayal.

I would suggest a third reason for the Cornish hero's permanence, one rooted both in the behavior of the "felons" and in Tristan's own ambiguous actions. The hero can be read as both loyal and treacherous. He remains faithful in his fashion to Isolde even in his marriage to Isolde of Brittany and true to Mark even though he sleeps with his wife. As portrayed in the early sketch, Joyce's Tristan is part the androgenous romantic lead from the Hollywood flicks, part the manipulative and insensitive brute, part the clownish aesthete. Both the traditional and the Joycean versions seem to place him between the retreating Kevin and the imposing Patrick,[10] between the angel and the devil and, even before the fact, between Shem and Shaun. We may see in this primal trinity of the sketches another foreshadowing of the ambiguous and omnipresent three soldiers. Beyond that, by virtue of its mediating role, the Tristan figure enabled the joining and reversal of Shem and Shaun, Butt and Taff, Muta and Juva, and so on. All of this should help explain the survival and strength of Tristan when all the other figures gave ground before the twins and HCE, being perpetuated mainly in their skits.

Since Shem and Shaun serve to betray, divide, and prolong their father, since HCE derives as much from the crime of Pop as he does from the concept of the city man, and since Pop's and hence HCE's

10. The relationship of Patrick to Kevin is affirmed for the first time under "GRACE" in "Scribbledehobble," where we find a canny Patrick and a shy and self-wounding Kevin, who may also be read as a poseur: "Kevin bites his nails, ring of thorns round heart: . . . ; S. Pat explains multiplication of fishes, volume identical (invariato) = nona[?]" (*JJA* 28:77; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 67).

crime developed only gradually out of the identity of Mark, Pop and Joyce himself,[11] there is no reason for the sons to appear as such in VI.B.3. Here we face another paradox: Joyce distilled his basic cast from the materials supplied or suggested by his Irish interludes. Though supplanted as foci, the sketches, especially "Tristan," supplied, enabled, and indeed enforced the pattern for the book's increasingly elaborate analogical systems as well as its nodal structure. They are also the key to the abiding carnivalesque core of the book, born in situational pantomime and generated by the farcical explosion of a language that implodes upon its minimal plot.

11. We might add that Bloom, as the mature male and a projection of Joyce's own nature, functions in the early notebooks as a precursor for the others. This is true even though the Bloom notes, taken at least partly with an eye toward some sort of amplification of *Ulysses* (see especially the notes in VI.B.10), develop the portrait of the complacent citizen and deal mainly with his relationship with Molly.

6

Suspect Dreams: Some Determinants of the Crime

> . . . the first till last alshemist wrote over every square inch of the only foolscap available, his own body, till by its corrosive sublimation one continuous present tense integument slowly unfolded all marryvoising moodmoulded cyclewheeling history (thereby, he said, reflecting from his own individual person life unlivable, transaccidentated through the slow fires of consciousness into a dividual chaos, perilous, potent, common to allflesh, human only, mortal) . . . .
>
> —*Finnegans Wake,* 185–86

Like most artists, throughout his career Joyce did little more than draw his own portrait, refining it endlessly to produce deeper and more intimate likenesses. The evolution of his oeuvre took him from a group portrait of Dublin, behind which he stands, to a portrait of a Dublin child's maturation, to the enactment of an imagined homecoming, to the meticulous evocation of the day and night of a small group of Dubliners, and finally, to the universal story/dream of an average Dubliner. Ultimately, it reflects the essential double spiral of his imagination. That is, by going further and further into the individual psychic machine, he was able to trace ever wider circles, learning to exhibit more efficiently his own universal condition.

On the surface, *Finnegans Wake*, the dream universe of HCE and ALP, which becomes by osmosis that of the everyman reader, is a

monument to Flaubertian depersonalization. All his notes, drafts, and revisions testify to the fact that this is a text shaped by verbal choices its author, once he got his machine underway, could neither fully control nor completely extricate himself from. Perhaps Jacques Lacan is right when he speaks of Joyce the symptôme.[1] We might even say that for some eighteen years the writer was at once creator and creature of his text.

Of more immediate interest to us is the evidence that, for a period of between one and two years, Joyce's last book drew to some measure upon his actual dreamwork. Such evidence is available in a group of eight dreams told to friends or jotted down in his notebooks, dreams that must have fueled as well as reflected the creative process. We know that Joyce was not above participating in the general enthusiasm for dreams as keys to unlock the psyche. It is not surprising, therefore, that he actually used his dream life along with his epiphanoid observations to help direct his muse. Or perhaps it would be more accurate to see him accepting his dreamwork as part of the process, seeing it as an extension in much the same way Freud saw dreams as encoding the sources of our anxieties—despite Joyce's avowed hostility to "Jungfraud's" messages/dreams/lies (*FW* 460.20). From the time of the epiphanies there is evidence that Joyce mingled dreams and observations in his imaginative stew. *Giacomo Joyce* testifies amply to the continuous use of that procedure in a more tightly controlled context. When Joyce was writing *Exiles*, he recorded Nora's free associations. The fact that he later recorded and interpreted her dreams is evidence that he took Nora's mind quite seriously as an extension of his own.[2] Her dreams belong to a category that includes Joyce's own in that they are deeply implicated in the creation of *Ulysses*.

The dream recorded with its interpretation by Helen Nutting in the

1. Jacques Lacan, *Joyce & Paris* I, eds. J. Aubert and M. Jolas (Paris: Publications de l'Université de Lille, III/CRNS, 1979), pp. 13–17.

2. See Ellmann, pp. 436–38. André du Bouchet has published the French version of three lost Joycean dreams probably dating from the Zurich and perhaps the later Trieste years. Unfortunately the originals have been lost. Ellmann (pp. 548–49) has published an English approximation of du Bouchet's French renderings.

early 1920s is a different matter,[3] since it reflects Joyce's current interest in *The Thousand and One Nights* and, hence, the conception of the *Wake*. We may note that the choice of an eastern context is significant because the Persian tales are themselves frequently configured as dreams. Given the discrepancy between the recorded dream and Joyce's explanation and given the bantering relationship he maintained with the Freud-struck American couple, we may suspect that this all-too-classic frustration dream may have been either concocted or reshaped as a leg pull. Unlike this example, the materials published by Ellmann are curiously literary in nature, approximating the controlled vision of the epiphany. None of them falls within the category of spontaneous jottings upon which the argument of this chapter must rest.[4]

A curious aspect of the early notebooks is the fact that, though they contain entries clearly labeled dreams, they do not reveal Joyce's thoughts on that subject. I have mentioned earlier the major reference under "Exiles (.III.)" in the "Scribbledehobble." On B.6.75 there is an interesting allusion to the famous Molly dream ("JJ with MB must tell it to someone"), which suggests not so much its importance as Joyce's amusement at a dream he retold at least twice, once to Herbert Gorman and again to John Sullivan.[5] On B.10.46 we find an encircled dream and on B.10.98, the expression "Serve her horse" within a large empty circle. Of more immediate significance, on pages 3 and 4 of that notebook, which dates from early 1923, we find the following sequence:

3. See ibid., p. 547.

4. There is an exception to this rule dating from the period following Joyce's arrival in Paris. In the spring of 1920, when Ezra Pound was introducing him to his friends (see the allusions in the *Ulysses* notesheets to Natalie Barney and Fritz Vanderpyl), Joyce jotted down or, more likely transferred to one of his "Circe" notesheets, an entry labeled "dream." A powerful unit, it records a close and disturbingly vivid dream encounter with a rat, one that could well elicit a sexual interpretation (*JJA* 12:61; Phillip Herring, ed., *Joyce's "Ulysses" Notesheets in the British Museum* [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972], pp. 356.20–21, 357.56, 356.16–19). Joyce, who tended to record such experiences when and where they fed his creative needs, may have applied this dream to Bloom's vision of Paddy Dignam's rat on *U* 15.1255–58.

5. Ellmann, p. 549n.

biography begin in middle "at 28 . . . " [Joyce's ellipses]
W[oman] thinks she is frigged in sleep tells Priest.
He at altar next morning thinks he has been polluted.
Catechism class He [*sic*] explains a boy's revery. He meets girl.
She dreams "The dance[?]"
Story all improbable lies—
Papers on Psycho Analysis [*sic*] Ernest Jones
(Bailliere [*sic*]: 1918)

In B.15, we find a scattering of dream-related notes dating from September 1926, when Joyce was drafting I.1 and completing "The Muddest Thick" for II.2. Among them are "in sleep 'Self' leaves Soma" (p. 66), "J.J putting dictionary to sleep sending night over world" (p. 146), "hypnosis/ narcosis/ sleep" (p. 147), "steeple dream/ demon of fall[?]" (p. 148), and a sleep-related narrative in pidgin English (p. 149).

These notes culminate in the first draft of one of Mutt's dialogues: "Here in under they lie, the large by the smal, and everynight life and th'estrange, babylone the greatgrandhotelled with tit tit tittle-house, alp on earwig as equal and unequal in the sound seemetery of sleep" (B.15.151 [simplified]; see *FW* 17.32–36). The fact that the most extensive series of sleep notes had to await the drafting of I.1 suggests that sleep and dreaming were, at the outset, more a pretext than a structuring or substantive principle. This is true even though Joyce was obviously intrigued by dreams and his new book would be concerned with a dreaming humanity, even though he repeatedly recorded his actual dreams in these notebooks. The latter were probably transcribed not for any theoretical reasons or even because Joyce thought he could make use of their content but, rather, because they were powerfully significant as lived events and immediately relevant to his project.

In the unsettled period that followed the publication of *Ulysses*, Joyce was more than usually open to the world around and *in* him, perhaps as open as he was during the pre-*Portrait* period of 1904. This attitude is evident in the research reflected by the "Scribbledehobble" ink notes, in the epiphanoid passages, and in the fact that someone like Ezra Pound could feed him books and ideas. It is

abundantly clear from the curious and emphatic notation "I heard the banshee 10-30 6/ 4/923" found at the very beginning of B.3.5 and alluded to seven pages later as a repeated experience: "banshee 3 am" (B.3.12). The second of these notes was probably taken the day after the first to record an event that occurred in the morning of that day. Such events, real or imagined, were bound to disturb the superstitious Joyce. (Traditionally, the banshee's cry presages a death.)

Then there is the curious entry taken somewhat later in 1923, when Joyce was conceptualizing Book III and contemplating the inverse episodic (as opposed to chapter) outline of Book I, chapters I.2–5, 7–8. At that time he described the opening of I.3, "Sundy ev[enin]g [in] Bognor (cad)" (B.1.163). The implication is clear enough, though the circumstance remains a mystery: something had happened when Joyce stayed in Bognor during the summer of 1923, perhaps a chance meeting on "the Lord's day" with an Irishman "who had made the South coast of England his headquarters as he sat smoking in his pasttime of executing empty bottles."[6] This reference is too precise and the passage too clear to leave any doubt that Joyce has adapted for his purposes a real occurrence, one that moved him to write one of the crucial early passages. He seems to be recording the moment when scandal begins to become gospel. In the course of the creative process, such stimuli were bound to be submerged or obliterated in and by the text, for they are not *to* the point so much as *its very substance*: what the passage and book tend to embody or depart from rather than what they recount.

This observation is doubly applicable to the aspect of the novel that may actually have been dream-generated, the male plot with its voyeuristic/scatological/incestuous/homoerotic components. It is to its basic narrative circumstances—the crime and its immediate consequences—that the notebook dreams, written down between April and September 1923, may have contributed. After all, they were dreamed before or while Joyce composed the account of HCE's

6. *FDV* 70.2–8 (simplified); *JJA* 45:140. The first-draft version of this passage, approximated here, makes clear enough reference to what was probably the incident at Bognor, the encounter with an exiled Irishman full of reminiscences of the glory days, perhaps of Parnell: a typical Irish past-praiser. The question arises, what is the identity of the "cad" in this instance and why?

crime and his encounter with the "cad." They coincide with the moment Joyce calls "Sin" in his episodic list (B.1.163; note the capital letter) and describes in the crime note, taken in August 1923 (B.3.153).

Since my evidence is a handful of frequently obscure notations in a hand that was far from clear and in something resembling a personal code, what follows is necessarily speculative. Still, the mere presence of gesturally significant, semiotically available,[7] and carefully isolated sequences usually labeled "Dream," lends these speculations considerable weight. So does the fact that Joyce continued to jot down epiphanoid passages that reflect his daily experience and occasionally contributed directly to the development of his personae.

In March or April 1923, while revising the fair copy of "Roderick O'Conor"[8] and after having taken several pages of conceptual, *Odyssey*-related, personal, and epiphanoid notes, Joyce jotted down the suggestive pun "Mater smells incest" (B.10.45) and then recorded the only dream in the notebooks that is not clearly labeled as such. The dream itself is at once the most complicated, the murkiest, and the most tantalizing I have found:

pull m—y behind door
sawdust
wh[ores] toss H off cart, haggle
Stop singing! Leave the room!
rubber cunt Sgt!
show him album clap!
tell story—'my husband'

7. A strong argument can be made for the gestural relevance of the early conceptual and personal notes. I have already noted that some of them, like the references to the "setting" as a wake and the "Banshee," are almost as remarkable for their presentation and position on the page as they are for their content. Those notes that surprised the writer, or reflect his surprise, stand out. Others that he wanted to flag for himself tended to be accompanied by explanatory parentheses or special punctuation. Some were coded by initials or sigla. All of them merit our attention, as do any longer passages and coherent sequences of related items.

8. See VI.B.10. 45, 90; *JJA* 31:101, 124 and 55:446a; *FDV* 203, 204.

purge him, shitcan reek[?], dairy[?],
ask leave 3 & for go WC
tempt H
H write to B B
rod is pickle
after—inspection
mixed grill (B.10.46)

Like most of the epiphanoids, this passage was not crossed through and was certainly not used in the *Wake*. It is written in a smallish spidery hand that is different from that of the surrounding items but clearly within Joyce's range. In a notebook that contains plenty of coherent sentence-length entries and even some lists, this is an exceptionally long and incoherent narrative sequence. Probably written under pressure by a writer fearing to lose some of the details, it was completely enclosed by a rough circle composed of five or six hurriedly scrawled lines.[9] Even the presentation suggests that Joyce was intrigued or disturbed by the dream's contents, which are blatantly masochistic, scatological, and genital.

Any reading of this unit must be tentative and conjectural, but we can probably place the action in a brothel similar to that of "Circe." Along with the "H" (for Husband?), the protagonists are a group of unnamed whores, a police officer, and the persona designated by the letters BB (Blazes Boylan?). The action is best thought of as a sequence of loosely connected episodes. In this, it is more genuine and threatening than are the far better integrated dreams Joyce transcribed or recounted earlier.

