GENETIC INROADS INTO THE ART OF JAMES JOYCE

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James Joyce's Text in Progress

James Joyce claimed he lacked imagination. His artistry craved supports and scaffolds: structures from which and into which to be textured. Joyce's conception of art reached out and back to the medieval. Setting up the illuminators of the *Book of Kells* as his artistic ancestors (*JJ*, 545),[1] he strove for the intricacy and significant complexity of their design in the text of his writing.

In, as well as towards, his compositional crafting, Joyce was as much a reader as a writer of texts. Jesuit-trained, he was thoroughly schooled in the reading skills which he early exercised with catholicity on textbooks and dictionaries, curricular and extra-curricular literature, or the canonical Book of Books. Through reading, he penetrated to the philosophical foundations of the act of reading. 'Signatures of all things I am here to read, seaspawn and seawrack, the nearing tide, that rusty boot' (*U* 3, 2-3).[2] Anticipating long in advance the conceptualisations of present-day text theory, he discovered the structural and semiotic analogies of language-encoded texts and experience-encoded reality; and, in a desire like Stephen Dedalus's to grasp the wholeness and harmony of things (their *integritas* and *consonantia*) for the sake of illumination (their 'radiance', or *claritas* (*P* V, 1347-1348)),[3] he taught himself to read streets and cities, landscapes, seashores or rivers, people, actions, events, dreams and memories, the randomness of everyday or the patterns (real or apparent) of history as texts in their own right.

1 Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York: Oxford University Press, ²1982), p. 545. (*JJ*)

2 James Joyce, *Ulysses. A Critical and Synoptic Edition*, prepared by Hans Walter Gabler with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior, 3 vols. (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1984; ²1986).

3 James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, ed. by Hans Walter Gabler with Walter Hettche (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1993; and New York: Vintage International, Vintage Books, 1993). [*P*]

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Learning to read the world in this way was an act of intellectual self-liberation, and reading it in this way a new experience. Stephen Dedalus, exploiting Thomism for aesthetics and yet awaiting that new experience ('When we come to the phenomena of artistic conception, artistic gestation and artistic reproduction I require a new terminology and a new personal experience' (*P* V, 1271-1272)), mirrors James Joyce on the very brink of turning reading into writing. To circumscribe, and thus make readable, the wholeness of things means to unlock them, in a kind of deconstruction, out of their apparently amorphous contingencies. Such unlocking turns into a morphologising, or shaping, act. Through the constructive perception of things in their radiant wholeness, it makes them communicable, and thus writable. Hence springs a notion of writing as an act and process of transubstantiation ('In the virgin womb of the imagination the word was made flesh' (*P* V, 1543-1544)). The alternating pulse, and impulse, of deconstructive unlocking and constructive shaping as reading and writing is fundamental to Joyce's craft and art. As a governing principle, not only does it make available the external materials of literature and all manner of language-encoded pre-texts, of history, autobiography, and everyday experience so as to render them integrable into the text-in-writing, the work in progress; but inside the boundary lines, too, that separate Joyce's text from all the pre-texts it absorbs, that text itself may be seen to be propelled—and thus, progressively self-generated—by constant and continuous acts of reading and rereading.

Notes, sketches, drafts, fair-copies, typescripts, and proofs have survived for Joyce's entire *oeuvre,* albeit but fragmentarily for the early works, and with increasing comprehensiveness only from mid-*Ulysses* onwards. These workshop remains are sufficiently rich and varied to substantiate our general understanding of his mode of composition. One particularly illuminating instance of the complex interaction of the reading and the writing processes can be made out in the notes and drafts for *Exiles.* A surviving notebook contains trial fragments of dialogue and a number of passages of pragmatic, thematic, critical, and philosophic reflection on the play, its actions, its characters and their motivations, as well as on some of the audience responses envisaged;

material which is all but unique from Joyce's pen.[4] Beyond this material, there are three sections—interspersed among the rest, but clearly of a common nature that sets them off and links them to one another—which enact the reading and writing itself. The first carries two initialised openings sequentially dated, which also subdivide it into a reading and a writing phase: 'N.(B)—12 Nov. 1913' and 'N.(B) – 13 Nov. 1913'. The initials provide the signal justification for our decoding approach: Joyce's companion Nora and the fictional character Bertha stand to be read in terms of each other.

Under 12 November are listed three strings of notes which, except that they are grouped under subheads ('Garter:', 'Rat:' and 'Dagger:'), thoroughly resemble the seemingly disjunct listings that sprawlingly cover the *Ulysses Notesheets,* and endlessly fill the *Finnegans Wake Notebooks.* Here, the organising principle of the notes seems tolerably clear. They read Nora under aspects potentially to be written into the fictional character, role, and relationships of Bertha in the play. The first string of notes runs: 'Garter: precious, Prezioso, Bodkin, music, palegreen, bracelet, cream sweets, lily of the valley, convent garden (Galway), sea.'

Under 13 November follows a prose passage in four paragraphs. Progressively it incorporates these notes as jotted down the previous day, which shows it in part to be generated from them. In itself, it accomplishes the reading of Nora and Bertha in terms of each other in a mode of writing which from notes turns compositional and, as it unfolds, draws in an association of further pre-textual significations. It is a sufficiently unfamiliar piece of Joycean prose to need citation in full:

> Moon—Shelley's grave in Rome. He is rising from it: blond[.] She weeps for him. He has fought in vain for an ideal and died killed by the world. Yet he rises. Graveyard at Rahoon by moonlight where Bodkin's grave is. He lies in the grave. She sees his tomb (family vault) and weeps. The name is homely. Shelley's is strange and wild. He is dark, unrisen, killed by love and life, young. The earth holds him.

4 Reproduced in [vol. 11] *Exiles*: a facsimile of notes, manuscripts and galley proofs, prefaced and arranged by A. Walton Litz (1978) of *The James Joyce Archive* [*JJA*], 63 vols., ed. by Michael Groden, *et al.* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1978), pp. 1-61, and inaccurately appended to *E* (148-60).

> Bodkin died. Kearns died. In the convent they called her the mankiller. (Woman-killer was one of her names for me.) I live in soul and body.
>
> She is the earth, dark, formless, mother, made beautiful by the moonlit night, darkly conscious of her instincts. Shelley whom she held in her womb or grave rises: the part of Richard which neither love nor life can do away with: the part for which she loves him: the part she must try to kill, never be able to kill, and rejoice at her impotence. Her tears are of worship, Magdalen seeing the rearisen Lord in the garden where He had been laid in the tomb.
>
> Rome is the strange world and strange life to which Richard brings her. Rahoon her people. She weeps over Rahoon, too, over him whom her love has killed, the dark boy whom, as the earth, she embraces in death and disintegration. He is her buried life, her past. His attendant images are the trinkets and toys of girlhood (bracelet, cream sweets, palegreen lily of the valley, the convent garden). His symbols are music and the sea, liquid formless earth in which are buried the drowned soul and body. There are tears of commiseration. She is Magdalen who weeps remembering the loves she could not return.

Palpably, the passage originates in autobiographical memory, which yet in the writing at once acquires literary overtones in the romantic conjunction of 'moon', 'Shelley's grave' and 'Rome' to which that memory has been atomised. It is the moonlight radiance of this initial romantic image which carries the writing forward. Strikingly, it exploits a fluidity, even indeterminacy of personal pronouns which may remind one of the calculated pronoun indeterminacies of Penelope, the final episode of *Ulysses*. 'He is rising from (the grave): blond[.] She weeps for him.' In one sentence, a reading of Nora's presumed emotional response at the poet's graveside is projected into character behaviour and motivation for the Bertha of *Exiles:* Bertha appears superimposed upon Nora. In the progress of the passage, their composite figure becomes further overwritten by pre-texts of myth and the Bible. In a countermovement, Shelley is erased and successively overlaid by Bodkin, Kearns, I, and Richard. Was a character named Kearns envisaged as the counterpart in Bertha's memories of Michael Bodkin, the young man Nora had known as a girl, and whose early death and burial in Rahoon cemetery were the basis for the story of Michael Furey in 'The Dead', the final story of *Dubliners*? In the published play, Bertha is not given an Irish past, and hence does not weep over Rahoon in a rewriting of previous readings of Nora from within the

Joycean *oeuvre.* The absence of this dimension from the finished text would seem to represent the deliberate curtailment of a potential inherent in the compositional writing. As the death-and-resurrection imagery pervasive in the notebook passage suggests, it is the Roman exhilaration in life which, even from the poet's grave, raises the buried Irish past. An extant set of draft fragments for *Exiles* shows that the autobiographical pre-text of the Roman experience passed through further rewritings that were not in the end incorporated in the play.[5] With them, the structuring of Bertha as a text of receding experiential memories was abandoned.

The two related passages in the notebook are each similarly prefixed by strings of notes, in a single and a double list respectively. The first one is 'Blister—amber—silver—oranges—apples—sugarstick—hair—spongecake—ivy—roses—ribbon' and the second one 'Snow: frost, moon, pictures, holly and ivy, currant-cake, lemonade, Emily Lyons, piano, windowsill', followed by 'tears: ship, sunshine, garden, sadness, pinafore, buttoned boots, bread and butter, a big fire'. The written-out prose sections that in each case follow do not acquire the multiplicity of pre-text reference, nor do they move the pre-text 'Nora' as far towards the text 'Bertha', as does the 'N.(B.)' passage of 13 November. Yet they reveal with greater stringency the functional interrelation of a record of reading (the notes) with the compositional writing which that record generates. The writing allows us to infer that the notes, again, 'deconstruct' a biographical pre-text. At the same time, the writing clearly does not write these notes back into the text from which it derives; it cannot, for example, be read as a straight, let alone simple, retelling of the pre-text story. Instead, the notes represent concatenations of 'germs'—as Henry James would have called them—from which autonomous texts originate. The autonomy, and incipient originality, of these texts—the fact that they may properly be said to be generated from the notes—is measurable by the distance they move beyond narration. What discernible telling there is in the expansion of individual key-word notes into narrative becomes subordinated to, as it is immediately overlaid by, writerly reflection on the 'flow of ideas',

5 The fragments are reproduced in *JJA* [vol. 11], 64-85, and discussed in Robert M. Adams, 'Light on Joyce's *Exiles!* A new manuscript, a curious analogue, and some speculations', *Studies in Bibliography*, 17 (1964), 83-105.

on modes of memory, mental processes, emotions, psychological motivation and repression, or the overt or hidden significance of behaviour.

The process of transforming reading into writing is laid open here as a labour of interpretation holding a potential for artistic creation which at any moment may become actualised in 'original' prose. Such creative transubstantiation of the notes, it is true, occurs only intermittently in these passages which, after all, remain notebook entries. Yet consider, for instance, what happens to the concatenated note segment 'ivy—roses—ribbon' in the subsequent writing:

> Ivy and roses: she gathered ivy often when out in the evening with girls. Roses grew then. A sudden scarlet side in the memory which may be a dim suggestion of the roses of the body. The ivy and the roses carry on and up out of the idea of growth, through a creeping vegetable life into ardent perfumed flower life the symbol of mysteriously growing girlhood, her hair. Ribbon for her hair. Its fitting ornament for the eyes of others, and lastly for his eyes. Girlhood becomes virginity and puts on 'the snood that is the sign of maidenhood'. A proud and shy instinct turns her mind away from the loosening of her bound-up hair—however sweet or longed for or inevitable—and she embraces that which is hers alone and not hers and his also –

These eight sentences progress from a recall of a biographical given to the creation, via image and symbol, of the changing attitudes and moods of a young woman, who thereby—that is, by the constituent power of language—becomes imaginatively outlined as a fictional character. In the language itself, the transition is effected by a manner (or mannerism) of style that bears the hallmark of the James Joyce who wrote the fourth chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *Giacomo Joyce*—or, indeed, the poems of *Chamber Music*. 'The snood that is the sign of maidenhood' comes from *Chamber Music*, xi. It parallels 'She weeps over Rahoon' in the preceding passage, the title of a poem which, though not published until 1927 in *Pomes Penyeach*, was written in 1913. The retextualisation of pre-text from the *oeuvre* is anything but an accident. On the contrary, it exemplifies one of the most significant, as well as one of the earliest and most persistent, among Joyce's authorial strategies.

Joyce tested his powers of structuring experience into language in the prose miniatures he wrote before 1904 and called 'epiphanies'.[6] While not the inventor of the genre, Joyce in adopting the epiphanic mode developed it and soon raised it to a significance within the evolving system of his aesthetics that has caused the idea of the epiphany to become largely associated with his name. Within the period of his main devotion to the form, a dialogue, or 'dramatic', type of epiphany appears to be followed by a set-piece-of-prose, or 'narrative', type; it is the latter type which resurfaces ten years later in the collection of prose miniatures entitled *Giacomo Joyce.* The dialogue epiphanies would seem to be strict records of observation and listening; the set-piece-of-prose epiphanies, by contrast, show increasing writerly concerns. If the dialogues are dominantly records of observational 'reading', the set-piece miniatures turn into writings of events, visions, or dreams.