The first sequence reveals someone, perhaps Joyce himself, doing something suspect or voyeuristic behind a door. For some reason, Joyce has separated with an emphatic dash the m and y that together denote an activity. His reticence here is remarkable, given the overt

9. Such graphics are rare in Joyce's manuscripts and notebooks. Yet there is a parallel instance on page 98 of B.10. There, instead of a crude circle insecurely enclosing a long sequence, we find a largish, cleanly drawn circle that contains only one suggestive line hugging its upper margin: "Serve her horse." It would appear that Joyce was contemplating using the circle to signal yet another erotic dream.

content of the dream. The whores go into action in the second line, apparently "tossing" the abusable "H off cart" perhaps onto some "sawdust." What follows may be haggling over their price. Then two commands are addressed to a man who has regressed to the condition of a child in a nursery or a schoolroom. The whole sequence suggests a pantomime action similar to that of the Bella-Bello interlude in "Circe." Perhaps the man is then supplied with or teased with a "rubber cunt" or inverted dildo. At that moment the house may have been raided by a police sergeant. After a break or scene change, the whores show H an album (of pornographic pictures?) and someone applauds. Then perhaps one of the whores tells a story about "my husband." The next two lines are once again violently masochistic, and regressive. The man submits to a purge, filling a can before he asks leave repeatedly to go to the water closet. There follows a scene of unspecified temptation and what may be the public composition of a letter to BB. (If the initials do denote Blazes Boylan, the dream may have cast Joyce in the role of Bloom and the setting would indeed be that of "Circe.") A reference to genitals or some sexual, perhaps masturbatory, activity is followed by an inspection conducted by the cruel mistresses. Doubtless the association with a (phallic) pickle led to the final sequence, possibly a visit to a restaurant or simply the serving of a mixed grill. When we recall that Bloom liked kidneys and kidneys are a staple of the British mixed grill, the "Circe" linkage becomes stronger. This dream was probably occasioned by Joyce's rethinking of that chapter in the course of his preparations for the *Wake*. There are a good number of notes in B.1 related directly to *Ulysses* chapters. We cannot doubt, however, that this was a very personal dream, one Joyce would not have thought to relate to friends. Like the others in the notebooks, and like HCE's dream crime, it puts the dreamer in an equivocal position.

Our reading is reenforced by other notes. Two pages later, we find the entry "Eve in trousers" followed by the cruel epiphanoid: "bought paper to see had he really committed suicide (W)" (B.10.48). Indeed, the dream is followed by a burst of strong statements attributable to Nora amid which is a clear reference to the Blooms: "After the mollygnats & the bloomburst"(B.10.50). This

last is followed by a bit of dialogue, or rather an encounter, that foreshadows the meeting in the park. One of the voices in this curiously punctuated and uncrossed entry may well be that of Joyce's father, John Joyce:

> How do you do, you damned sneakylooking soaper you think you're not going to fork out!
> How do you do, Mr Y! You haven't got me yet I know what you're after nor you won't. I hope you're quite well (B.10.50)

Such items establish the ideational context for the dream, the fact that there is a confluence of the new and the old, the personal and the fictive, amid which the dream sits, a powerful presence and a possible influence. In this same context, we find entries keyed to chapters of *Ulysses* cheek by jowl with others destined in a few months to find their places in I.4 and I.7.

Any assessment of the *Wake*'s first months must take into consideration the fact that even after he had finished *Ulysses*, Joyce continued to meditate changes he would like to make. That is, partly because of its unusually tentative situation and perhaps because some thought was being given to a corrected edition, the completed novel continued to occupy his mind and color his notes. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that a chapter like "Circe," on which so much psychic energy was spent, could shape the writer's dream life in 1923. I suggest that the complex sexual guilt motif carried over from that chapter is central to any understanding of the crime of HCE. Beyond that, perhaps even issuing from the impulse that generated "Circe," the crime features a triple Krafft-Ebing complex of voyeuristic watching, self-pollution, and defecation in the presence of witnesses. Indeed, one half of this complex was already in place a good while before Joyce wrote his HCE sketch in August-September. The remainder is latent in the early notes concerning the relationship of Pop to his daughter, Mark to Isolde, and, of course, Joyce to Lucia.

As we have seen, though Nora is clearly a presence, as is Molly Bloom, the early character and activity notes attend far more to the juvenile figure than they do to the mature W of the epiphanoids.

Is/Issy existed long before Joyce thought to invent ALP as an avatar of Nora Barnacle. Furthermore, the curious shape taken by Issy's personality can be traced in astonishingly large measure to Lucia Joyce's incipient schizophrenia, symptoms of which were certainly visible by 1923.[10] Joyce's emotional investment in his juvenile persona suggests that his attempts to find cultural analogues for Lucia's personality and to normalize her deteriorating condition constituted a sort of self-therapy. But before the therapeutic writing came the equally therapeutic dreaming evident in the following, dating from September 1923 and thus postdating the invention of HCE:

> Dream—Schwindel (another)[?], awake in 4 bedded room,[11] A.S[12] & L & other W[oman]. Soli. N Collapses. I go to theatre meet O.G. and E 'She has a few drinks in her'. Cross arena to hosp. Concierge. Finis. I howl oatenmealymouth[ily?] (B.11.31)[13]

This dream probably dates from the period when, writing and revising his "Here Comes Everybody" and I.2, Joyce was thinking through the second stage of his project. It is crowded into space left on the bottom of a page as though the dreamer wished to eliminate as well as ventilate it. Though, like most such passages, it is written in a relatively clear hand, one senses a curious impulse to confine the most powerful part of the experience in an increasingly limited space. The visual impact is rather like that of a spring under pres-

10. For discussions of this increasingly obvious problem, see Ellmann, pp. 612–13 and passim; David Hayman, "Shadow of His Mind: The Papers of Lucia Joyce," in *Joyce at Texas*, ed. David Oliphant and Thomas Zigal (Austin: Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 1983), pp. 65–79; and Brenda Maddox's detailed account of the progress of Lucia's condition (*Nora* [New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1988], pp. 189–90, 332–33 and passim).

11. There are overtones here of the Joyces' actual sleeping arrangements during the early Paris years, when Lucia often slept in the same room as her parents. In the light of Molly Bloom's relationship with Milly and Leopold's tendency to identify the two, we may perhaps read a very immediate anxiety and probable cause for family strife into this detail. See Maddox's thorough documentation of the family situation as it related to Lucia (pp. 188–89 and passim).

12. I have been unable to identify this individual, presumably a woman.

13. *JJA* 31:155.

sure. The anxious father/creator may have had repeated dreams of which this is only a sample, the only one that did not vanish with the first morning light.

Joyce is probably using the German word *Schwindel* in its primary sense of giddiness. That concept motivates the dreamer's awakening in a room with four beds, three of which appear to be occupied by women. Whatever is meant by "Soli," with its Italian meaning "solitary" or "alone," Joyce's apparent swoon, together with the presence of the women and including Lucia ("L") in the bedroom, seems to have occasioned Nora ("N") Barnacle's collapse. The latter event parallels Joyce's own dream experience and curiously joins the active-reactive couple.

The change of scene that follows is easier to follow and interpret. Joyce always saw (and had already presented) Gogarty/Mulligan ("O.G.") as a clownish, theatrical, and overpoweringly seductive presence. It is natural that he would dream of encountering his ex-friend in a theater and with a woman. The initial E may stand for Eileen Joyce Schaurek, in which case it seems fitting that the seducer of the inebriated young woman is no other than one of Joyce's fictionalized opposite equivalents. The incestuous implications of the seduction would thus be displaced, perhaps doubly.

The quoted conversation is clearly Gogarty's, probably delivered sotto voce to Joyce, and the movement across the "arena" to the hospital places the action in Joyce's "medical johnny" days in Dublin. At that time, Gogarty and Joyce would have been apt to haunt hospitals and chase women. The reference to the concierge, however, suggests either that Joyce has translated the word for doorkeeper or janitor or that the scene has taken on Parisian aspects. It is, after all, in Paris that a recalcitrant concierge might cut short a romantic escapade: "Finis." Perhaps we may interpret Joyce's breakfast food/pap/oatmeal howl as an atavistic cry of frustration, but it may also function as a displacement of an overwhelming shame at being caught out.

The allusions to giddiness, to Nora's collapse, to the profoundly suspicious, sexually ambiguous, and doubtless unwelcome presence of Gogarty, along with the final catastrophe show that this is not only an ominous dream but an absolute nightmare. There can be no

doubt that both halves of the dream are sexual and that Joyce was aware of at least some of their implications.

If the incest motif is still only latent in the second dream, it is all too overt in a remarkable passage recorded six to eight months later (1924) in a notebook that contains two other dreams and many references to Joyce's family:

> Dream—Kathleen—rats
> O.W. puntifex maximus
> SD 1st Irish bullfighter
> L.J. Shame gave me light
> Algrin the blind
> Good God cry of shame & horror
> she only 15 (B.5.107)[14]

The following is a suggested reading:

> Dream—[I saw] Kathleen [who was complaining about] rats[.]
> O[scar] W[ilde was there in the guise of a] pontifex maximus[.]
> S[tephen] D[edalus appeared as the] 1st Irish bullfighter[.]
> L[ucia] J[oyce said,] Shame gave me light.
> Algrin the blind[.]
> Good God [I? exclaimed with a] cry of shame & horror she [is] only 15

The occasional elisions and the coded initials are compensated for by the exceptional clarity of Joyce's hand and the careful ordering of the events that underscore the significance of this complex sequence. Joyce apparently wrote out this dream shortly after he made notes concerning the behavior of SD/Joyce ("extravagant"), family relations ("domestic tribunal/ truthful James") OW ("tuneful snore/ his shirt") and Lucia/Issy's sexual maturation ("gets rainwater in jug for face") (B.5.104–7). That is, all these figures were on his mind at the time. When we consider that the underlying theme of this dream is incest and that the worries of HCE were shared by his creator, the

14. Ibid., 30:55.

sequence seems to have been tailored for adaptation to the *Wake*, to which it may have actually contributed details.

One might qualify the opening lines of this "Circe"-like sequence as pantomime, because the first three figures mentioned, Kathleen, Wilde, and Stephen, are all outlandish or outlandishly garbed. In *Finnegans Wake* Kathleen, a projection of Kathleen ni Houlihan or Ireland, is an avatar of ALP. A late-comer to the *Wake* community, she functions as the ancient, grumbling crone or char, a harpy/banshee figure related to the washerwomen of I.8 and the gnarlybird of I.1. In general, however, she resembles the pantomime "Dame," a figure who would be perfectly capable of answering the question "What are you scrubbing the floor with?" by snarling something like "*Shite!* will you have a plateful?" (*FW* 142.7) The chapter containing that line (I.6) was written some years after Joyce dreamed this dream, but we find several versions of the comic retort in the current notebook. It seems reasonable to assume that Joyce had Kate's role well in hand when he associated her with rats.[15]

Oscar Wilde,[16] the very image of the late-nineteenth-century decadent, would have made a comic chief prelate of the Roman Pontifical College and an even stranger pope. On the bottom of this notebook page (B.5.107), there is evidence of the direct impact of this dream image: "pawntyfox mixymost." Though Wilde is identified with Mulligan in *Ulysses*, in the *Wake* he is an aspect of HCE, who speaks of "pontofacts [pantomime facts] massimust" at the start of his "Amtsadam" monologue (*FW* 532.9). Since Joyce was busy writing that passage when he had this dream, we may assume that the Wildean aspect of HCE, appropriate as it is to the citybuilder's sententious hypocrisy, had genuine oneiric roots.

HCE can be seen as a projection of the mature Joyce just as Stephen Dedalus was his youthful self. It follows that Stephen in mock heroic guise complements Wilde/HCE as a figure of authority. Among those Joyce met in Paris was Ernest Hemingway, whose enthusiasm for bullfighting may have stimulated the image of a

15. The rat reference does, however, recall Joyce's rat dream cited above from the "Circe" notesheets.

16. Joyce used the initials O.W. to refer to Wilde throughout the notes, beginning with "AN ENCOUNTER" in the "Scribbledehobble."

bullfighting Stephen/Joyce. Stephen could perhaps have been the first Irish bullfighter had he had better eyesight and much more physical courage. As it is, the image is pure pantomime fun with a sharp ironic edge.

The real surprise is the reference to L. J., who is clearly in this context Joyce's fifteen-year-old daughter. Lucia's name is ambiguously linked to "Shame" and hence, by association, to a shamefaced Shem/Joyce. Shem's Joycean presence is confirmed by an epiphanoid reference on VI.B.5.105–6 to a "domestic tribunal [in which there is some question of] truthful James." Even more telling is a reference on the bottom of B.5.106 to what seems to be an ongoing discussion of Lucia's appearance: "I think her pretty," which is followed on B.5.107 by an epiphanoid concerning the girl's beauty practices: "⊥ [Lucia] gets rainwater in jug for face." It follows that Joyce's rather commonplace concern for his daughter may well have occasioned the dream that ensued.

More tangentially and in relation to the notebook context and to Joyce's current preoccupation with the first two chapters of Book III, Lucia may also be linked to Shaun. On VI.B.5.106, we find the first draft of an addition for page 406 of chapter III.1. The passage in question, which relates to Shaun's clownish gluttony, was inserted in the second fair copy of the chapter in June 1924. There is a chance, therefore, that the dream-Lucia is referring not only to Shem and Joyce but also to Shaun/Jaun the hypocritical priest or shame-merchant of chapter III.2. After all, it is there that a flirtatious Jaun warns Issy and the February girls to stay away from his brother (Shem/Stephen/Joyce) and his father (HCE/Wilde/Joyce).

In relation to Jaun, the dream "light" is more than a moral illumination since, in Book III, Shaun is identified with the setting sun. I would suggest, however, that the Shem/Joyce allusion is more poignant and perhaps more convincing, especially in relation to the dream's next line. "Algrin the blind" could well be a Gaelic poet. If so, in this context he would be yet another displacement of the dreamer's identity.

The final exclamation (in this virtually unpunctuated dream) is spaced gesturally to suggest its impact as an utterance. Perhaps the allusion to two (or even four) literary self-projections, conjoined as

it is to an undisguised evocation of Lucia, has brought the dreamer into painfully close proximity to a naked expression either of his own controlled lust or of his fear that Lucia will lose her innocence. (The misrepresentation of her age [seventeen at that time] underscores that fear. In this connection see the next note, taken in an identical hand and hence immediately postdating the "dream": "A was rather lecherous/ B [was rather] lustful."(B.5.107) It would appear that the writer had already set about rationalizing what he knew to be normal but felt to be threatening dream impulses, turning them into literary/social matter. Several other notes have a similar valence. On the next page we find the witty "Paradise Lost worst consequence of origin[al] sin (Chesterfield)"(B.5.108). One page later, Joyce wrote "K cold shivers/ dabbles in loathsomeness/ does God condemn our pure love"(B.5.109).[17] And on the next page, he records the behavior and perhaps language of the adolescent Lucia, "Ring [that did] not fit her kept in a box till her finger got bigger."