When Joyce embarked upon his first novel, eventually to be published as *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, he used the epiphany texts as pre-texts from within his own *oeuvre.* The surviving epiphanies in holograph fair copy carry on their versos the vestiges of a sequential numbering. Uniform as it is, it gives no indication of representing the order of composition. Instead, evidently post-dating the fair-copying, it implies a rereading of the accumulated epiphany manuscripts, which resulted in a selection and serial linking of discrete items. Their serial contextualisation acquires narrative potential. Ordered into a sequence, the selected epiphanies form the substratum of a story to be generated from them. The barest structure of epiphanies turned by concatenation into narrative may be exemplified from a brief section in part two of *A Portrait.* A string of three epiphanies, each beginning 'He was sitting' (*P* II, 253; 275; 303), tells of Stephen's visits to relatives and conveys the thematic motif of the squalor and insincerity he encounters. By way of the rereading implied in the ordering of pre-written units of text, experiences with an ultimate origin in the author's life become brushstrokes in the emerging portrait of the artist as a young man.

6 Those that survive, in manuscript, are reproduced in *JJA* [vol. 7]: *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. A Facsimile of Epiphanies, Notes, Manuscripts, and Typescripts*, prefaced and arranged by Hans Walter Gabler. Special note should be taken of the bilingual edition: *James Joyce*: *Epifanie* (*1900-1904*). *Rubrica* (*1909-1912*), ed. by Giorgio Melchiori (Milan: Mondadori, 1982).

The author's life as a pre-text is, through intervening reading and writing processes, several times removed from the text of *A Portrait*. The pre-text from within the *oeuvre* which *A Portrait* most pervasively exploits is *Stephen Hero,* the novel planned to extend to sixty-three chapters, yet abandoned after the completion of twenty-five chapters on nine hundred and fourteen manuscript pages. The few planning notes that survive for *Stephen Hero* emphasise an organisation of autobiographic pre-text to render it available for the fictional narrative. Towards *A Portrait*, *Stephen Hero* in its turn served as a notebook and quarry for words and phrases, characters, situations and incidents. Yet the ways in which, after the abandonment of *Stephen Hero, A Portrait* proves itself not so much a revision as a genuine rewriting of the Stephen Daedalus novel may be properly gauged only by the extent and complexity of its un-locking and consequent rewriting of pre-texts other than either *Stephen Hero* or, ultimately, of the autobiographic experience.

In this respect, the writerly path from *Stephen Hero* to *A Portrait* is paved in *Dubliners.* The stories individually and as a co-ordinated collection show Joyce's developing concern with significant structures of form and matter in the writing, answering to a systematised reading of the pre-texts of Dublin: of her streets and citizens, of Irish history, politics and society, of works of literature, theological doctrine or biblical tales. Joyce criticism has read from, or read into, the *Dubliners* stories a rich array of intertextual reference, as well as incipient examples of that mode of auto-referentiality—one might term it the *oeuvre's* intratextuality—which is to become so prominent in Joyce's later work. If there is critical justification for claiming as pre-texts the biblical tale of Mary and Martha for 'The Sisters', of the Irish political situation for 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room', of the *Divine Comedy* for 'Grace', or of Dante or Homer for the macro-structure of the collection,[7] one may add that even the philosophy of Joyce's epiphany-centred aesthetics becomes

7 See Hugh Kenner, 'Signs on a white field', in *James Joyce: the Centennial Symposium*, ed. by Morris Beja, *et al.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 209-19; Matthew C. Hodgart, 'Ivy Day in the Committee Room', in *James Joyce's 'Dubliners': Critical Essays*, ed. by Clive Hart (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), pp. 115-21 (as one essay among many that make the political point); *Stanislaus Joyce: My Brother's Keeper,* ed. by Richard Ellmann (London: Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 225; Mary T. Reynolds, *Joyce and Dante* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), esp. p. 159; Brewster Ghiselin, 'The unity of Joyce's *Dubliners*', *Accent*, 16 (1956), 75-88, 193-213.

rewritten as narrative when the many-layered epiphanies of' 'The Dead' are made to occur on the night of the feast of the Epiphany—a fact of the story which, in its turn, is left to the reader epiphanically to discover.[8]

Moving beyond the trial experiment of *Dubliners,* it is *A Portrait* that first fully succeeds as a unified rewriting of intertwining pretexts. In the semiotics of *A Portrait,* the author's life as well as the Daedalean, Christian, and Irish myths, the martyrdom of Stephen Dedalus, St Stephen, Icarus, Parnell, and Christ, the sinner's descent into hell and the artist's flight heavenward are held in mutual tension. What guarantees the balanced co-existence and cross-referential significance of the pre-texts is the tectonics of the writing, the novel's complex, intricate and firmly controlled structure. *A Portrait* marks an essential step in Joyce's art towards a dominance of structure and expressive form. Significantly, structure can be made out as a pre-writing as well as a post-writing concern. After interrupting *Stephen Hero* in the summer of 1905 with a view, presumably, to continuation, he utterly abandoned the early novel in 1907 from the artistic vantagepoint gained in the completion of *Dubliners,* and specifically 'The Dead'. Thereupon, the earliest indications of Joyce's intentions in reworking the autobiographical novel concern its structure. He now proposes to write the book in five long chapters, which, even before the fact, is very different from a sixty-three-chapter *Stephen Hero.* In the course of writing, *A Portrait* appears to have gone through progressive phases of structuring. It is quite clear, even from the scant surviving manuscript materials, that, in their ultimate refinement, the complexities realised in the five-chapter novel as released for publication are the results of revisions-in-composition, that is to say, of rereadings of the text as it evolved in the workshop. While the five-chapter sequence was determined before the writing began, the overall correlation and multi-patterned chiastic centring of the novel's parts was, in an important sense, achieved in retrospect. Similarly, it was by a single revision in the first chapter of the fair-copy manuscript—in other words, by a late response of the author, as reader, to his own written text—that a potential of suggestive parallels inherent in the writing was turned into an actual correspondence in the text. A revision in the manuscript instituted the day on which Wells shouldered

8 See for example Bernard Benstock, 'The Dead', in *James Joyce's 'Dubliners': Critical Essays*, ed. by Clive Hart (London: Faber & Faber, 1969), pp. 153-69.

Stephen into the square ditch at Clongowes as the seventy-seventh day before Christmas. In 1891, the year of Parnell's death, this was Thursday, 8 October. Parnell died on 6 October, and his body was brought to Ireland to be buried, arriving at dawn on Sunday, 11 October. This, in the fiction, is the morning Stephen, at the infirmary, revives from a fever. Parnell dies so that Stephen may live. The synchronisation of historical and fictional time was the precise result of one textual revision.[9]

It is prominently in a mode of rewriting within Joyce's own *oeuvre,* as well as on the level of concerns about structure that predate the actual writing, that the beginnings of *Ulysses* first manifest themselves. We may discover its earliest formation by evaluating the relation of *A Portrait* to *Stephen Hero,* and by analysing the process of rewriting and rethinking of written and unwritten *Stephen Hero* material in the light of Joyce's correspondence with his brother Stanislaus.[10] An early plan for *Stephen Hero*—one that seems to have been devised in conversation sometime in 1904, before Joyce's departure from Ireland—was to carry it forward to a tower episode.[11] *Stephen Hero* never reached that point. But the extant fair-copy of a Martello Tower fragment from the *Portrait* workshop, dating presumably from 1912 or 1913, is evidence that, at an intermediary stage of the rewriting, a tower scene was still conceived for *A Portrait.* Its ultimate exclusion provided the material for the opening of *Ulysses*.

No doubt the Martello Tower episode of *Ulysses* is different in execution and tone from whatever version of it would have entered *A Portrait*. Doherty's comment to Stephen in the fragment:

> 'Dedalus, we must retire to the tower, you and I. Our lives are precious . . . We are the super-artists. *Dedalus and Doherty have left Ireland for the Omphalos*'—[12]

9 See the essay in this volume: 'The Genesis of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*', p. 110-111.

10 See Hans Walter Gabler, 'Preface' to *JJA* [vol. 8], 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man': A Facsimile of the Manuscript Fragments of 'Stephen Hero', pp. vii-xii.

11 '[Cosgrave] says he would not like to be Gogarty when you come to the Tower episode', *Letters of James Joyce*, ed. by Richard Ellmann, vol. II (New York: Viking Press, 1966) (*Letters* II), p. 103.

12 *JJA* [vol. 8], *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*: a facsimile of epiphanies, notes, manuscripts and typescripts, prefaced and arranged by Hans Walter Gabler, 1219-22; cf. A. Walton Litz, *The Art of James Joyce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 133.

would seem to imply an intention of figuring the concept of exile which concludes *A Portrait* into a retreat to the tower, where the young aesthetes, seeking unfettered freedom in an abandonment to Nietzschean elitism,[13] isolate themselves from society; or, to preface Stephen's departure into an exile alone in the world by the attempt and failure of a retirement to the *omphalos,* the navel of friendship and art. The contextual ambience of *A Portrait* of course would hardly warrant the ironic view of an artistic revolt of the select in isolation which is implied from the outset in the Martello Tower setting of the opening of *Ulysses.* It is only as it enters Stephen's consciousness of himself in *Ulysses* that the ironic detachment from his Daedalean flight—so hard to define, within the confines of A *Portrait* alone, as a dimension of meaning of the tale told—becomes manifest.

By being made to part company with Mulligan and Haines and becoming a critical judge not only of others, but of himself, Stephen in *Ulysses* is rewritten as a character capable of action and reaction, one whom we accept as a self-searching Telemachus, within the fictional reality of his and Leopold Bloom's Dublin. Thus revised and refunctionalised in terms of the character realism as well as of the Odysseus myth of the new novel, he is made to look upon the Daedalean identification produced within the symbolic framework of the old one as a personal illusion. The authorial manner of the redefinition is significant for the new relation it provides between the narrative and the pre-text that is its governing myth. Whereas Stephen in *A Portrait* ardently aspires to Daedalean heights, neither Stephen nor Bloom in *Ulysses* possess any awareness of their mythical roles. These are communicated by means of narrative structures to the reader.

Stephen's recognition of himself as a foundered Icarus—'Lapwing you are. Lapwing be' (*U* 9, 954)—belongs to the library episode, or Hamlet chapter, Scylla & Charybdis, ninth of the eighteen episodes of *Ulysses.* This, it should be noticed, is a remarkably late point in *Ulysses* to refer back so outspokenly to *A Portrait.* We may assume that the chapter formed a section of the emerging novel's redefinition of Stephen before, by structural positioning, it entered into the functions of the Scylla & Charybdis adventure in the sequence of Odysseus'/Bloom's

13 See Wilhelm Füger, 'Joyce's *Portrait* and Nietzsche', *Arcadia*, 7 (1972), 231-59.

wanderings—where, even as it finally stands, it emphasises the rock and the whirlpool more than the wanderer. This assumption also helps to explain in part the divergences in the early structural plans for *Ulysses.* In May 1918, Joyce told Harriet Weaver that, of the book's three main parts, the Telemachia, the Odyssey, and the Nostos, the first consisted of three episodes.[14] Yet three years earlier, upon completing a first full draft of the Martello Tower episode, and with an initial outline of the whole probably quite freshly conceived, he had stated on a postcard written on Bloomsday 1915 to Stanislaus in awkward German that the Telemachia was to comprise four episodes.[15] The fourth can hardly have been any other than Stephen's Hamlet chapter, prepared for by theme and hour of the day in the Martello Tower opening.[16] Thus the indication is strong that both these chapters, finally placed as the first and the ninth, belong to the vestiges of *A Portrait* carried over into *Ulysses.* The Hamlet chapter notably revolves on a restatement of Stephen's aesthetic theories, and it is not inconceivable that, at some stage and in some form of pre-textual planning, it might have been designed for a position in part V of *A Portrait* analogous to that which is in fact held there by the 'Villanelle' section. As an episode located inside the National Library, it might have fitted between the part V movements which, by peripatetic conversations on themes divided between nationalism, literature, art, and aesthetics on the one hand, and religion on the other, lead up to the library steps, and away from them.

Together, the tower and library episodes show that the earliest writing for *Ulysses* from the autobiographical fountainhead originated in Joyce's endeavours—approximately between 1912 and 1914—to define a line of division between *A Portrait* and *Ulysses.* As for the matter of Dublin, *Ulysses* reaches back to *Dubliners,* and to a time of conception in 1906. As we know from letters to Stanislaus (*Letters* II 190), a story to be named 'Ulysses' was planned for *Dubliners,* though it never got beyond a title. Yet there is a strong indication that its nucleus may be recognised in the sequence of the concluding night-time events in *Ulysses* (i.e., the

14 *Letters of James Joyce*, ed. by Stuart Gilbert, vol. I (New York: Viking Press, 1957, [2]1966) (*Letters* I), p. 113.

15 *Joyce: Selected Letters*, ed. by Richard Ellmann (New York: The Viking Press, 1975) (*SL*), p. 209.