Finally, it is worth noting that not only does Lucia's name mean light, but Joyce, who was at that time being treated for glaucoma, needed reassurance and relief from the fear of impending blindness. Another note from this notebook makes the connection more vivid by linking the abilities of Joyce's specialist, Dr. Borsch, with those of the adolescent girl, whose identity is screened by the sigla for Issy: "wiser than Borsch re face lotion" (B.5.14).[18] Incest-related sexuality, lost innocence, ambiguous sexual impulses (see Wilde), fear of exposure, and endangered sight are joined in this dream to the evolving subject matter of the *Wake*.

I suggest then that at least two of the five transition-period dreams, all of which seem to have been important to Joyce, contributed to the development of the male or crime plot. In the process

17. Joyce seems at this point to be introducing another of his personae, Kevin, as a buffer.

18. This note is followed by another in the same hand: "obscenity, insult of beauty/ vulgarity ignore[s beauty]." Even more relevant is the nearby draft of Joyce's oneiric poem "A Prayer" (B.5.11,13,15). Furthermore, the dream we have been discussing is a few pages away from a careful ink transcription of extracts from Paul Valéry's poem of temptation, "L'ébauche d'un serpent" (VI.B.5.113,115,117).

they may have liberated the author from some of his demons. Unlike Stephen Dedalus, who attempted in the final chapter of *A Portrait* to separate himself from those who would act upon and confine him, the mature Joyce seems to have tried to face down his impulses and act out his conflicts. In doing so, he was extending "Circe," if not *Ulysses* in general. It is significant that the dreams he recorded, powerful, nightmarish, sexually charged as they are, all feature the Joycean persona. Like HCE, Joyce dreams of himself as seen and acted upon rather than as acting. I would reiterate my feeling that these were not isolated dreams, but rather those he managed to recuperate. If Joyce indeed made a conscious choice to use some of this oneiric material, however indirectly, that was one of the most serious decisions made during his creative life. Through it he may have achieved some of the emotional intensity required to propel *Finnegans Wake* through eighteen difficult years and a stimulus for what became an intensely personal, if rigorously controlled, portrait of the nocturnal male psyche haunted by actions and urges, a portrait only half submerged in a sea of vibrant dream language.

7

Mum—Letterwriter: The Female Component

Day & Night
Man and Woman

—from the *Ulysses* notesheets

The Darkened Psyche

A careful reading of *Ulysses* suggests that the evening and night hours, those that mark the weakening of the sun and the encroachment of the moon, are distinctly and even predominantly female. In "Cyclops," the pretense of objective narration and the presence of the affected and effective observing diction disappear as does the clear rendering of the masculine stream of consciousness, which reappears only briefly in "Nausicaa" and then fitfully in "Oxen of the Sun" and "Circe." Their place is taken by the increasingly intrusive, manipulative, and obfuscating textual presence I have called the arranger.[1] On further consideration of that device, I

1. See my *"Ulysses": The Mechanics of Meaning* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), pp. 88–104, 122–25. Also see the work of Hugh Kenner, Karen Lawrence, Bernard and Shari Benstock, and Patrick McGee for expressions of related or corrective positions. This term should serve here to designate rather than describe a procedure originated by Joyce and now fairly prevalent in the novel, a device that enables novelists to create a more or less seamless joint between the pretensions of realism and the demands of a broader fictive vision in the age of psychoanalysis and deconstruction.

would now characterize the arranging presence in *Ulysses* as predominantly feminine/nocturnal. Thus, in giving control over to mysterious and unpredictable forces, the narrative imposes a simulacrum of irrationality on its activity and gives itself over to the powers of whimsy, which Joyce seems to have identified elsewhere with the feminine/instinctual. When arrangement is empowered, concision or the elision of detail, together with the illusion of exhaustiveness or the encyclopedic itch, increases as does an overtly outrageous farce. In addition, the previously male environment is gradually penetrated and overwhelmed by female consciousnesses and actual female presences, against which the male action is projected and by which it is ultimately absorbed.

It is characteristic of Joyce's method that, though the male awareness and presence dominates the sunlit chapters, feminine intrusions occur as early as "Telemachus." There, along with certain mysterious (or antirealistic) stylistic effects, the text introduces the spirit of Stephen's mother and allows the old milk woman to penetrate the omphalos/tower. Appropriately, Stephen imbues this innocent presence with ominous and primitive folk traits, calling her "a witch on her toadstool" and a "wandering crone, lowly form of an immortal serving her conqueror and her gay betrayer, their common cuckquean, a messenger from the secret morning"(*U* 1.401–6). Throughout the day, as stylistic strangeness grows, other women are introduced as aspects of Stephen's and Bloom's reality. Still, during the brightest hours, the female presence is most poignantly felt through its absence. Stephen is haunted by his mother and also by vague unrequited projections of desire; Bloom by Mollys and Millys past, present, and extended.[2]

With "Sirens" the text makes the decisive shift into what might be called the feminine register. While alluding to and basing itself in Bloom's relationship to Boylan and Molly, that chapter foregrounds the Manet-like bar with its innocently tempting and strikingly vapid

2. Less obvious but persistent daytime darkening is provided by the intermittent references not only to homosexuality as a threat (in "Proteus"), a theme, and a presence (in "Scylla") but also to madness and blindness. These topics have a feminine valence in a male (diurnal) universe.

barmaids. The offstage presence of Molly Bloom in this chapter undergirds this development.[3] In addition, Bloom's reactions, the reader's awareness, and the narration itself are shattered by the introduction of narrative simultaneity and a diffused focus. The female presence, marginalized in and by the "workaday" male world, has become a focus as the immediate object of male lust. One could demonstrate that the "wet star" dominates all succeeding chapters, with the possible, and then only partial, exception of "Cyclops" and "Eumeus."

Given the feminization of darkness in *Ulysses*, we might expect the feminine to dominate *Finnegans Wake* from the start. In terms of the "action," this is not precisely the case. The first half of Book I is predominantly male, the second female, despite the fact that, in 1926, Joyce included three major female segments in chapter I.1: Mistress Kate's guided tour of the Willingdone monument museum or phallic remainder, the "gnarlybird" sequence with its description of a bansheelike creature gathering up the spoils of battle, and the prankquean episode delimiting the struggle between the sexes. Of course 1926 is relatively late, and I.1 was designed as an overture, an introduction to the themes and motifs of the *Wake*. Possibly, therefore, feminine forces were included in that chapter partly to improve the gender balance of the book. Their presence does not outweigh the predominantly male valence of chapters I.2–4, where, under the sign of the falling sun or the fallen hero, the unsettled male psyche desperately but ineffectually attempts to retrieve and consolidate control.

Chapters I.5 and I.7–8 formulate and focus the female Word and presence, establishing a contrapuntal rhythm maintained throughout the remaining chapters. This is true though all of the *Wake*, opening as it does on the night, is under the influence of the dark star of disrupted language, syntax, and form. The complexly reactive female presence is most directly felt in what I am calling the Letter plot, comprising roughly half the book. Thus, chapters I.5–8, II.1–

3. Joyce has deliberately chosen as his locale a pub with barmaids, a context appropriate to the chapter heading, but relatively rare in the drinking world of Dublin in 1904.

2, III.1–2 and the second half of Book IV are all dominated in a variety of ways by aspects of what Joyce calls in his early notes "W."

Nonetheless, readers of the *Wake* are not engaged at any point in conscious thought or retrievable temporality (see male luminosity). Even when we may feel we know the source of a given isolated utterance, we are left for the most part with anonymous or choral voices that frame the discourse, flashing mocking mirrors on actors, actions, and attributed words. As a result, the styles are "arranged" throughout. They are indeed radically arranged in relation to what Joyce himself in a moment of technical awareness and with some prescience named a "polylogue."[4]

That term was coined by Joyce to account for the distinction between certain conventions of narrative prose and those of the invisible and invasive airwaves:

Stories monologue
1 pers[on] to 1
1 [person to] 2
2 [persons to] 1
2 [persons to] 2
polylogue (broadcasters)[5]
(B.10.37)

In the summer of 1923, when this note was probably taken, broadcasting was still in its infancy and its jargon was fresh. Searching as he was for the formal center of his new book, Joyce seems to have been fascinated by the relationship of prose narrative to the various forms of dramatic presentation. A few lines above this note, on

4. This term, which does in fact occur in the *Wake* (470.9, "pollylogue"), has since been reinvented by Philippe Sollers in his novel *H* and given a theoretical valence by Julia Kristeva in her *Polylogue*.

5. *JJA* 31:97. This note was probably written during the summer of 1923 when Joyce was planning the "Here Comes Everybody" and preparing to begin chapter 1.2. It may well describe the narrative method of that chapter, which is indeed directed by an unspecified, and perhaps choral, speaking voice to a generalized other, i.e., "broadcast." The fact that Joyce uses an English word here suggests that the note was taken during his stay in London and Bognor.

B.10.36, we find a comparison between the pecuniary situation of the successful writer who receives "10 copies" of his book "if" it succeeds and that of the actor who fills "10 pockets if" the play succeeds.[6] A few pages later, Joyce made the following cinematic entries: "cinegraphist/ leitmotivs and décor idéal/ Proust—max[imum] text—min[imum] action/ Cine [—maximum action—minimum text]" (B.10.41–42).[7] Such notes may have helped conceptualize the narrative mode of the body of the *Wake*, a text that *had* to use every available strategy to subvert narrative.[8] But his interest was probably more than theoretical. Radio seems to have constituted for him a feminine and invasive and therefore darkened and unfocused medium. This is clear from his use of radio and television in the *Wake* but clearest perhaps in the only use he makes of the term "polylogue." In III.2, Issy's "phalanx of February Filldyke" girls cheer Jaun on with the Lebanese Maronite[9] prayer they "so prettly prattly pollylogue" (*FW* 470.9). Though this prayer is a specific instance of indeterminate multivoicing, the feminine "pollylogue" drawn from the idea of the broadcast seems to underlie Joyce's narrative strategy throughout a night invaded by polyvalent pseudo-images.

Since the whole *Wake* is darkened by the nocturnal muse and Joyce's goal was once again the depiction of universal experience, it

6. Besides being a reflection of Joyce's own money worries at a time when *Ulysses* was beginning to sell, this note, in conjunction with the references to cinema and radio, may reflect his continuing interest in the application of dramatic and even visual values to prose.

7. Though these are the only conceptual notes I have found, there are other references to the movies and their stars in the early notebooks. The brackets enclose, here as elsewhere, my attempts to flesh out what appears to be Joyce's meaning.

8. When television became the latest thing, Joyce was able to project it as a source of barroom entertainment, turning it into a counterpart for the photograph in the Butt and Taff sequence. (The first television equipment was perfected in 1926, and the BBC made experimental broadcasts in 1929.)

9. See *Letters* 1:263. Note that this entry had to wait five years for its utilization and that it remained uncrossed. The passage and the chapter as a whole with its archly knowing innocence owe much to the Laforgue of the *Moralités*.

was obviously not necessary to impose the feminine presence throughout. Thus Joyce was free to devise a system of coordinated plot/motif lines, of books, chapters, and segments devoted on the one hand to the fall of man and its consequences and on the other to the composition and delivery of the word through which mankind will rise again. These we may call respectively the crime/slander/guilt plot and the letter/recuperation/defense plot. It should go without saying that neither of them is exclusively male or female. After all, HCE seems to have been tempted by two girls and ALP is aided by Shem and Shaun. Though neither gender strand is immediately or transparently evident, in the light of the notebooks and manuscripts the bipartite braid of the text is genetically as important as the chapter structure, the Viconian cycles, the nodal systems, or any other informing principle. Indeed, and obviously, all these factors were necessary to the coherence of Joyce's vision and, ultimately, to the text's reception. What follows is an attempt to show how the second strand was elaborated in the notebooks, how important it was to the early development of the book, and to illustrate its role as the germ from which the text unfolded.

The Voice Is Nora's

Our inspection of notebook VI.B.3 revealed that Joyce gradually, almost accidentally and frequently associatively, developed the profiles of Mum and Pop. Along the way he generated the crime, which, when inserted in the life of the great/little man, motivated the first half of Book I.

Chapters I.2–4 tell how evidence is taken by an apparently male community in a futile attempt to establish the conditions of HCE's disgrace/disappearance/demise, to discover its cause and to settle on an appropriate scapegoat. These topics are general enough to be plugged into any number of cosmogonies, but Joyce waited until 1926, when he wrote his opening chapter, to establish a foundation for such a reading in a more primitive and more spectacular sunset/thunderstorm. It is there that the "fall" and its aftermath were first viewed prismatically within the broad mythical/cultural/historical field.

The taking of evidence during the inquest/trial of chapter I.4 motivated the establishment of the text of the Word, the testimony, and the ultimate "witness." That is, the acknowledgment of loss gave birth to the myth that led to the disclosure (unearthing) of a document capable of starting the process of healing and recovery. Appropriately, ALP's missive is said to have been taken from the source or muse by the scapegrace artist/scribe whose ear she has. Having been produced by a dark oracle, it is delivered and (mis)interpreted by a shining messenger/priest. Scripture voiced by an unlettered (female) source records, explains, and redeems the fall (male) occasioned by an innocent exhibition (female), but it requires both transcription by Shem and dissemination or broadcasting by Shaun, both sublimated fragments of the male ego, to reconstitute the (male) source of light.

As the notebooks demonstrate, this relatively clear and logical development was not primary. The mature female persona arrived late on the scene, following the invention of Tristan, Isolde, and Mark/Pop/Roderick O'Conor and the expansion of the eccentric French triangle upon which so much of Joyce's work is based. To these figures Joyce added the male contraries Patrick (a prefiguration of Shem in his assertive phase) and Kevin (a prefiguration of Shaun in his regressive phase). Yet, even the earliest notes reflect Joyce's attempts to capture the fluid nature of "das ewige Weib," a figure previously relegated to the background in all but a few of his short fictions. It was only with Molly's belated appearance that Joyce had briefly succeeded in sublimating the male valence of his texts, giving a relatively unmediated voice to the mature woman.

Before Molly, as exposed by "Penelope," and despite Gerty/Nausicaa, woman was voiced only through the Bertha of *Exiles*, not the figure who moves woodenly through three acts, but the one Joyce attempted to apprehend fully in his notes for that play. In practice, like Gretta Conroy in "The Dead," Bertha emerges as little more than the foil for her scene-stealing pseudolover and her self-indulgent mate. In the play she is a figure comparable to an Issy/Columbine torn between Shem/Pierrot and Shaun/Harlequin. But in the copious notes Joyce took from Nora's associations, there are hints of something more, something that silently and less than satisfactorily undergirds the dialogue and action. As self-represented in

the *Exiles* notes, Nora is a quite independent presence, far more so even than the woman whose *Ulysses*-period dreams Joyce felt free to analyze himself into. I suggest that it is to this experience, the unforced recording of the otherness of his mate, that Joyce was drawn not only when he shaped his Penelope,[10] but also when he began to conceptualize *Finnegans Wake*.