16 Buck Mulligan raises Haines's expectations: at (*U* 1, 487): '—Wait till you hear him on Hamlet, Haines.'

brawl in Nighttown, and the rescue of Stephen by Bloom, who takes the injured and drunken young man back to his house in the early morning hours).[17] The emerging novel thereby possessed a point of departure, and a goal. A middle was provided by the simple act of foreshortening the Telemachia as first planned, and moving the library chapter into a central place as the Scylla & Charybdis episode of the Odyssean adventures. The redesigning took place before October 1916, when in a letter to Harriet Weaver (*Letters* II 387), Joyce declared that he had almost finished the first part—i.e., the Telemachia—and had written out part of the middle and end. He had thus moored the pillars over which he proceeded to span the treblearch construction of *Ulysses.*

It is only from this point onwards in Joyce's writing career that reports and surviving evidence directly testify to his working methods. Passing over the cryptic post-1905 marking-up of the *Stephen Hero* manuscript, interpretable as related, though only obliquely, to the composition of *A Portrait,* and leaving out of further consideration the notes for *Exiles* as being less of a compositional than of a critically reflective nature, it is with *Ulysses* that for the first time we begin to catch glimpses of the author in the workshop. Frank Budgen gives lively accounts of how his writer friend, wherever he went, gathered scrap matter to go into the 'glorious Swiss orange envelopes' for later use in the book; of how Joyce worked with words in the manner of a Byzantine mosaic artist; of how he encountered Joyce in search of the *mot juste,* as he (Budgen) presumed, but really seeking the 'perfect order of words in the sentence'.[18] What Budgen observed from the distance at which Joyce was careful to keep even him, and what he related with such evident sympathy, are labours and processes of writing essentially like those we have already

17 Richard Ellmann, in the Introduction to *Ulysses on the Liffey* (London: Faber & Faber, 1972), and in more detail in the Afterword to the old Penguin edition of *Ulysses* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968), has been the foremost spokesman for the hypothesis that the Nighttown episode at its genetic core reflects the projected *Dubliners* story 'Ulysses'. Hugh Kenner, on the other hand, interprets the Calypso to Wandering Rocks sequence as the novel's expansion of a typical *Dubliners* story for which the title 'Ulysses' would have been appropriate (see Kenner, *Ulysses* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1980), p. 61).

18 Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses', and Other Writings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972); quotations on pp. 177 and 20. The comparison of Joyce to a Byzantine artist is Valery Larbaud's, from 'The *Ulysses* of James Joyce', *Criterion*, 1 (1922), 102.

analysed. A deeper understanding of Joyce's creative artistry may be derived from the draft manuscripts themselves that survive from the *Ulysses* workshop.

The seminal manuscripts for *Ulysses* that Joyce speaks of in his letters are lost: for example, the first completed draft of Telemachus, of which Stanislaus was told on Bloomsday 1915 (*SL*, 209), the draft materials of 'the beginning, middle and end' as achieved in 1915/16, or the 'nearly completed' Telemachia of October 1916 (*Letters* II, 387). The earliest extant *Ulysses* draft[19] is a version of Proteus (V.A.3 in the Buffalo Joyce collection). It is contained in a copybook which, by the evidence of its label, was purchased in Locarno. Dateable therefore to the autumn of 1917, which Joyce spent in Locarno finishing and fair-copying the Telemachia, the draft belongs to the final phase of work on the chapter.

Its derivation from lost draft antecedents is palaeographically indicated by the clean and fluent manner in which at least its opening is written out, before expansions, revisions, and second thoughts begin increasingly to overcrowd the pages and disturb the handwriting. Other extant draft manuscripts open similarly, notably Oxen of the Sun (V. A. 11) and Circe (V.A. 19). In drafts that have come down to us, whether pre-fair-copy or fair-copy, there is always some suggestion of a descent from pre-existing text. Cyclops manuscript V.A.8, for example, or the Nausikaa copybooks Buffalo V.A.10/Cornell 56, clearly first or early drafts, suggest particularly clearly a manner of composition by which Joyce thought out at length, and in minute detail, the structures and phrasings of whole narrative sections before committing them to paper. The look which even first extant drafts have of being derived emphasises the importance which the pre-writing processes had for Joyce's writing.

19 My phrase 'The earliest extant *Ulysses* draft' dates from the late 1980s. It should meanwhile read: 'One of a minority of early *Ulysses* drafts still extant, that is of drafts preceding the fair copy state preserved in the Rosenbach manuscript'. The acquisition of a significant cache of draft manuscript material from Joyce's workshop preserved, since safely stored away in the basement of the Paris house of Paul Léon, was acquired by the National Library of Ireland in 2002. This material has been repeatedly described and commented on, notably by Michael Groden, 'The National Library of Ireland's New Joyce Manuscripts: An Outline and Archive Comparisons', *Joyce Studies Annual*, 14 (2003), 5-17; or Luca Crispi, 'A *Ulysses* Manuscripts Workbook', *Genetic Joyce Studies*, 17 (2017) [Electronic Journal for the Study of James Joyce's Works in Progress], 34 pages, with comprehensive links to digital copy of the materials discussed.

To all appearances, his compositions were conceived and verbalised in the mind, as well as extensively, it seems, committed to memory, before being written out in drafts. These, consequently, immediately became carrier documents of transmission. Holding the texts available for re-reading and revision, Joyce's autograph manuscripts, whether sketches, drafts, or fair copies, were his secondary *loci* of writing.

Extended periods of intense work on sometimes multiple drafts were the rule of his workshop. 'It is impossible to say how much of the book is really written', Joyce remarked to Harriet Weaver in May 1918. Beyond Hades, which was being typed at the time, 'several other episodes have been drafted for the second time but that means nothing because although the third episode of the *Telemachia* has been a long time in the second draft I spent about 200 hours over it before I wrote it out finally' (*Letters* I, 113). 'The elements needed will fuse only after a prolonged existence together' (*Letters* I, 128). In August 1919 he told John Quinn that a chapter took him about four to five months to write (*Letters* II, 448). This was a fair statement at the time, and as an average it held true for all subsequent chapters except Circe, which required six months, and Eumaeus, which took only about six to eight weeks to complete from the earlier drafts. The work on Oxen of the Sun, for which the pre-fair-copy draft stages are documented, Joyce estimated at one thousand hours (*Letters* II, 465). His agonies over Circe found expression in statements on the number of drafts written that vary between six and nine.

There is interesting circumstantial evidence that a physical release of energy promoted the release of Joyce's creative energy. For all the innumerable hours spent in libraries, at tables and desks or on top of beds with his notes and drafts spread out around him, Joyce was a peripatetic writer. The account he gives of his state in September 1921 is as extraordinary as it seems significant. Incessant writing and revising of *Ulysses* had precipitated a nervous breakdown which Joyce counteracted by cutting his sedentary hours from a daily sixteen to six or eight and taking twelve to fourteen kilometre walks along the Seine instead (*Letters* I, 170). The result was not a slackening but, by all evidence, a concentration of the work on *Ulysses*: the final breakthrough towards the completion of Penelope and Ithaka (in that order) and the composition of the 'Metropolitan police' section for Cyclops and the 'Messianic scene' for Circe all date from September/October 1921.