Though there are all manner of contemporary witnesses to the behavior of Nora, what concerns us here is the picture Joyce himself established piecemeal from observed details of a woman whose cultural attainments must have been something of an embarrassment but whose vitality and strength of character, to say nothing of her unpredictability and his need, endlessly absorbed him. While demonstrating that Nora was not his only model, the notebook entries bear silent witness to the pervasive force of her image.

In all likelihood the author never imagined himself an expert in the female psyche, though he seems to have been more or less comfortable with his own. Throughout his creative life, he must have viewed himself as sharing a compartment with mystery and obscurity, that is, with an aspect of the human psyche that begged to be exploited in a book at whose center is the known or familiar unknowable, if not the ineffable Unknowable. To do so he needed evidence and witnesses in the conflicting ways the scientist, the Platonic thinker, and the psychoanalyst do. This requirement may explain the puzzling fact that, when he was beginning to write a book that would be devoid of "real" temporality and hence of objective narration, he began, as he had in *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait*, *Exiles*, and even *Ulysses*, by collecting striking fragments of human behavior.

The following sampling of the W, Wife or Woman, notes drawn mainly and appropriately from the "Scribbledehobble" annotations for "PENELOPE," will help ground our discussion:[11]

10. One should not forget that, in a fashion seemingly mocked by the behavior of Molly, Gretta and Bertha both have Penelopean qualities. Gretta keeps her soul intact for Michael Fury; Bertha retains her integrity for her whimsical Richard. Neither of them is permitted to display the complexity of a Molly, however, and both remain shadowy supporting personae whose function is to illuminate dark corners of the male psyche.

11. Though W or W-H notes are fairly common, they constitute only a

1. W [says she] pays taxes [therefore should be able to] Vote. (VI.A.141)[12]
2. H. I never saw a pair of bellows in Italy.
   W. [Did you ever see (or did you say)] a pair of ballocks (VI.A.271)[13]
3. W shakes cloth out of window: [How big is a litre?]
   H—the litre is cube 1/10 metre 1 3/4 pints.
   W: How many pints in a litre?
   H: nearly 2.
   W—That's the answer. (VI.A.431)[14]
4. I'll tell you again: Pull down the blind, dear. (VI.A.681)[15]
5. [She likes to] repose on couch [with] hand on ham: I can't get any good of my nails: can't believe a word out of his mouth
6. [I can't imagine] how a big man ever came out of a W.
7. [Her response was] you can trust me: ([That was her] answer to: does it mean that if the storm bursts about me you will not forsake me or leave — alone?)
8. she couldn't look at him but she felt dirty (VI.A.901)[16]
9. as sure as ever I look out of the window I declare I see that fellow Worthing's fat backside they ought to have made a woman out of him the Lord knows he has material enough, [they could make] left sleeve first[17]
10. [His] mouth open like a codfish if [a codfish] had [?] teeth
11. W's torture, obliged to lie on her back etc[18]

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fraction of the epiphanoid passages I have been able to isolate. Others relate to scenes casually observed, the behavior of Lucia/Issy/Isolde, the relationship of Joyce to his children, and Joyce's vivid personal experiences and observations of his world. Though most of the following notes contain a reference to W, a good number under "PENELOPE" do not, since the attribution is self-evident.

12. *JJA* 28:75; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 66.
13. Ibid., p. 89; ibid., p. 76.
14. Ibid., p. 112; ibid., p. 90.
15. Ibid., p. 151 (in Giorgio Joyce's hand); ibid., p. 115.
16. Ibid., p. 221; ibid., p. 164.
17. Ibid.; ibid., pp. 164–65. This is one of the funniest notes under "PENELOPE" and the longest coherent sequence. Cast though it is in Molly's unpunctuated mode, it prefigures ALP's discourse in the Letter.
18. Ibid., p. 222; ibid., p. 166.

12. W sees photo—[exclaims that] She's old
13. now do yr worst: wish smbdy'd make me pregnant I'm tired of my course 12 × [times a year][19]
14. [I'm] curious, [about that. I'll] read paper when I get home (VI.A.902)[20]

At first we may be tempted to think of such jottings as fodder for an expanded version of *Ulysses* and in particular of "Penelope," a vague possibility in 1922–23. A closer examination shows them to be something quite different. True, Molly/Calypso/Nora could have responded as W does to her husband's display of erudition in item number 3. But the hundred-odd Penelope/Nora quotes are seldom appropriate to Penelope/Molly. They contain observed activities far too general and also too specific for that purpose. Though some were eventually incorporated in the ALP segments, very few were actually crossed out to signify later use. Still, it was partly through this primitive collection/observation process that Joyce was able to accumulate the materials needed to register a tonality he perceived to be female and wifely, one that underlies and occasionally dominates the passages that relate most directly to ALP, if not to her Letter (as opposed to the more familiar masculine tonalities associated with the crime).

Today we may be shocked by the bemused and condescending undertone of the W and "PENELOPE" notes, but we should consider the then prevalent attitudes toward women, and we should also note that, like Molly Bloom, Nora had little patience with her husband's foibles. Besides, Joyce/Bloom was capable of respecting and even

19. Ibid.; ibid., p. 167. The reference to course[s] or menstruation is doubtless Nora's and could have been made by Molly, but it prefigures an utterance that found its way into a very different context, ALP's complaint about the limits imposed by her banks and buttocks in I.8: "*By earth and the cloudy but I badly want a brandnew bankside, bedamp and I do, and a plumper at that!*" (*FW* 201.5–6). See also the note "I'll be glad when it stops (menses)?", the first entry under the "PENELOPE" heading on notebook page 901.

20. *JJA* 28:222; *Scribbledehobble,* p. 167. This was later converted into a longer epiphanoid: "bought a paper to see had he really committed suicide (W)" (see B.10.48).

admiring his wife's natural "motherwit." It is to this sort of coexistence of the sexes, quite beyond the realm of the erotic, that these entries point.

The Letter and the crime complex were eventually to function as nodal topoi for a wide range of possible female and male behavior. But it is the uses Joyce consciously made of these two themes in the plotting of the *Wake* that are most immediately reflected in the primitive procedures that led him to the conceptualization of the book's chapter structure. On both the plot and the nodal levels, the Letter itself constitutes the re-action of the female to the male action, while the recovery and delivery of the Letter are the predominantly male but clearly subservient reactions to what is both an affront and an ineffable achievement.

The Book of Woman

In contrast to the W notes, which provided a background for womanness in the *Wake*, the "Mum" notes marked the crude beginning of ALP's more specific and central role as defender of her man. These notes and this theme had no roots in the Tristan myth, no connection to the French triangle, and only an oblique relationship to Molly's discourse and nature. There is no place in the Tristan plot for motherhood or the truly wifely role that was perhaps prefigured by Bertha. The romance projects a world of nonreproductive sexuality, a curiously childish and semi-Edenic context powerfully organized around desire, envy, jealousy, loyalty, and deception. When preparing for *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce first focused on the complex younger female as she relates to her two males. That focus was complemented, if not submerged, when ALP assumed her position as the total, if only peripherally sexual, female presence. Ultimately, through her connection with the spoken/transcribed/delivered Word, Mum/ALP, joined by Shem and Shaun, came to constitute the muse and spirit of a text that submerges character, action, and situation in language as activity, substance, and presence.

In notebook VI.B.3, a good while before the invention of the twins,

Mum's letter was associated almost haphazardly with the act of writing and the action of delivery. Yet lest we mistake gravity for lack of wit, even in that early reference to the false Scripture, as in the early "Tristan" notes, the parodic element was crucial. Almost from the start ALP's Word was meant to serve as a mockery as well as a manifestation of the "imposture book through the ages, revered more & more" (B.10.9).[21] But in the summer of 1923 Joyce still had many important decisions to make.

The actual composition and displacement of the Letter took place in December and January 1923–24, a period of considerable importance in the history of the *Wake*—one of several turning points.[22] (Its first draft follows by two pages the first version of the second half of I.4, now *FW* 96.26–103.) When he wrote the early W and H notes, Joyce seems to have been intent on a degree of contemporaneity. By the time the Letter was written, the "contemporary" had become one time among many, and time was conveyed as a combination of permanence and flux within a stable and stratified history.

The composition of the "Here Comes Everybody" sketch and the gradual establishment of Chapelizod as the locus of the action seem to have fixed the date of the action not in the immediate present but in a past similar to that of *Ulysses*. It is the small-town atmosphere, the buzz of neighborhood gossip and pub-talk, the modest daily acts that give the *Wake* its here and now Irish tang. That atmosphere, along with the trivial memories and clumsy expression of anger and

21. *JJA* 31:84.

22. From a genetic perspective, the turning points, epiphanic in their force but not always self-evident, are the best index available to the processes that led from "Work in Progress" to *Finnegans Wake*. Briefly, they are: the invention of the "Scribbledehobble" system (1922), the shift to the more informal notation system of the early notebooks (1923), the enunciation of the sketch principle (1923), the rejection of the "Tristan" extension (1923), the composition of "Here Comes Everybody" and the conception of the male plot (fall 1923), the conception, composition, and displacement of the Letter and the female plot (winter 1923–24), the "Triangle" and the conceptualization of Book II (July 1926), the belated composition of I.1 as a comprehensive overture (fall 1926), and finally, the clarification and reorientation that had to occur before Joyce could write the first half of II.2 or "Storiella" (1932).

stubborn pride, also gives ALP's "illiterative" (*FW* 23.9) missive its savor.

Though not a narrative but rather a rambling exculpatory monologue in epistolary form, the Letter has much in common with the other early sketches. First, it too was written quickly and relatively lightly revised. Second, though its context is clearly modern, its content is timeless: an Irish housewife looks for words to explain and excuse the behavior of her erring husband. Third, it is a self-contained unit with the sort of clarity that makes it memorable. Fourth, it contains the seeds of a major nodal system. Finally, though poor in content, it is rich in verbal motifs, the true and essential stuff of the *Wake*.

In the evolving scheme of things, both the "Here Comes Everybody" and the Letter passages were afterthoughts, growing out of the notes that led up to and followed the earlier sketches. They were afterthoughts in the sense that in the process of meditating on his researches and giving them a parodic and surreptitiously personal (autobiographical) twist, Joyce evolved the elements of his basic family. It follows that this book, unlike the others, did not grow directly from autobiographical roots. Quite to the contrary, Joyce seems first to have located his archetypes and then to have discovered himself and his world in them. I do not mean that the autobiographical and contemporary strains were ever completely absent, but rather that they were more or less deliberately decentered. The movement was from the archetype to the contemporary, to the personal, from the eternal to the (submerged) present. Appropriately, though even less distinctly, that is the way the reader receives the resultant text.

It would appear that Joyce conceived ALP's windy diatribe as a semi-discrete entity, a passage to be joined when possible to the body of an as-yet-imperfectly conceived text. Thematically, the quickly composed first draft is a bridge between the "Here Comes Everybody" and the "Roderick O'Conor." Like the latter, it concerns the fallen male and began its existence in an independent narrative space. Like the former, it was destined if not designed to motivate and open a major chapter or even a sequence of chapters.

Though it was not entirely a projection into an ambiguous narrative universe, a probe, the Letter's draft history suggests that it was not quite an introductory unit either. In terms of Joyce's writing, its origins are diverse. We may see it as Mum's letter or we may see it as a broad parody of some of Nora's extant letters, which are characterized by run-on sentences, rambling content, a conversational rhetoric, and the relative absence of punctuation. But it could also be an intertextual response to Smollett's *Humphrey Clinker*, where the semi-literate missives of Tabitha Bramble exhibit similar traits plus wonderful malapropisms and unintentional puns, and where the intent is broadly comic.

A great deal hinges on the history of the protagonist's name. In the introduction to the *Archive* facsimile of I.5, I listed three early versions of Anna Livia's signature. I have since located one more in the manuscripts and found an even earlier version in one of the notebooks, discoveries that have led me to reconsider the name's derivation and ALP's original function. The four versions in the drafts are: "Her Mark & Seal[23] Dame Lara Prudence Earwicker (valued wife of ——)," [24] "your affectionate/ Dame Bessy Plurabelle Earwicker/ xxxx," [25] and "Your affectionate/ Dame **Anna**[26] Plurabelle — Earwicker/ (only lawful wife of Mr Earwicker)," [27] and "Dame Anna **Livia** Plurabelle Earwicker/ (Only lawful wife of A.**L.**P. Earwicker)." [28] The first of these was a rough note found in a tantalizing context to which we shall return. It was written after the completion of the unsigned first draft of the Letter. Perhaps the "seal" in question is already the famous teastain. A clear precedent is available in Joyce's own writing. In "Proteus" we find the following response to a schoolboy's awkward work: "Beneath were sloping figures and at the foot a crooked signature with blind loops and a

23. This is a marginal notation made after the name had been written.

24. *JJA* 46:56.

25. Ibid., p. 272.

26. Added late, probably at the same time as a dash indicating a missing name to follow "Plurabelle" was crossed through with a squiggle.

27. *JJA* 46:280.

28. The name "Livia" and the "L." in the parentheses were both added late to this ink fair copy. Ibid., p. 287.

blot. Cyril Sargent: his name and seal" (*U* 2.129–30). ALP's teastain is a lineal descendent of this ink stain. On the other hand, both Stephen's mute mockery and Lara Prudence's signature reenforce the view that Joyce may have had an eighteenth-century model in mind. The signature on the second draft, a free transcription, conserves the honorific title and introduces "Plurabelle." Appended to the third draft of the Letter is a somewhat less free variant. Finally, to the ink fair copy he added, seemingly as an afterthought, the name "Livia" and then altered the parenthesis from "(Only lawful wife of A.P. Earwicker)" to "(Only lawful wife of A.L.P. Earwicker)."[29] Parenthetically we may note the late appearance of the name Livia discredits Joyce's all-too-readily accepted claim that he named his heroine after Livia Schmitz, the lavish-haired wife of his protege Italo Svevo.[30]

The idea of affixing the wife's initials to her husband's name, a sort of doubling over of identity, may give us pause. Unlike Nora Barnacle, who had not yet married Joyce and remained NB in some of his notes, Anna Livia was at first proud of the title "Dame" and entitled to the name "Earwicker." This pride obliges us to reconsider her role in a pre-post marriage universe, as may the fact that her three initials balance precisely the three letters HCE. (I may add that the syllable counts and stresses are also identical.) Joyce's crucial decision to omit the name Earwicker suggests and even confirms the equal status of the partners in the Wakean night. Despite HCE's protestations in III.3's "Amtsadam" address, ALP is not a tributary of the city father but an uncontrollable and unpredictable force for both stability and change. In the event, it is her name, "Alma Luvia, Pollabella" (*FW* 619.16) affixed to the "unsigned" Letter in Book IV, that signs and seals the night and it is her personal word that we ultimately take. If in this she resembles Joyce's other women, I

29. Ibid.

30. On February 20, 1924, Joyce himself, perhaps half in jest, wrote Livia Schmitz not to take offense that he was using her name and hair for his heroine (see *Letters* 3:133). I am suggesting that the name Livia with its fluvial connotations and the idea of the river as the woman's hair were late improvements on a shadowy earlier notion. It should not come as a surprise that Joyce embellished the truth in this instance.

suggest that by the quality of her relationship to the Word she differs, for she is an authority both public and private.