In the light of Joyce's roamings along the Seine to give a final boost to the composition of *Ulysses*, the peripatetics of his artist *alter ego* Stephen Dedalus take on an added significance. In part V of *A Portrait*, Stephen Dedalus walks the streets of Dublin exercising traditional arts of memory, conscious as he is that the city's topography serves to recall his thoughts and emotions. (*P* V, 71-86) In *Ulysses*, he walks along Sandymount strand writing a text of himself—for this, precisely, is the function to which the author puts the narrative technique he employs to verbalise the Stephen of Proteus. If that text, though we may read it as Joyce's creation, never gets written down by Stephen himself, his roamings through much of the chapter also constitute the pre-draft peripatetics towards his own (plagiarised) poem which he eventually jots down on the strip torn from Deasy's letter. (*U* 3, 399-407)

Taking our cue from the creative situation thus mirrored in Proteus, we may attempt yet further to analyse the nature and procedures of Joyce's composition before he put pen to paper. From a survey of all extant manuscript materials for *Ulysses*—drafts and fair copies as well as revisions and additions to the chapters in typescript and proofs—the unwavering structural stability of most of the novel's episodes becomes strikingly noticeable. With the single exception of the Aeolus chapter, recast in proof by the introduction of segmenting cross-heads, no episode changes shape, but retains the structural outline it possesses in the fair copy, regardless of how extensive the subsequent additions and revisions to its verbal texture. Moreover, except in the cases of Cyclops and 'Circe (to which we shall return), that structural outline is by and large already characteristic of an episode's earliest extant drafts. Again, structure appears to have been a concern even in advance of the physical writing, and it is tempting to infer that, in the mental creative process, the structural design preceded the verbal texturing. In so doing, the design could serve as a 'house of memory' for organising the composition and situating all verbal detail as it accumulated. In the deployment of his creative artistry, Joyce thus cultivated a proleptic memory—as is indeed also manifestly indicated by the precision with which he is reported to have known where to place the materials collected in his orange envelopes, in notebooks and on notesheets for insertion into the typescripts and proofs.

That the structure provided by the myth and epic narrative of the *Odyssey* preceded the text of *Ulysses* as a whole is patently true. Ezra Pound saw the *Odyssey* as a scaffolding for *Ulysses,* yet felt that, as such, it was of little consequence for the reader, since, as the author's private building device, it had been effectively dispensed with in the accomplishment of the novel itself. T. S. Eliot, in his rival early critique, showed a greater sensitivity to the intertextual dynamism actuated by the Homeric reference,[20] and his response to the mythic interaction has been thoroughly ramified by the progressive critical exploration of the many additional pre-texts which dynamise *Ulysses* in 'retrospective arrangements'.

Proteus, again, proves instructive. To present-day criticism, it seems that the Homeric reference, far from being dispensable, best accounts for the chapter's fascinating elusiveness of style and character consciousness: on the levels of language and thought, the episode's effect is expressively Protean. At the same time, however, its structure, its design as a house of memory to hold a character consciousness verbalised in the language of an interior monologue, has also been felt to be largely elusive. Yet read on the level of its relationship to *Hamlet,* the episode appears to be retrospectively controlled by Stephen's parting gesture: 'He turned his face over a shoulder, rere regardant' (*U* 3, 503). It re-enacts Hamlet's farewell to Ophelia 'with his head over his shoulder turned', which she so heart-rendingly recounts in Act II, scene i of the play. Shattered to the depths by his encounter with his father's ghost, Hamlet, cutting all ties of kinship and severing the fetters of love that bind him to Ophelia, walks out on his past. Stephen, who has been visited by the ghost of his mother, severs all ties of friendship and, unsure of the love of woman, walks on to evening lands. If thus, in the structure of bodily movement, the episode constitutes an imaginative rewriting of a reported scene from *Hamlet,* it was ultimately in a pre-text from within the *oeuvre* that Joyce found a structure to contain both that movement and the Protean verbal texture. In *A Portrait,* Stephen's movement from childhood and adolescence to artistic self-sufficiency and exile is articulated in a structure of flying by the nets of 'nationality, language, religion'. In

20 Ezra Pound, 'Paris Letter: *Ulysses*', *Dial*, 72 (1922), 623-29; T.S. Eliot, '*Ulysses*, Order and Myth', in *Selected Prose of T.S. Eliot*, ed. by Frank Kermode (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), pp. 175-78.

Proteus, an analogous triad of nets is conceived for Stephen to desire to fly by.[21] These, now, are family relations (Aunt Sara and Uncle Richie), religion (the lures of priesthood visualised in the seclusion of Marsh's Library), and exile (Patrice and Kevin Egan imprisoned in their Parisian exile). A pattern derived from *A Portrait*, therefore, may be recognised to control the conclusion of the Telemachia in *Ulysses.* Yet in redeploying the pre-text of *A Portrait* to gain a design by which to organise the text of Proteus, it would seem that Joyce, too—rere regardant while moving onward—walked out on his own and Stephen's past as represented in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man.* This is redoubled and deepened in Stephen Dedalus' parting from Buck Mulligan towards the end of episode nine, Scylla & Charybdis.

For *Ulysses,* Calypso and the emergence of Leopold Bloom constitutes, after the Telemachiad, a re-departure. It carries through to Lestrygonians and leads so to the novel's midpoint (in terms of chapter count) in Scylla & Charybdis. An auto-reflexivity of the novel itself—a redeployment of its own actualisation of the Homeric design and of its earlier episodes in pre-text functions for its later ones—sets in with programmatic intent in Wandering Rocks. Tenth of the book's episodes, it is the chapter by which, in a sense, *Ulysses* may even be said to come fully into its own. Wandering Rocks is a non-episode according to any Odyssean scheme, for it shapes an adventure Odysseus eschewed, choosing the path through Scylla & Charybdis instead. Not Bloom, therefore, nor of course Stephen, but *Ulysses* moves to the centre of the chapter's attention. Standing outside the plot structure of the myth, the episode functions like a pause in the action. Its relation to what precedes and what follows arises exclusively out of the text and design of the novel itself. What *Ulysses* realises in Wandering Rocks is a potential for alternative and variation held out in the *Odyssey.* At the same time, it frees itself, at a decisive juncture of its development, from structures of event and character prefigured for the episodes actualised in the epic. In artful ambivalence Wandering Rocks does, and does not, step outside the Odyssean frame of reference for *Ulysses.* What it lacks is a textual substratum in Homer's epic to refer to.

21 As I have argued in Hans Walter Gabler, 'Narrative rereadings: some remarks on "Proteus", "Circe" and "Penelope"', in *James Joyce 1*: 'Scribble' 1: *genèse des textes,* ed. by Claude Jacquet (Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1988), pp. 57-68.

But exactly such a textual reference base had meanwhile become available in the new *Odyssey* of *Ulysses.*

In extending his *oeuvre's* text by the episodes of the novel in progress, Joyce was effectively, and significantly, broadening the basis for the combinatory play of reading and writing within that text, so characteristic of his art. Even in the process of being written, the text proved increasingly capable of oscillating between text and pre-text functions, and it is in Sirens, the episode succeeding Wandering Rocks, that such oscillation becomes codified. Structurally, an 'antiphon' of short fragments introduces the chapter, which then unfolds from these sixty segments, as if generated from them in sequence, theme, tonality, and mood. In terms of the author's writing techniques, it appears that here, finally, a typical Joycean set of notes (such as those for *Exiles* considered earlier) enters the published writing, so as to render explicit a dynamic dependence of text upon pre-text. A look into the manuscripts further reveals a thorough reciprocity of the text and pre-text relationship. By the manuscript evidence, the antiphon was prefixed to the entire chapter when the latter was already extant in fair copy. In other words: it was placed to give the appearance of generative writing notes, and arranged to be read as a set of reading instructions, but was in fact itself generated, and condensed into a set of reading notes, from a comprehensive reading of the fully realised chapter. The material evidence of the manuscript, therefore—a critical consideration of which, at this point, thus proves absolutely indispensable—renders wholly transparent, as well as functional to the accomplished composition, the interdependence of text and pre-text, and points to the ultimate circularity of their relationship.

A deepened sense of the peculiar strengths of his creativity thus becomes recognisable in and behind Joyce's work around the time of the launching into the second half of *Ulysses.* It appears that he perceived with increasing clarity the principle of self-perpetuation of his *oeuvre*'s text which he now at length carried into his ongoing writing. In response to Harriet Weaver's unease at what she felt was 'a weakening or diffusion of some sort' in Sirens, Joyce expressed strongly his sense of writing *Ulysses:* 'In the compass of one day to compress all these wanderings and clothe them in the form of this day is for me only possible by such variation which, I beg you to believe, is not capricious' (*Letters* I, 129). The artistic principle of textual variation or self-perpetuation

engendered Joyce's conception of his art as work in progress. This term, it is true, was a coinage of later years for the successive publication of the segments of text which were finally to coalesce into *Finnegans Wake.* But the attitude to the artistic production which it implies begins to govern the writing of *Ulysses* from Wandering Rocks onwards.

Joyce's chapter drafts that survive generally bear witness to a process of composition guided and controlled by a conception of design anticipating the writing. A few fragmentary initial drafts, though, as for example to Cyclops (V.A.8) and Circe (V.A. 19), are exceptions to this rule. Here, it appears that Joyce committed a text to paper early enough in the compositional process to provide us with some evidence for the evolving of chapter structures. What is particularly notable is that these Cyclops and Circe drafts divide into discrete narrative units. Such a framing of sub-episodes yet to be unified in an overall chapter design is an anticipation of the standard procedure of composition for *Finnegans Wake.* In terms of the writing of *Ulysses,* the initial drafts for Cyclops reveal a struggle for a structure to contain and to sustain the opposition of the chapter styles of gigantism and realistic dialogue. Both the Cyclops and the Circe early fragments, moreover, are still indeterminate in their structural direction. The chapter designs later achieved at the fair-copy stage can in neither case be inferred from the initial drafts.

Complementary to the extant draft manuscripts are the compilations of note materials for the novel as a whole in copybooks widely separated by date: the Dublin/Trieste Alphabetical Notebook, begun around Christmas 1909, from which the material divides equally between *A Portrait* and *Ulysses;* the Zurich Notebook of 1918 (VIII.A.5), remarkable for its garnering of notes from Victor Berard's *Les Pheniciens et l'Odyssie,* W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie,* Thomas Otway's plays, and Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* which Joyce consulted in the Zentralbibliothek in Zurich; a companion Zurich notebook rediscovered among the copies of notebooks prepared by Mme Raphael for Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* use; and the Late Notes for typescripts and galleys of 1921/1922 (V.A.2).[22]

22 The entries from the Alphabetical Notebook are accessible in *The Workshop of Daedalus,* ed. by Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965); notebooks VIII.A. 5 and V.A. 2 have been transcribed, edited and discussed by Phillip F. Herring, *Joyce's Notes and Early Drafts for 'Ulysses':*

Analogous in terms of format, yet preceding the 'Late Notes' in the order of compilation, there is, most particularly, the series of *Ulysses Notesheets*, which received the earliest attention and, among workshop materials, have elicited the most detailed discussion in Joyce scholarship.[23] Neither *Notesheets* nor 'Late Notes' can be taken to represent Joyce's original jottings, executed, as Frank Budgen records, on whatever surface material happened to be at hand. Instead, as has often been shown, they contain a systematic arrangement of what became the additions in Joyce's handwriting to the documents that survive from typescript to final proofs for the 1922 book publication—though they by no means account for all revision and rewriting in evidence on those documents. For the original jottings, no doubt, the orange envelopes served as sorting receptacles, and only after such pre-sorting—probably by episode, and within episodes apparently sometimes by theme or motif—did Joyce proceed to compile the extant *Notesheets* and 'Late Notes' arrangements.

The notesheet format appears to have been first found useful for Cyclops, the last episode written in the autumn of 1919 in Zurich, and Nausikaa, succeeding in early 1920 in Trieste. If the reference to a 'recast of my notes (for Circe and Eumaeus)' in the first letter to Harriet Weaver from Paris in July 1920 (*Letters* I, 142) is again to notesheets, the format may have been induced by the need for light travelling back from Zurich to Trieste after the end of the war. At any rate, it seems clear that the surviving notesheets represent extracts from the bundles of slips in the orange envelopes and did not supersede them. For when Joyce departed anew from Trieste, this time to Paris, and by far outstayed the short weeks or months he had originally expected to spend there, specifically to write Circe and Eumaeus, one of his anxieties was to retrieve from Trieste 'an oil-cloth briefcase (total weight. . . estimated to be Kg 4.78), containing the written symbols of the languid lights which occasionally flashed across my soul'. 'Having urgent need of these notes in order

Selections from the Buffalo Collection (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977); Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon's edited and annotated transcription of the Madame Raphael notebook VI.D. 7 (*VI.D.7: The Lost First Notebook*) turns out to be derived from a companion notebook to VIII.A.5.