What appears to be the earliest version of ALP's name occurs in VI.B.10, a complex notebook containing several important items that contributed to the generation of the Letter. It is on page 109, along with the entry "twin loveletters (W),"[31] that we find a reference to "Dame Alia Barbara Esmond" (or ABE?). The three names suggest little more at this point than the identity of a prim eighteenth-century lady; this note, however, dating from the early summer of 1923[32] chimes with a curious late marginal sequence of variants on the name Earwicker: "Earwrinkle/ Eagkinkle/ Earwicker/ Eagwickey[?]" (B.10.120).[33] In contrast to his female counterpart, Earwicker seems at this point to have neither of the prenames soon to be supplied by the "Here Comes Everybody."[34]

The most striking fact about this marginal addition is that it is more than a sequence of puns on the hero's patronymic. (Puns were rare at this stage in the book's development.) The centrally located "Earwicker" is part of the sequence rather than the source of word-

31. *JJA* 31:133. This entry does not seem to refer to the two Isoldes or, by extension, to the doubled Issy. Rather, it is an epiphanoid, a remark or question by Joyce's W. However, foreshadowing by its very existence the multiple personality correspondence between the sisters, it gives a fresh slant to the "clayed p[ost] c[ard] from Boston (Mass)" exhumed by the "slanteyed hen of the Grogans" in the early "Scribbledehobble" note. (See VI.A.271; *JJA* 28:89; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 75.)

32. Though this notebook could have been in use for a considerable period of time, Joyce intermingled on its final pages materials included in the earliest drafts of the "Tristan and Isolde" (B.10.100, crossed through when used in March-June 1923), of I.4 (B.10.103, crossed), of the abortive delivery of the Letter, which we will discuss later (B.10.106, crossed), of "Here Comes Everybody" (B.10.108, crossed), and of course of the Letter (B.10.109, crossed). Since the pages generally contain no more than a dozen brief lines each and the handwriting in this section does not vary markedly, it is probable that all these notes date from the early summer. *JJA* 31:129, 130, 132, 133.

33. Ibid., p. 139. This is an astonishing and puzzling sequence taken late and placed in the right-hand margin of the notebook's last page. Like the ALP (or ABE) reference, this sequence was carefully crossed through.

34. The first available version of the extended name is "Humphrey Coxon" Earwicker (*FDV* 62; *JJA* 44:2).

play. Joyce had probably not yet settled on the final version of the name. Surprisingly, though the nameplay already reflects the protagonists' Norse-English identity, there is as yet no clear indication of ALP's riverain future or HCE's place in the landscape. One may point in passing to a curious entry on this same page: "Aunt Hobblesides/ hobble chain," a note that chimes nicely with the late entry, "scribbledehobbles," that opens VI.A.

At this stage in her development and perhaps even through the early version of the Letter, ALP was probably envisioned as a sort of village gossip, that mildly absurd comic byword of eighteenth-century fiction. If that is right, both she and Pop/HCE (with his possible early Renaissance roots) would have been semi-historical figures more or less on a par with the personae of the early sketches, and the book would have yet to acquire its narrative frame. I am suggesting, and the development of the Tristan theme in notes and drafts supports this view, that Joyce's primitive notion of the *Wake* did not include the current version of the primal family. That concept took shape only gradually as he developed first, the Tristan theme, then the implications of HCE's identity and crime and, finally, ALP's Letter and identity.

On the other hand, the idea of an "Aunt Hobblesides," suggestive of a limited and even crippled persona may prefigure, however tangentially, the river whose banks fail in time of flood to confine the energetic ALP/Liffey. There is also the possibility that this manifestation of the mature female presence is already taking on the traits of Mum and is perhaps already thought of as the wife of Earwicker. What such early notes provide is a significant, if flickering and kaleidoscopic, view of the workings of Joyce's mind at a particularly crucial instant.

The Word's Progress: Developing the Feminine Plot

Not only in its first, but also in its final version, the "Revered" Letter is an uninspiring document. But then, the same could be said of most of the other early sketches. When she commits herself for the record, Dame Earwicker is timelessly dull; her Letter is at once

the barely literate utterance of the simple and eternal mate and the desperate rant of a housewife belonging to a minuscule and embattled social universe, ineptly defending her own position against charges of very little moment. Joyce has chosen as a prime exhibit of female behavior an instance of the puerile, the inconsequent, and the demeaning. Or rather, he has discovered a new lowest-common-denominator occurrence adjustable to a multitude of circumstances and systems: a mytheme.

The Letter is the last of the initial sketches, the last of the tentpegs that anchor and the poles that support the enormous edifice to which Joyce dedicated so many years of his creative life. Still, and perhaps inevitably, it differs in important ways from the others. It was written in the midst of the chapter-drafting process rather than at its outset or before. Though it situates a persona, it tells no coherent tale. Though it seems to have started as a marker for the eighteenth century, it stands as a contemporary (pre–World War I) word more emphatically than do the other sketches, all of which contain striking anachronisms. Though it is a hilarious spoof in a farcical vein, it contains more human pathos than any other sketch with the possible exception of the "Roderick O'Conor." Fittingly, in her closing monologue where her word is not public, when she speaks softly, sweetly, bitterly to the man (and the world) she is leaving, this pantomime dame[35] fulfills the promise of the Letter, taking on an even more intensely persuasive life.

What most emphatically distinguishes this particular sketch is its direct narrative link to the "Here Comes Everybody."[36] After all,

35. Quite apart from the eighteenth-century reference implicit in the honorific "Dame," we may see that word as an allusion to a well-known farcical byword, the pantomime dame, a role generally taken by a male. We should remember that, in "Circe," Bloom's mother, Ellen, appears as just such a figure in a "*pantomime dame's stringed mobcap*" (*U* 15.283).

36. One might divide the original sequence of sketches into pairs. Thus "Tristan" responds to "Roderick O'Conor" and "Patrick" responds to "Kevin." But in neither case does this pairing represent a narrative development. It is to this procedure that Joyce ultimately adhered. When he placed the ALP Letter at the end of the book, he effectively removed it from the plotline in any conventional sense, making it fittingly anticlimactic even though its burden was exposed (and buried) in the opening lines of I.5. One result of this decision was to

ALP's is the first (and will become the last) voice truly raised in his defense. That fact, quite beyond her misdirected and self-annulling vehemence, gives her hackneyed and clearly farcical utterance a curious luster and even the dim shadow of nobility. In this sense, it is comparable to HCE's ponderous but compelling, though comically defensive and implicitly damning "Amtsadam, sir" monologue from III.3, itself one of the novel's great rhetorical set pieces.

Once he had drafted the Letter, Joyce's first impulse, consistent with the narrative thread he had begun to spin, was to link it directly to the end of chapter I.4 or the inquest. Indeed, the heavily revised second draft follows without a break the second draft of I.4, part 2. But then, the first draft of I.4's final paragraph had already hinted at the existence of a woman's word, identifying it as a poison-pen letter. There, the question "Who then was the scourge of Lucalizod?" was linked to other problems of "historical" moment and half answered by another question, "What poisonivy pry, which hate-filled woman?" The latter was in turn followed by an unmistakable allusion to an actually posted letter: "And that such various venom a quiet stamp could cover!".[37] Even before Joyce composed the essential document, he felt the need for a transition. Obviously, the original document was anything but the Boston Irish letter to "dearest Elly from her loving sister" unearthed from the dungheap. At that stage, the Letter was purely local and certainly not juvenile.

With the last word of the male sequence of chapters, Joyce closes the circle opened by Hosty's famous broadside, "The Rann." By I.4, that bit of Irish popular poetry has been replaced by an outrageous piece of feminine gossip. It is as though, through a memory lapse, the male society has managed to shift the responsibility for its fortunate fall (or "felixed . . . culpas" [*FW* 246.31]) to its female countersociety. For Joyce, that reformulation seems to have functioned as the immediate justification for ALP's Word, but to judge from what

pair the beginning (or I.2) and the conclusion of the plot and reinforce the book's circularity. It is as though the Letter and the "Soft morning" address have rehabilitated the hero in time and paved the way for his next fall from time and into night.

37. *FDV* 80.15–16 (simplified); *JJA* 46:49.

followed in the drafting process, the Letter quickly took on a life of its own, generating unexpected qualities and fresh problems.

The author's response to what might be called the accidents of composition was exceptionally complex. Once he had jotted down the first version of ALP's name, which was to replace the tentative note "(signed)" at the end of draft one, he chose to preface it with a sentence fragment soon to be appended to I.4: "For it was she who still hoped that her face was the best part of her & hoped for."[38] From this it is obvious that the earlier reference to the source of slander was not deemed sufficient. In the fair copy, perhaps to ground the female milieu, Joyce prefaced the slander paragraph with the line "And women wondered."[39] To the paragraph's conclusion he added two sentences confirming the already-drafted Letter's role as a reply to the scandal rather than its source: "The lounge lizards of the pumproom had their nine night's jeer.[40] Still believing that her face was the best part of her one nearer, dearer than all stood forth to crush the slander's head."[41] These additions represent yet another reversal of the conceptual field, suggesting quite plausibly that ALP was responding as much to female gossip as to male rumor.

Momentarily satisfied, Joyce set about appending to I.4 the second draft of the Letter, which occupies the next twelve consecutive recto-verso pages of the large draft notebook.[42] Only after he had

38. *JJA* 46:56; now *FW* 101.28–31.

39. *JJA* 46:55. This line, which may have been added interlinearly, was complemented by a parallel line inserted between two paragraphs on what is now *Finnegans Wake* page 97.28: "And men spoke/ **murmured**" (ibid., p. 51).

40. When combined with a reference to the behavior and fate of Buckley, this sentence prefigures the central portion of the pub chapter, II.3, written a full thirteen years later. There HCE is haunted by the murmurings of his twelve clients and confronted with the Crimean war poster/calendar that sparks Butt and Taff's "televised" dialogue. The inquest that takes place in HCE's absence becomes in this way a prefiguration of the attacks that take place in the pubkeeper's presence under circumstances that fold together comedy and tragedy, and lead up to the Roderick O'Conor skit.

41. *JJA* 46:55.

42. The early chapters were all drafted and redrafted in notebooks whose space limitations are helpful in establishing chronology.

begun, and perhaps even finished, that draft did he write on top of the preceding recto page the sketch for an abortive addition to the end of I.4: "Would we vision her (subconscious editor) with stereopticon relief."[43] Possibly, the idea of imagining the nature of ALP gave the author a fresh insight into her role. The reference to the "subconscious editor," written in a different Joycean hand and probably not designed for inclusion in the text, was most certainly an afterthought, an elaboration upon the "stereopticon" presentation of the letter writer, who became far more than an "editor" in what followed.

The presence on a manuscript page of a conceptual remark, in a form common in the small notebooks and appropriate only to them, points up another remarkable aspect of this curious moment in the novel's evolution.[44] Equally startling is the fact that the phrase plus its parenthetical addendum was actually, though only briefly, used as the final paragraph of I.5's first half. At the place where the Letter would have appeared, at the end of a paragraph now preceded by a mock letter (*FW* 112.3), Joyce drafted the transitional sentence, "Wonderfully well this explains the double nature of this gryphonic script and while its ingredients stand out in stereopticon relief we can see beyond the figure of the scriptor into the subconscious editor's mind".[45]

The fact that this abortive paragraph appears at the end of what would have been the Letter's introductory frame suggests that it could have been the immediate stimulus for the account of the Letter's discovery by Biddy Doran. Possibly, the "original" foraging hen, which predated I.5 by at least a year, was brought to mind by the allusion to the "stereopticon," a device that simulates two-eyed vision and hence depth perception, the sort of vision most marked in birds. Joyce thus temporarily telescoped two documents, the sisterly

43. *JJA* 46:54.

44. Exceptionally, on pages relating to drafts of the Letter, we find an important cluster of conceptual notes in the space left after the second draft (ibid., p. 272). Joyce followed a similar procedure when he revised the first typescript of I.5 and began working on I.7 or "Shem." *JJA* 46:340 and 47:331.

45. *FDV* 87 (simplified); *JJA* 46:238.

letter from Boston and the very different ALP Letter. I suggest that the idea of the female as an embodiment not only of the muse but also of the subconscious and hence nocturnal mind may have seemed too bald for presentation at this early stage of the book and perhaps too pregnant to be stated at all. It now underlies and in-spires Shem's function and nature.

Having momentarily jumped ahead, we now return to an earlier passage that served as the stimulus for the chapter's second half and for chapter I.7. In the narrow upper margin of the completed first draft of the Letter (perhaps when he was actually working on the second draft), Joyce developed a brief account of the document's composition, a passage which, in one sense, also proved to be abortive. In another sense, when expanded and duly submerged, it functioned as a complement to the account of the document's discovery. That is, shortly after writing the Letter, Joyce concerned himself with the question of transcription and transmission, which ultimately became the far larger problem of aesthetic generation and the fate of the Word. Because the relation of the artist to his muse had been his abiding concern,[46] we should not be surprised to see it surfacing again in a book destined to be so intensely languaged. This is what happened when Joyce invented the penman, who would eventually serve as his mother's servant and scribe and who had previously existed only in the guise of Hosty, HCE's nemesis.

The abortive and supplementary introduction to the already-

46. This thorny problem is addressed in Joyce's Paris notebook, in *Stephen Hero*, in *A Portrait*, and repeatedly in *Ulysses*. In the first three instances it is directly related to his (and Stephen's) aesthetic theories. In the last it is more fully integrated, becoming part of the fabric of "Proteus," and taking up much of the substance of the Shakespeare argument in "Scylla." Moreover, I suggest that Stephen's relationship to his muse is projected not only through his Oedipal link to a ghostly mother and other projected older women but also through his languishing servitude to an unpersonified but latent and ailing creative potential. It is allegorized in the tension between Buck (mock-artist) and Stephen (potential artist), which mirrors or inverts that between Boylan and Bloom. It is this tension, initiated by *Exiles*, that finds its most open and complex statement in the twinning of the pen and the post, the transcriber and deliverer of the Word sent from the Mother to the Father.

written Letter reads, "Alone she cannot have indited it for the hand was fair. We can suppose it that of Shemus the penman, a village soak, who when snugly liquored[?] lived, so[?]."[47] Obviously designed to frame and situate the feminine utterance while identifying author, scribe, and circumstance, these words are remarkably close in tone to that adapted by the pedantic voice of I.5. Beyond that, they raise several issues. First, Shem (or James) the pen originally had a Latin-sounding Celtic name suggestive of a monkish scribe. Second, he is already characterized as a drunken outsider. Third, and most important, the Letter's source is not yet the "analfabet" she will become. She can't write well, but she *can* write. What is remarkable about her letter is the hand, a script that is too elegant for a housewife. It is this last point that seems to have detained Joyce himself, becoming the subject of the second half of chapter I.5: the scholarly description of the scribal hand made with an eye to establishing its source. In short, the secondary stimulus behind the chapter was the disclosure or appearance on the scene of the artist, the inspired prophet/outcast, Shem, as vehicle of transmission.

Through the Conceptual Thicket

The transitional passages cited thus far all relate to the frame Joyce felt the Letter required, a frame that he constructed piecemeal. They are only some of the many elements relating to the eruption of the Word and composed in conjunction with or after the completion of the second draft of ALP's missive. Distributed over six pages, these disparate and puzzling materials were probably written not so much in a rush of inspiration as during a bout of well-focused cerebration. None of them was without precedent in the notes,

47. *FDV* 81.1–3; *JJA* 46:255. This is a reading arrived at after considerable puzzling. It seems more logical than the one I published in *A First-Draft Version*.

but each took a fresh form and was in its way an important departure.

First, and possibly most important, is the account of the projected delivery of the Letter to HCE by Shaun the post. This passage, which occupies spaces remaining after the revision of I.4's second part, seems to have been written as an extension and amplification of the Shem passage cited above. We may see it also as an early and remarkably ambitious version not only of chapter I.5 but of the entire female plot line. More immediately, Joyce may have seen it as a part of the introduction to the Letter. If so, its concluding segment either would have been designed to close the frame of a relatively brief development or, given its form, would have established the germ of yet another sketch.

Before attempting an explanation of its function and consequences I shall quote the passage in its revised form:

> And congruously enough the confusion of its composition was fitly capped by the zigzaggery of its delivery and not for the 1st time in history Just as, it has been more than once pointed out, the demise of one parish priest or curate is sure to be followed sooner or later by other parochial demises allied nature. Though coming now to the postman hastily left on p 80, though his qualifications for that particular postal or office were known only to a limited circle of friends the spectacle of the Localizod lettercarrier a most capable official of very superior appearance in his empty bottlegreen jerkin, at once gave doubters a vouch for his bilateralist[48] zeal. His movements showed that North & South sides of the roadway were visited by him in turn in the discharge of his important duty during which he got a n[umber] of stumbles which appeared to startle him very much and while he allowed simple & unfranked correspondence to escape automatically from the mailbag issued to him, the unerring zeal with which amid a blizzard with low visibility and on unevenground [he] sorted & secured for immediate home delivery all packages containing bullion or eata-

48. Though Joyce revised this word as he wrote it, the current reading seems more logical than my previous one.

bles, made of Shawn the Post a man, seen, felt for, envied & looked up to.

Thus, was a woman's petition, maid, wife & mother, brought by two sons of wild earth, since Sainted scholarly, Iacopus Pennifera, and Johannes Epistolophorus, to their and of all the Lord, offering to him from whom all things had come . . . . . [?] their gift of her knowledge, thereby giving him of his own (the lion's mouth)

It was this last alone that at last gave HCE the raspberry. Groaning of spirit, he lifted his hands & many who did not dare it, heard him say: I will give £10 tomorrow & gladly to the 1st fellow who will put that W in the royal canal.[49]

Very little of this passage, which was written in space left on the bottoms of pages, was used in anything resembling this form. The last paragraph was freely transcribed below the postscript of the Letter's second draft. An earlier version of the delivery paragraph, dating from the summer of 1923, is found in notebook VI.B.10 in a section containing other Letter-related materials: "I will give £10 to anyone who will put her in canal" (B.10.106).[50] The final version, which is followed by some curious rough notes, reads:

but when the facsimile of the letter written by the joint author finally reached the alderman's ears, his surprise was practically complete so much so as to give him the raspberry. With groanings which cd not be all uttered down he sat, he lifted up his shirt-sleeves, while many in the baronet publican's banner room, who did not dare heard him declare: I will give £10 tomorrow gladly to the 1st fellow who will put her in the royal canal.[51]

Among the satellites of this passage are two brief notes that seem to have no place here but that probably represent a projected extension: "She was frightfully sorry" and "have her murdered." Below all this,

49. *FDV* 90–91 (simplified); *JJA* 46:292–94.

50. *JJA* 31:132. As a precursor see again the Pop note from VI.B.3.18–19: "Is father take Queen Elizabeth out to the people's garden in the park with a 6 chambered revolver & blow her bloody brains out."

51. *JJA* 46:295.

written in a more organized fashion we find a further set of related items of a puzzling character:

Return to park[52] plura[?] (Sayings of HCE)[53]
Women (lady)
Jeg vil give ti Punt imorge til dem forst Fru**en**, komde.[54]
Prayer on Acropolis[55]
postman & style of narration symbolical of our time[56]

52. Joyce seems to have begun writing "ad," possibly for address, before continuing in a bold hand to write "park."

53. It is clear from this entry that HCE was at first read as a charismatic clown.

54. The "en" for "Fruen" was added late. Joyce's apparent attempt to reinterpret HCE's offer in Dano-Norwegian is echoed by the variations on the Earwicker name in B.10. A major conceptual change is evident here: HCE is offering to pay "ten pounds tomorrow" to the "first woman" to appear, perhaps for some sexual service, perhaps to be his mate in a strange land. It would appear that he was already developing the climax of the Norwegian Captain's tale of II.3: the arrangement of a marriage between the outlander and the native maid, the sea and the shore. The anachronistic use of English pounds is one detail that has remained static through the notes and drafts of this passage.

Note that not only is Joyce's Dano-Norse dubious but the correct wording of the phrase he intended to write is hard to fix because the language itself was in flux. An approximation would be "Jeg vil give ti Pund imorgen til den forst [with the crossed o] Fruen, kom de." My thanks to Faith Ingwersen and my colleague Harold Naess for these details. Though there are several possible arrangements and readings, this one yields in translation "I will give ten pounds tomorrow to the first woman, come on then."

55. Joyce is referring to a passage from the autobiography of the nineteenth-century philologist and historian of religion Ernest Renan, which, along with the *Life of Jesus*, Joyce read in 1905. Renan's name appears twice in "Scylla and Charybdis," and his name, life, and ideas figure in as yet unmapped ways in the *Wake*. Ellmann (p. 193) notes that Joyce read and reacted positively to his spare but moving account of a Breton childhood, *Recollections of My Youth*, which deals with the scholar's infancy and (religious) education, his seminary training in Paris, and finally, his principled renunciation not only of the vocation but also of the church. Joyce must have been moved by the extent to which Renan's passion for the church and the Bible led him to give up belief and to dedicate his life to the study of religion. The content, style, and message of that book may well have influenced the form and content of *A Portrait* (see for example Renan's expression of curiosity concerning one sin, *simony* [p. 118]) and the attitude toward the church expressed by Stephen at the end of the "Telemachus" chapter.

All this conceptual activity in the draft workbook, this striking out toward but not achieving form, this obvious disorientation, is unprecedented in the *Wake* manuscripts. It was shortly to be repeated, however, with a significant difference in Joyce's earliest attempts to

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The "Prayer" is a curious document addressed by the scholar to Athena, whose cult he praises along with the unmatched and seemingly eternal splendor of the Athenian Acropolis. The praise, though unstinting, is moderated by his declaration that he must opt for the less perfect universe of a European Christianity in which he does not believe. In 1915, Joyce parodied Renan's "prayer" in the manner of Anatole France in a letter to his brother Stanislaus (*Letters* 2:110–11). In 1924, during his sojourn in Brittany, Joyce planned to visit Renan's birthplace, Tréguier (Ellmann, p. 567). The unpublished letter Ellmann probably used speaks only of a possible visit.

A telling passage, in Jaun's voice, seems to refer to Renan's life, his Breton background ("Armorica"), his *Life of Jesus* ("jewries"), and his epistolary relationship to his sister Henriette memorialized in *Brother and Sister*: "You will soothe the cokeblack bile that's Anglia's and touch Armourican's iron core. Write me your essayes, my vocational scholars, but corsorily, dipping your nose in it, for Henrietta's sake, on mortinatality in the life of jewries and the sludge of King Haarington's at its height, running boulevards over the whole of it"(*FW* 447.5–10). The probable stimulus for that passage and an extremely important index to Joyce's interest in Renan is a "Scribbledehobble" note under "Exiles (.II.)": "Henriette (cf Trist-Renan)" (VI.A.301; *JJA* 28:95; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 80). This entry refers to the curious relationship established by Renan between his loving and protective sister and his new wife, a topic treated at length in the memorial to Henriette.

Also in the summer of 1924, during the family's stay at St. Malo, Joyce wrote in notebook VI.B.5, "Chat[eaubriand (another Breton) was to his sister] Lucile [as] Renan [was to] Henriette" (p. 129). There are doubtless other allusions, but the coherent *Wake* passage, referring as it does to letter-writing, and to incest, is particularly apt, especially since Jaun addresses his remarks to a sister to whom he is assigning the task of writing him letters. Renan claims to have learned style from Henriette, whose letters are included in *Brother and Sister*.

Of more immediate interest is a sequence from notebook VI.B.2 which was compiled in the summer of 1923 while Joyce was completing the "Mamalujo," reflecting on the nature of Patrick and Kevin ("oral tradition (Kevin)"; p.142) and preparing to write the Letter. I suggest that he may have been reading Renan when he wrote "Renan washed the feet of the Lord with *huile de la paix*" (p. 143), which is followed three pages later by "W dictates letter to H first[?] marriage (unhitch)" (p. 146) and "Prayer for word of HCE" (p. 147). *JJA* 29:159, 161.

56. The words "style of narration" are crossed through with a curious gestural slash.

establish the profile of Shem the pen for I.7, a chapter that was originally designed to follow I.5. Though each note can be mined for its relevance, the most significant is the last one, which seems to conceptualize the role of Shaun and thus prepare the way for Book III, in which his voice and mission are dominant. What may strike us is the use of the contemporary in this vision, the fact that Shaun and his function are seen as aspects of a period characterized by rapid communication and communicators.

Nothing about the history of the Letter is unremarkable. No other passage was twice redrafted and revised before being recopied in a fair hand and typed only to be supplanted by its frame—and then relocated. Still, the procedure Joyce followed seems clear enough. Having written the Letter, he attempted to establish a transition between the radical polylogue that preceded it, the prismatic exposure of the dilemma of (the) fallen man, and the shocking subjectivity of the irate and confused wife. He seems to have begun with the idea that the feminine response could follow directly after the male failure; but he soon realized that to do so he needed to derive the Letter not only from what had been Mum, but also in terms of its transcription and delivery.

Perhaps, at first, Joyce thought the *Wake* could sustain something approaching the radical paratactics he had used in *Ulysses*. If so, by the time he had finished reworking the three-part male development, that option was closed. The book was shaping up as conceptually and formally too complex to support the extra strain of fragmentation. This tendency must have been confirmed by the strategic considerations that became evident when he tried to establish a setting for the Letter. During the framing process, the sympathetic portrait of the housewife evolved into an allusive treatment of the mysterious source, a figure not yet the river-woman but already much larger than life.

Perhaps concurrently with the generalization of ALP, Joyce felt the need to invent an artist or scribe to receive and preserve the Word, a figure whose very gift makes him suspect, an outcast, Shaun's "Pariah, cannibal Cain" (*FW* 193.32).[57] Furthermore, because the artist is unacceptable as the messenger, Joyce had to invent

57. See also the note for I.7, "Cain—Ham(Shem)—Esau—Jim the Penman" (*FDV* 108; *JJA* 47:331).

someone capable of carrying the Word, Shem's other/same. The original description of the Letter's composition was followed, probably during the revision of draft two, by what may at first have been another sketch: the three-part treatment of Shawn the Post's[58] delivery of the Letter. The first and second segments were quickly suppressed or, rather, put to other uses. They concerned respectively the appearance and behavior of Shawn and the collaborative relationship of ALP with both pen and post.

The third segment of the delivery triptych, detailing the reaction of HCE to the missive, was redrafted once and then dropped. According to the revised account, HCE, who is at first an alderman but who will soon become a baronet publican, does not see the actual document, nor does he read the "facsimile" that reaches him. It comes to his "ears," a detail that calls to mind both the singing of Hosty's "rann" and the song of the pub clients as they wander homeward after pub closing in II.3. HCE's slapstick response may have motivated or been motivated by Joyce's view of ALP as the river Liffey. (If so, it calls to mind the response of Br'er Fox to Br'er Rabbit in the tale of the tarbaby: throw the culprit back into his/her own environment.)

One thing seems certain: until ALP received her full name, she was not firmly linked to the Dublin landscape or even to that of "Lucalizod," Joyce's name at this time for Chapelizod. As we have seen, she was not called Anna Livia Plurabelle and hence not identified by name with the river Liffey until the revision of the fair copy, two drafts later. By that time Joyce had drafted piecemeal his definitive frame.

Chapter I.5's two panels (*FW* 104–13, 113–25) grew either out of the author's dissatisfaction with the two previous solutions to the transition problem or out of the inspiration derived from them. These marvelous pages that reveal so much about the process that generated them merit a study of their own. For now, it is the intermediate efforts at framing that should detain us, for those passages proved to be the stimulus that carried Joyce so far beyond the precincts of the Letter that they motivated its displacement.[59]

58. In his notes and drafts Joyce at first spelled Shaun's name with a w and capitalized "Post."

59. Of course things are never quite so cut and dried as I am suggesting here.

In "Scribbledehobble" under "EVELINE," the young precursor of Issy/Lucia, "told her friends pop [*sic*] walked zigzag" (VI.A.51). Under "Exiles (.II.)," we read, "Trist's way for entering a house (zigzag)"(VI.A.301).[60] The first of these entries implies that Pop, either the young girl's father or Joyce himself, is drunk. The second suggests the movements of the sly and perhaps inept adulterer. Though both notes remained uncrossed, Joyce clearly found use for them in the description of the "zigzaggery" of the lettercarrier's "bilateralist zeal." Book III Joyce later described as an inverted *via crucis* recounting the voyage of an empty Guinness barrel down the river Liffey.[61] In the first version of III.1 we find the following comic exchange between a Shemish interlocutor and Shaun:

There are at least two subplots that find expression in and through and between the male and female developments; important aspects of the brother battle between Shem and Shaun are located in both halves; and Issy bridges the plots. After all, the brothers are torn between their parents, as Oedipal murderers and sexual adventurers. In practice, the Tristan triangle involves all three children in the cuckolding of the father, but Issy's role there is crucial as it is in the crime and in the juvenile Letter sequences. Perhaps even the term "subplot" is inappropriate, because the *Wake* engages us not so much in a continuous development as in the same again under different guises. Plot becomes little more than one among many interacting patterns whose dynamic behavior turns the *Wake* into the "collideorscape" of dreamlike experiences Joyce evokes in the ninth question of I.6.