23 Phillip F. Herring, *Joyce's 'Ulysses' Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1972). The Notesheets were first discussed by Litz in *The Art of James Joyce* (see note 12).

to complete my literary work entitled *Ulysses*', he implored Italo Svevo to obtain them for him from the flat of Stanislaus (*Letters* I, 154). He received them (*Letters* I, 161) and used them in the composition of Ithaka and Penelope as well as for the encompassingly great revisional expansions of the entire book in typescript and proofs.

Joyce's writing notes for Circe, we may be sure, were his garnerings from the fourteen episodes preceding the Nighttown chapter. It is common critical knowledge that Circe essentially depends on Joyce's comprehensive and detailed rereading of the pre-text of *Ulysses* itself up to this point. Yet, curiously, little critical thought has been given to the significance of the rewriting of that text into the text of Circe. Fundamentally, it conditions the chapter's mode of referentiality. Traditional notions of narrative referentiality are concerned with the empiric substratum of the fiction: fiction as written and read is assumed to refer to truth or probability in the real world of experience. Framed by such preconceptions, critics have struggled to define and distinguish strata of real action and of 'surreal' visions or hallucinations in Circe. Yet the implications of the rewriting of *Ulysses* in Circe are surely that the preceding narrative of Bloomsday is made to function as if it constituted not a fiction, but itself an order of empiric reality. This assumption allows us to perceive the episode's discrete narrative units as straightforward tales told, or dramatised. They lend new narrative surfaces to Leopold Bloom or Stephen Dedalus, whether as characters or as vehicles of consciousness, as well as to all other recurring personages, objects, events, and incidents that in Circe realise new narrative potential from their fictionally real existence in the pre-narrative of Bloomsday. The combinatory virtuosity of the tales unfolded from the Bloomsday pre-text is often breathtaking, yet assumes a surreal quality only if we insist on their ultimate referability to empiric reality alone. If, instead, we accept a raising of the pre-narrative that so obviously engenders the episodes of Circe to the level of absolute reality, or else—which is at least as intriguing—a 'lowering' of empiric reality to the state of relativity of fiction, we recognise the chapter's mode of referentiality as one that, rather than making the text conform to traditional notions of the rendering of reality in fiction, enlarges instead its field of reference so as properly to accommodate itself. Thus Circe succeeds in challenging and modifying traditionally received and theoretically articulated notions of

the referentiality of fiction. Its method of procedure would appear as the systematic extension of the generative, or regenerative, compositional process that from its very origins governed Joyce's work in progress.

In Circe, Joyce may thus be seen to embrace the full consequences of his creative artistry: by no other pre-text than that from within his own *oeuvre* could he have rocked the foundations of traditional narrative. The challenge to narrative referentiality raised in Circe is, in the conclusion to the novel, paralleled by a challenge to the historicity of fictional time. Penelope, I suggest, is a final rewriting from a rereading of the pre-text of *Ulysses* itself. The episode is organised from within a central consciousness, and the structural element of the preceding narrative which it rereads is that hierarchically superior, and thus external, consciousness of the text sometimes known as the 'Arranger'. Having in varying degrees made its presence felt through seventeen episodes, that superior and external consciousness is conspicuously absent from Penelope. The Arranger's main function throughout these seventeen episodes has been to transform the *histoire* behind *Ulysses* into the *discours* of Bloomsday—but, aware of its function, we have as readers and critics throughout been as busily reversing its arrangement and transforming the *'discours'* back into *'histoire',* adjusting parallax, constructing biographies, mapping topographies, discovering untold episodes, and generally putting horses properly before carts. In Penelope, however, where the Arranger's functions are relinquished to a central consciousness internalised in the fictional character of Molly Bloom, we at last—amazingly and with amazement—give ourselves over to a flow of discourse characterised by that essential quality of *discours,* the dehistoricising of history, or dechronologising of time. As Molly thinks herself to sleep, we learn at last what it may mean to awake from the nightmare of history. In the rewriting of *Ulysses* in Penelope—constituting a text designed to allow the consciousness of Arranger, of Molly Bloom, and of the reader to intersect in a narrative mode so clearly pointing the way to *Finnegans Wake*—we are taught, if we wish finally to learn, how to read the novel, which in its author's terms means how imaginatively to rewrite in constant progress the pre-text of the Joycean *oeuvre.*

The achievement of *Ulysses* set the stage for Joyce's last work. It was slow in starting, as each of his previous works had been. Yet within

a few years, he began to publish it in segments. During the sixteen years of its growth, he invariably referred to it as 'Work in Progress', withholding its final title—*Finnegans Wake*—until the moment of integral publication in 1939. Significantly, before entering into fresh reading and writing phases, he secured a basis from within his own *oeuvre* by reassembling workshop materials from all his existing texts in the so-called 'Scribbledehobble' notebook (Buffalo VI.A).[24] Beyond, the mass of *Finnegans Wake* notebooks holds overwhelming evidence of his wide reading of the most heterogeneous array of source materials as pre-texts for the writings of the final extension to his *oeuvre*'s text.

As Joyce's private material repositories, the notebooks are the mere preliminaries to all subsequent constitution of compositional text. The writing of *Finnegans Wake* itself from its pre-texts—whether or not encoded, successively, in related notebooks—passed through much the same stages as did that of *Ulysses,* albeit over an appreciably longer timespan; as it happens, Joyce's writing years from the beginnings on *Stephen Hero* to the conclusion of *Finnegans Wake* neatly divide in half with the publication of *Ulysses.* From the second half of his writing life, guided as it was by the notion of creative authorship as work in progress, such as it became now publicly declared in its title itself, we possess in abundance sketches and working drafts, fair copies, typescripts, segment publications and multi-revisional proofs that, even as they first emerge for sections and sub-sections that only eventually coalesce towards *Finnegans Wake,* relate in far more complex ways than anything to be observed in the organisation of the writing for *Ulysses.* For sheer quantity, as well as for organisational intricacy, the sixteen years it took Joyce to wind off 'Work in Progress' yielded a rich document legacy. Much more, however, the compositional and revisional testimony which the documents preserve appears unrivalled for its quality. But it is a qualitative testimony that has as yet only begun to be critically explored. To do genetic justice to Joyce's creative art and artistry in 'Work in Progress', Joyce scholarship is yet in process and progress to acquire a new critical outlook and a new corporate experience.

24 *James Joyce's Scribbledehobble: The Ur-Workbook for 'Finnegans Wake'*, ed. by Thomas E. Connolly (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1961).