60. *JJA* 28:51, 95; *Scribbledehobble*, pp. 54, 80. Though Joyce is clearly engaged by the idea of exploring ideas generated by the *Dubliners* tale, his model in the first instance is Lucia and the sentence is an epiphanoid, as are a large percentage of the entries under this heading. In the second instance, he has begun the process of fictionalizing and has put the term to a very different use.

61. On 24 May 1924, Joyce sent Miss Weaver the following description of Book III or "Shawn which is a description of a postman travelling backwards in the night through the events already narrated. It is written in the form of a *via crucis* of 14 stations but in reality it is only a barrel rolling down the river Liffey" (*Letters* 1:214). A significant conceptual note on B.1.29 carries this theme much further and perhaps contains the germ of the much-cited Viconian structure, while establishing the fact that Vico was less than central to the initial conception of the *Wake*: "/\ zigzag or spiral [motion]/ [resembling the] corsi ricorsi [of] Vico" (*JJA* 29:16). I suggest that this note postdates the development we have been discussing, though it may have preceded the composition of

— And what, dear Shaun, would be the biography of your soft-bodied uniform?
— None whatsoever, Shaun replied, All of it was handed over by me among my neighbours of every description, the poor evicted tenants. Therefore I am simply enveloped, as you perhaps see, in one of Guinness's registered barrels.[62]

Though the Shawn of the abortive passage is dressed not in or as a barrel but in an "emptybottlegreen jerkin," we may suppose that, for all his civic zeal Shawn/Shaun has previously drunk the contents of the bottle/barrel. In keeping with the nature of his costume and predictive of the barrel's motion in III.3, Shawn's drunken stumbling is identical with that of an empty container adrift in a liquid medium, another foreshadowing of ALP's river identity. Fittingly, the image of Shawn getting "a no of stumbles which appeared to startle him" is elaborated upon toward the end of the first draft of III.1. There, Shaun is "overbalanced by weight of the barrel and rolled backwards in a curious mode of motion a fairish way behind the times in the direction of Delgany before being put right [?]."[63]

The tone of the delivery sketch is consistently ironic and condescending, though rhetorically polished and enlivened by the occasional informal turn of phrase. Its impact is predictive of the thinly veiled pantomime buffoonery of III.1–2. As presented in this sketch, Shawn is clearly incompetent, a drunken bungler like Hoppy Holohan. In III.1, when asked to explain his qualifications for his

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Book III. There are, of course, other sequences relevant to the planning of III. Two of them: "/\ stations of †" and "/\ walks backwards" (B.1.76; *JJA* 29:40), were probably written well before the 24 May letter. In a third, Joyce used a full page to reverse the development of Book I. There we discover, among other things, the background of the "Cad" episode, the fact that the second half of I.7 represents "Cain," and that the letter found by the hen in I.5 was from the start the "Boston Letter." (B.1.163; *JJA* 29:83.) Finally, there is the puzzling sequence relating to astronomy and the speed of light on B.1.167 (*JJA* 29:85): "lightyear/ will survive 'yesterday/ /\ ray of light traveling backward/ antipodes/ night—noon."

62. *FDV* 221.28–34 (simplified); *JJA* 57:11.

63. Ibid., 225.5–7 (simplified); ibid., p. 13.

job, the ebullient public servant claims that he has powerful (divine or political) friends while playing down his mother's and brother's collaborative achievement. Self-importance and lazy inefficiency, mock simplicity or false frankness, and general ineptitude are already implicit in the way Shawn "allowed simple & unfranked correspondence to escape automatically from the mailbag." His Shaunish and Harlequinesque incontinence, his greed for food and money are clear not only from his stumbling movements, but also from the emphasis placed on the eatable and spendable contents of the packages he (mis)delivers.

Though still far from understanding the broader symbolic overtones of Shaun's role, Joyce capitalized the "North & South sides of the roadway [that] were visited by him in turn in the discharge of his duty." Indeed, that last phrase was used in a revision to the first version of a passage for *FW* 431: "I feel as a martyr to the discharge of duty. . . ."[64] As a popular Dublin character and a potential political or spiritual leader (or hack), the epitome of what Joyce was not, Shaun the post is taking shape under our eyes. Or rather, he is reappearing; for variants of this rugged and hearty philistine have served as alter egos to the Joycean artist pretty much from the start. The sketch for his portrait complements in advance the masochistic presence of Shem/Joyce as the willing victim of an appealing and ebullient but sadistic antagonist. It is not surprising that, having (re)discovered this character almost by inadvertence,[65] Joyce chose to invert the valence of *Ulysses*, where the cultured clown Mulligan has a bit part only, making extensive use of this avatar of the antagonist to give a nocturnal point to the self-effacing presence of the Pierrot-like Shem. Indeed, the *Wake* makes such lavish use of Shaun's voice and persona that he self-destructs repeatedly.

Once Shawn/Shaun had been described, it remained for Joyce only to brush in the relationship of the "two sons of wild earth,"

64. Ibid., 225.30–31 (simplified); ibid., p. 15.

65. It can of course be argued that the mirror identities were already available, though under other names: as Kevin and Patrick, as the doubled Tristan, and as the antagonists who bring about and amplify HCE's fall in chapters I.2–4. I suggest that the twin concept postdates the delivery passage as do the identities of Shem and Shaun.

while suggesting and mocking the sacred nature of the text and of their mission in relation to it. In the process, he projected the equality of their opposition: both are part of the process of communicating and they are James and John. Not only does the masochist need his sadist,[66] but the communication process needs both the transcriber and the deliverer. Both are servants of the text. Finally, Joyce established, with more than a dash of irony, the subservience of ALP's knowledge to that of her Lord from which it had originally issued. The cyclic nature of the *Wake* is implicit here. HCE is already at once the subject and the recipient of the defense, at once God and scapegoat, source and end product, and so on. His sons at once conspire in his ruin and continue him.

Fulfilling the Promise

It was not directly to the delivery sketch that Joyce returned when he began to elaborate the passage that was to be the frame for the Letter's third draft. It was rather to the sketch's source, the abortive description of the missive's composition, which he had added at the top of its first draft. Even that procedure was indirect; for he chose not to reveal immediately who had dictated and transcribed the document. Instead, he concentrated on an aspect of the opening clause, "Alone she cannot have indited it . . .",[67] deriving from it a surprisingly accurate précis of the Letter, followed by an account of the scholarly community's frustrations with the manuscript and a comic disquisition on scholarly method. Then, perhaps inspired by the allusion he had made in I.4 to the "stereopticon," he rewrote the very early "Exiles (.I.)" note on the hen and the postcard from Boston, adding to it a description of the urchin, Kevin, who had been watching the scratching hen. In short, to the mature Letter, he added the juvenile or sisterly one, establishing the mysterious conjunction/conflation of two very different documents and writers. It was thus that, without once naming her, he managed the translation of Is/Isol-

66. In the notes for *Exiles* we read, "The play, a rough and tumble between the Marquis de Sade and Freiherr v. Sacher Masoch" (*Exiles*, p. 124).

67. *FDV* 81.1 (completed); *JJA* 46:255.

de into Lucia/Issy, making explicit what had long been latent in the notes. It is significant that, when he jotted down the reverse episodic summary of Book I for Shaun's *via crucis*, Joyce described chapter I.5 as a three-part sequence beginning with "△ writes petition," followed by "Hen finds Boston Letter," and concluding with "Collaboration on MS."[68]

68. The full-page entry dating from the fall of 1924 puts the original sequence in a light far too complex for discussion here. It consists of a detailed development established by Joyce for Book III, the total inversion of the primitive Book I:

Flood [?]
Anna Livia
Cain
Shem (when ..[?]..)
Collaboration on MS
Hen finds Boston Letter
△ writes petition
? is ⊓
the Kings
the Attack
the coffin
Batter at Gate
plebiscite
train dialogue [?]
Sundy evg Bognor (cad)
Hosty's ballad
lodginghouse/ lodginghouse[?]
races
sodality
cad in park
Sin
⊓ riches
origin of name

(Simplified; VI.B.1.163; *JJA* 29:83.) What makes this an especially interesting sequence is the manner in which Joyce has broken the narrative into incidents resembling Vladimir Propp's functions rather than following the chapter structure per se. There are twenty-three items on the list (if we overlook the duplication of "lodginghouse"). As a result, no chapter has less than two parts, some have as many as four. Of particular interest are the allusions to an incident that must have taken place during the Joyces' summer at Bognor and to the conversation on the train, both real events.

Apparently, the drafts of the Letter and the opening sentence of the abortive introduction provided a context for John Eglinton's hen tale. In its turn the hen gave Joyce the pretext both for the description of the Letter's human discoverer/deliverer and for Issy's introduction as the counter-ALP, an identity that enabled her to participate in both the crime plot (as the seductress/deceiver) and the Letter plot as a bridging persona. If, in a general way the aborted introduction got Joyce started, its specific burden is best reflected by the second half of what was still at that time the frame of the Letter, what is now the third section of I.5.

The physical development of the earliest version of I.5 began with the composition of the opening frame (pages 104–13), which was written mostly on verso notebook pages left after revisions for I.4 and the first draft of the Letter. Skipping from page to page, sometimes moving forward, filling entire pages, sometimes backward, Joyce wrote quickly and recopied almost as fast as he composed. Only the first segment was written in a clear and consecutive manner (denoting perhaps a fair copy). The remainder was composed in short bursts. Paragraphs were often followed by blank space or continued after a pause in a lighter, darker, smaller, or larger hand.

One of the major additions to this first draft was a version of what is now the opening paragraph, which begins "Untitled as her memorial" and concludes with a coherent, if biased, account of the Letter's content together with a description of the crime. It is important to note that the third and fourth versions of this half of the frame, an ink fair copy and a typescript, follow without any break the ending of I.4. The fact that the typescript was at one point seamlessly joined to the typescript of the Letter[69] shows how long Joyce persisted in his plan to include the actual letter in the chapter concerned with its history and appearance.

The second half of the frame, written after Joyce had completed the second draft of the chapter opening, was never formally linked to the Letter, though it was probably conceived as a tailpiece. It began with speculations about the teastain-signed manuscript's derivation and proceeded to relate the Letter to the *Odyssey* as "a Punic admi-

69. *JJA* 46:288–89.

ralty report . . . reissued as a dodecanesian baedeker."[70] Then came speculation concerning the identity of the author, followed by an account of the document's physical condition. To this basic draft Joyce added a passage concerning the "anticollaborators"[71] which inspired his note "Collaboration on MS." ALP's identity as source had already been suppressed, and the "insufficiently despised note-taker" had become "Jim the Penman."[72] Though, even at this late point, Joyce had not settled on Shem's name, the transition between the old and the new conception of the *Wake* was well advanced. The second draft concludes with Shem's name, followed immediately by what soon became the opening paragraph of I.7: "Shem is as short for Shemus as Jim is jokey for Jacob. Originally of respectable connections his back life simply won't stand being written about."[73]

At some point between the first and the second draft of the conclusion to I.5, the Letter was put in deep storage, not to be returned to the light until the last year of the book's development. With that move Joyce inaugurated the male/female, crime/Letter division of the book and abandoned any plans he may still have had to use the Tristan sketch as his principal allegory. If we envisage I.2 as the installation of the male predicament, then we may see the account of HCE's rise and the ensuing scandal as opening a development that culminates with the revelation of the occulted text that in turn motivated so much of the action. This arrangement was in force for three years or until 1926, when Joyce composed what is now the book's opening chapter. Chapters I.1 and I.6, themselves major conceptual hinges, now function as overture and recapitulation for Book I, which earlier consisted of three strictly male/crime chapters followed by three strictly female/Letter chapters. In 1926 he also composed "The Triangle" for II.2, joining Shem and Shaun in a contemporary context through the sexuality of their mother.

The original male sequence recounted or rather illuminated the gradual effacement of the middle-class hero. The female chapters:

70. *FDV* 88.35–89.2 (simplified); *JJA* 46:302.
71. Ibid., 87.27–88.14; ibid., p. 301.
72. Ibid., 89.24 (simplified); ibid., p. 304.
73. Ibid., 108.1–3 (simplified); ibid., p. 314.

I.5 or "The Hen," I.6 or "Shem the pen," and I.8 or "Anna Livia Plurabelle," provided the background for female behavior. Together these sequences functioned as two bookends or minor developments. The first began with the traditional expository grounding of the hero's pantomimic life in the establishment voice of an ironic narrator before removing him from the scene. The second established the nature and provenance of the Letter but occulted its source before describing the pariah responsible for the document's propagation and delivering viva-voce a broadly pantomimic treatment of the river-woman's progress from fount to flood. Both narratives borrow from and parody a variety of sources. Each focuses on an absent presence: the diurnal manifestation of the pubkeeper or his wife. It is the absent voices that are confined and their perceived lack that is supported by the bookends. This strategy helps justify the removal of the Letter and its displacement by the two halves of its frame. Whether or not there is such a thing as narrative suspense in the *Wake*, from a musical point of view, and the *Wake* is most musical in its construction and execution, the absent voice is a controlling metaphor for and key to the elusive content of the sacred and secular text.

Though we hear many voices in the course of this enormous polylogue, HCE is permitted direct expression only twice: in his address to the pub clients of II.3 and in the concluding monologue of III.3. During the absurdly poignant central moment of II.3., the pubkeeper defends and unwittingly condemns himself after returning from the outhouse, where, like Bloom before him, he has read and wiped himself with the (sacred) page. The pompous voice of a guilty decadent is obviously a sendup of the simple publican who either thinks or utters his "Guilty but fellows culpows" address (*FW* 363–66).[74] Of immediate interest to the genetic scholar is the fact that in

74. There are of course any number of acceptable readings of this chapter and this passage, but I suggest that, on a "realistic" or bottom level, it is a pastiche of the great voice underlying the "Here Comes Everybody" sketch. Like Bloom in "Cyclops," the guilt-ridden and/or unwary publican has been surrounded by the murmurs of hostile pub clients which can be read as attacks on his mythical/real past. Returning to the hostile environment from the out-

the very first draft of this passage, admittedly written late in the development of the *Wake*, we find a clear reference not only to the famous midden but also to HCE's excretory contribution to it and to the scandal: "Though I might have sold my hot peas after theatres from my precurious position and though I could have emptied a pan of backslop down grating[75] by whiles of doing a rere from the middenprivy appurtenant thereof, I am ever culpable of unlifting upfallen girls when indangered from them out of unadulteratous bowery and if my ligitimate was to wren cackling about it in the street . . . ."[76] It would appear that HCE contributed his own excrement to the very midden from which the hen recovered the Letter. But his account of the crime and its publication is radically different in nature. This Gladstonian figure of fun claims to have been betrayed by his cackling wife who spread his "peas" and "backslop" to the world. The Letter, presumably delivered to the "source," has become nothing more than an outraged wife's squawking. (One may recall that the early version of I.4 concludes by putting the blame for the fall on woman.) The passage ends with a plea for mercy and the Caesar-related statement "thides of marse makes a good dayle to be shat at, fall stuff."[77] Thus, in the center of the book we find a passage, written in 1937, that conveniently joins the two plots without resolving either of them.

Still, this crucial utterance is surprisingly brief, almost an interjection. HCE has a voice but no room or time to expand. That room is

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house, he identifies with the Russian General and in defense of his position delivers a book review of the "suppressed" text. The voice, though hardly that of the lower-middle-class Chapelizod pubkeeper, may still be read as the expression of the sleeping citizen. It is at once totally false and completely appropriate to the dreamer's identity in the central chapter which takes place, if it "takes place," in the depths of the night of mankind. Like "Cyclops" and "Circe," the pub chapter appears to have been patterned after the Dublin Christmas pantomime. Accordingly, it uses both interpolated narrative voices and hallucinatory narrative sequences.

75. See the early reference to Pop's grating in "Scribbledehobble" (*JJA* 28:70; *Scribbledehobble*, p. 63).

76. *FDV* 194.22–29 (simplified); *JJA* 55:279, 283; *FW* 363–64.

77. *FDV* 195.24–25 (simplified); *JJA* 55:283; *FW* 366.28–29.

provided at the end of III.3. In the "Amtsadam" monologue, the city-man boasts of his achievements, discusses his relationship with his river-wife, and lays before us the terrain watered by the Liffey. In this manner, the expansive (if defensive), authoritative, and libertine voice of "Haveth Childers Everywhere" (*FW* 532–54) fulfills the promise of the Here Comes Everybody sketch. Appropriately, since it is a voice buried by the nightmare of history, it has to be drawn forth from the hill (midden?) on which the bloated figure of Yawn lies comatose. The raising of that voice is accomplished during a seance/confession/psychoanalytic session conducted by the four gospellers/historians/bedposts, Mamalujo.

Chapter III.3 elucidates the process by which truth, reality, and history are revealed and enlightenment is achieved. Beyond that, it seems to unveil a mode of composition. That is, through the excavation of the sleeping awareness, the necessary word is disclosed. I suggest, however, that HCE's flamboyant monologue, which Joyce wrote in late 1924, bears some of the hallmarks of the sketch convention. Like the self-defense passage from II.3, it derives directly from the abortive conclusion to the delivery sketch and may be read as another phase of HCE's reaction to his wife's "letterary" effort. Furthermore, HCE's sprawling harangue functions as a replique to both the washerwomen's gossip and the Roderick O'Conor sketch destined to close II.3. Indeed, this, the fullest and ultimate expression of the male word, occupies precisely the same position in Book III that the account of the Last High King's last reception occupies in Book II.

If we discount the voices of I.8 as mere echoes of an absent ALP and place Issy's monologues and letters in the same category as the passages in the voices ascribed to Shem and Shaun, there are only two clear instances of ALP's utterance in *Finnegans Wake*. Alluded to, spoken of, her presence felt throughout the book, she comes to light, literally as well as figuratively, in the closing pages or the third and fourth segments of Book IV. There, she dominates, speaking first in the stilted rhetoric of her Letter and then in the soft and sweetly flowing personal idiom of her "Soft morning city" address to the husband and the world from which she departs.

Each passage in its way fills a textual vacuum. Together they

serve the same countersigning function as do the concluding portions and voices of "The Dead," *Exiles*, *Ulysses*, and perhaps even *A Portrait*. The Letter fulfills the mission of I.5, delivering a Word that should surprise even the attentive. Perhaps we have been prepared for its commonplace diction and content by the action of III.4, with its visit to the bedside of a wailing Shem and its unsatisfactory public intercourse. Still, after so many pages filled with stratified but vibrant language, the reader may be pleasantly surprised to read a transcript of the document transcribed by Shem in a prose that can only be ascribed to the great river-woman/Eve/mother, the Gea Tellus announced by "Ithaca." Unlike our reaction to Molly's earthy effusion, her bold frankness, humor, and clarity of vision, the shock here must be at the underlying ordinariness and humorlessness of an ALP whose mythic dimensions have been made to appear so tangible. The promise of the text has been most perversely fulfilled. The pantomime seems to have ended in a travesty of the transformation scene.

It is at the conclusion of the Letter that Joyce pulls the last (or, depending on how we read the book, penultimate) rabbit from his capacious Cat-in-the hat. ALP's formal Word abuts paratactically the more generous, humorous, and informal voice, the one we readily take for accurate, if anything can be called accurate in the oneiric universe. The *tactic* followed here, as opposed to the text's *burden*, is as close to that employed at the end of *A Portrait* as it is to the word of Gretta, Bertha, or Molly. After all, Stephen's diary also functions as an ambiguously frontal statement, one that could be interpreted simultaneously as his only genuine utterance and as a self-conscious literary device. ALP's speech raises fresh questions even as it dispels the unresolved aura of guilt and mystery, awakening her husband to joy, urging him to walk with her toward Howth hill, an invitation that turns into an adieu as "leafy speafing" passes into the ocean of time and obliges her man and Joyce's reader to reconsider the night.

One must pause at this utterance, which seems to have flowed from Joyce almost as easily at it flows in the text. This "leafy" is an everythingarian figure, part housewife, part Eve, part mother, part lover, part river, a large part pantomime dame. She is also the

effluent of the city-book and the essence of the burdened and aging but childlike, loving, nurturing, and forgiving female. With her voice, both the book and its female plot close, however ambiguously. As we know, the last word delivered in the tone of a feminine plaint is married to the text's first word of male assertion; her subjective divorce from the land leads directly to an objective description of her course; her departure is revealed to be a return.

At the same time, when waking her husband to the new day, ALP sacrifices herself as the subconscious of man; the voice of the artist's muse gives way to the prose of diurnal awareness. In its last lines, the surprisingly rich and beautiful original draft conveys a touching courage and a spirit of self-denial reminiscent of Bertha's closing words in *Exiles* before they drop us over the edge of forgetfulness:

> I will tell you all sorts of stories, strange one.[78] About every simple place we pass by. It is all so often and still the same to me. If I lose my breath for a minute or two, don't speak, remember. I'll begin again in a jiffy. Look! Your blackbirds! That's for your good luck. How glad you'll be I waked[79] you. My! How well you'll feel. For ever after.[80] First we turn a little here and then it's easy. I only hope the heavens sees us. Here weir, reach, island, bridge. There! That's what cockles the hearty! A bit beside the bush and then a walk along the[81]

Along with numerous allusions to the content of the Letter, this draft of ALP's ten-page-long farewell also contains the last word in reactions to the delivery. Tying together the actual document that

78. The reference here is clearly to Bertha's "'Forget me and love me again as you did the first time. I want my lover. To meet him, to go to him, to give myself to him. You, Dick. O, my strange wild lover, come back to me again!' *She closes her eyes*" (*Exiles*, p. 112).

The resemblance became even stronger as Joyce revised, adding more urgency to ALP's appeal for sympathy and recollection.

79. Note that even in this first version, the word "waked" has a double meaning.

80. The fairytale resonance chimes with a pantomime innocence in which nothing is quite what it seems to be.

81. *FDV* 285.29–37 (simplified); *JJA* 63:210; see *FW* 625.5–628.

precedes it in Book IV and the document unearthed by the hen: the letter from Boston, Mass delivered in or by a bottle/barrel, ALP tells her awakening husband to

> watch would the letter you're wanting becoming may be. That I pays for with me dreams. Scratching it and patching at with the prompt of a primer. Based on traumscrapt from Maston, Boss. After rounding his world of ancient days. Carried in a caddy or screwed and corked, on his mugisstost surface, Blob. With a bob, bob, bottledy bob.[82]

Clearly, this is only the beginning of an examination of the text in progress, to say nothing of the *Wake* as equilibrating the male and female narratives. Still, implicit in the above are some of the reasons why Joyce deleted the Letter from the chapter it motivated. Though the *Wake* supposedly has no beginning or end, it is carefully structured so as to have both; beginning with the fall (of the night as well as of man), it ends with the sunrise or the resurrection of consciousness and the sublimation of the feminine unconscious. ALP's Letter is her public testament; the monologue that follows it is her private statement summing up not only the night but mankind and history. As the fall of man is also his elevation as sacrificial hero/god, the fall of woman consecrates her presence. To have put her Word at the beginning would have been rather like answering the riddle of the "word known to all men" in an early chapter like "Scylla and Charybdis." It would remove suspense. Placing it at the end affirms the bookend principle evident in the chapter structure of Book I, making it into a structural principle for the book as a whole: begin-

82. *FDV* 285.19–24 (simplified); *JJA* 63:210; *FW* 623.29–624.2. In the final version we learn more about ALP's motivation for burying the Letter: "When the waves give up yours the soil may for me. Sometime then, somewhere there, I wrote me hopes and buried the page when I heard Thy voice, ruddery dunner, so loud that none but, and left it to lie till kissmiss coming." As might be expected, these lines bring together a variety of themes including that of the primal thunder, cause of or reaction to the fall, which here alerts our Eve to the lord's wrath and our ALP to the rage of HCE.

ning as it does with an assertion of the male presence, the *Wake* appropriately ends with the assertion of female viability.

As I suggested earlier, the composition and history of the Letter inspired and even dictated the shape of chapters to come. The introduction of the document led to the elaboration both of the persona and of her relationship to the means of recording and distributing her Word. It also led to the treatment of her rebuttal to neighborhood gossip as an occulted and hence sacred text. If the first result of the Letter's composition was the tentative mapping of the female narrative, the second was the establishment of the narrative and philological frame or I.5, which led to the exclusion of the Letter. In its turn, that "professorial" inspection of the document took Joyce, though not without considerable difficulty, into what is now I.7 or the venomous description of the scribe who criminally (Cain-like) fixed or froze the Letter's oral (or Shaunish?) form. We may see the washerwomen's oral history of I.8 as flowing naturally both from the concealment of the housewife/mother and from the demystifying of her transcribing/traducing son. It also represented a reprise of the gossip theme instituted in I.4 and provided a foil for the fourfold maundering of Mamalujo (now in II.4 and elsewhere). The washerwomen/banshees represent the decaying preliterate culture in which ALP finds her reflection just as the Mamalujo represent the decay of literacy. Joyce had by this time begun to equilibrate the plots. Unlike HCE, who has been damned by the printed word and who is convicted, in II.3, as much for reading as for doing, ALP was always (after a false start) an analphabet, a voice delivering its language to and through the male/mail. The timeless washerwomen, by contrast, deliver their word to each other and through the nocturnal reeds.

In this, the crones and ALP contrast with Issy, who, both within and outside the Tristan and Isolde nodal system, seems to have some control over written language. In many respects a weaker version of her mother, Issy is an apprentice letter writer in II.2 and letter-oriented throughout the book. But as Isolde, she had priority in the development of the *Wake*, and while participating in the feminine plot of the novel, her persona also belongs within the male Tristan

complex and relates most directly to its Oedipal/adulterous system, foreshadowed and reenforced by Joyce's dreams. If Issy's character owes much to Joyce's observations of and relationship to Lucia, it can be shown that ALP is yet another version of Nora. We are well advised, therefore, to think of the younger female as a bridging persona. It is significant that, after introducing her into III.2 and briefly in III.3 and 4, Joyce deferred her development until the 1930s, when he composed the female-line chapters II.1 and II.2 under the shadow or with an awareness of Lucia's growing mental problems.

Given the firmness of the female plot outline, it is not surprising that Joyce moved directly from the evocations of the letter-writing personae, Shem and ALP, to the problem of the Letter's delivery by Shaun. Even before he established the initial configuration of Book I, he had evolved the plot substance for Book III's Letter-dominated and hence female chapters. He then had only to reaffirm the male presence in III.3 and III.4. In III.2 the female plot is appropriately advanced by a sexually ambiguous tenor (and mellifluous Jaun McCormak or McComic), whose actions are largely self-adulatory and enthralling words. In this both Shaun and Jaun are closer to ALP and the washerwomen than to the self-effacing and sardonic Shem and the guilty and defensive HCE. Indeed, performer that he is, Shaun displays a whole range of discourses that could be called public Irish. Unlike HCE, he does not have to be drawn out; like ALP his discourse flows. Moreover, the questions raised by the Delivery sketch provide the substance of III.1 and dictate the physical nature of III.2's self-important and hypocritical rogue. After he had animated Shem and ALP as sources, Joyce seems to have felt compelled to give voice to the essential and ever popular betrayer of the Word. It is almost as though, in a manner reminiscent of his treatment of the Tristan myth from *Exiles*, he wanted to compensate for his deliberate refusal to exploit the comic potential of Buck Mulligan in *Ulysses*. Here the ill-intentioned and obtuse clown is permitted to expand like the setting sun, covering the horizon with his failing light.

I doubtless run the risk of grossly oversimplifying what was, after all, a very complex development marked by hesitations and retrac-

tions and prepared for by the cerebration encoded in the notes. Still, the evidence shows that, within a relatively short time, between December 1923 and the end of 1924, Mum's absented Letter and the tenuous plotline it generated were established as the counterstatement to the crime and its ramifications. Joyce had yet to make a variety of decisions before he had established either the full outline or the language of the book. But, with the installation of the Word as the necessary countersign on an alternating basis, two interdependent structural components were in place: the male/female plot and the sketch-related nodal systems. A third element, the chapter structure, though as yet only half-elaborated, was well enough formed to enable Joyce to continue with confidence, if not with speed, to fill in the outlines and develop the night language that sets this book apart.

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velopment of the tradition of Tristan and Isolde into a key thematic thread of the *Wake* and a prime element in its "nodal" infrastructure. Closely examining one of Joyce's rare false starts, Hayman discovers that Joyce's decision not to make the Tristan material central to the *Wake* narrative freed him to use the mature male figure (HCE) as the book's central (and largely silent) protagonist. A study of Joyce's cryptic dreams from that era brings to light some of the psychological underpinnings of HCE's crime (the "male plot"). Hayman's final and major chapter treats the evolution of the *Wake's* mature female figure (ALP), who emerged, apparently as an afterthought, from the associative fabric of the notes. There, he argues that the composition and disposition of her comic Letter formed a pivotal process through which Joyce discovered the chapter structure and what can be called the female co-plot. The investigation concludes with Joyce ready to complete Book I and begin Book III, and with most of the necessary elements at hand for the elaboration of his most adventurous work.

Literary theorists, critics concerned with modernism and postmodernism, textual scholars, comparatists, and students and other readers of Joyce will welcome this engrossing account of the artistic development that made the *Wake* possible.

DAVID HAYMAN is Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. A recipient of Guggenheim and NEH fellowships, he has published *Re-Forming the Narrative: Toward a Mechanics of Modernist Fiction* (also available from Cornell—see jacket back), *A First-Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake," Ulysses: The Mechanics of Meaning*, and many articles. He has edited the volume *In the Wake of the "Wake,"* and co-edited both *"Ulysses": Critical Essays* and the *Finnegans Wake* volumes of *The James Joyce Archive*.

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