

GENETIC INROADS INTO THE ART OF JAMES JOYCE

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James Joyce's *Hamlet* Chapter

Chapter V in James Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* features a distinct discontinuity, a hiatus in the narrative unfolding of Stephen's departure from home in the morning and progress through Dublin to the day's, the chapter's, and the novel's end. To avoid running into his father, he slinks out of the family kitchen in the latish fore-noon, so that he arrives at University College in Newman House on Stephen's Green past 11AM. He has missed the English class wholly and is now also too late for French. With time to spare before physics at noon, he grasps opportunity by the forelock to teach the fire-lighting Dean of Studies the proper Anglo-English (or Lower Drumcondra) word 'tundish' for 'funnel'. After the 1PM end to the physics lecture, attended under *sotto-voce* buffoonery with fellow students, he converses at some length with Cranly, MacCann, Temple, MacAlister, and Davin, arguing over signing or not signing a resolution for universal peace, then engaging in a heated altercation over attitudes and opinions arising from their diverse personalities and values. Eventually Stephen walks on alone with Lynch, whom he exposes to his thoughts about proper versus improper and static versus kinetic art; about aesthetics, rhythm, and beauty; and about artistic apprehension—views, arguments, and bouts of theory largely inherited, while significantly modified, from *Stephen Hero*. Having refined, to his satisfaction, the artist God-like out of existence, Stephen arrives on the steps of the National Library going in ('Mind your hats goan in!' as *Finnegans Wake* admonishes, 8.9).¹ The time of day would be, let us say, going on for 3PM. Here follows the hiatus. Segmented off by Joyce's habitual triple asterisks, there ensues an early-morning scene of undetermined, non-determinable, date. Stephen wakes up from a wet dream and proceeds to compose line group upon line group

1 James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (London: Faber & Faber, 1939).

between phase after phase of emotionalised memory and reflection, a prosodically complex poem, by genre a villanelle. The finished poem is set out in full length on the final manuscript page of this segment of the narrative, followed again by the triple asterisks to mark the end of the hiatus—and there once more stands Stephen, now all alone, on the steps of the National Library going out. ('Mind your boots goan out', FW 10.22-3.) It is as if we were—or, indeed, we *are*—back on the fictional day on which Chapter V began. The time is specified as 'a late March evening' (though it is still light). Stephen passes on through Dublin in heady exchanges with Cranly until, through a curtain of final diary entries, he escapes into exile.

But what did Stephen do, what went on during those hours inside the National Library that we are never told, having been regaled with the artist as a young man's composition of a villanelle instead? Strictly speaking, according to certain orthodoxies of literary criticism, this is a question not to be asked. Yet under the control of genetic criticism, such enquiry is both allowed and fruitful. My contention is that what could have happened, by the author's experimental design, inside the National Library during two to three hours on the fictional day of Chapter V of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was a performance ultimately achieved in *Ulysses*. As readers, we get it in real substance (as it were) in the 1PM to 2PM time-slot of another fictional day, the sixteenth of June 1904, in that novel's ninth episode, Scylla & Charybdis.

We know that the writing of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* hit its all-time low some time in 1911. Joyce threw the draft into the fire—though he made sure at the same time (apparently) that his life companion Nora, together with his sister Eileen, were near to save it from burning. As he told Harriet Weaver on 6 January 1920, the rescued pages were 'tied up in an old sheet where they remained for some months. I then sorted them out and pieced them together as best I could' (*Letters I*, 136).² So Joyce turned to the novel afresh, both to reshape what was written (which was already, substantially, Chapters I to IV) and to bring the whole to conclusion. In the manuscript with which he re-engaged, the novel's last chapter began with a torso of thirteen pages only. Chapter V remained, that is, essentially yet to be written. The

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

source from whence the *Portrait* chapter was shaped still survives. This is the manuscript of what Joyce himself called the 'University episode' of *Stephen Hero*, the Chapters XV to XXVIII, which constitute the surviving fragment of that novel. At two points in this manuscript we find these working notes from the reshaping: 'End of First Episode of V', 'End of Second Episode of V'. They indicate that, in the reshaping, Joyce at first appears to have planned a serial sequence of narrative units for Chapter V, in progression somewhat akin, presumably, to *Portrait's* dominantly episodic Chapter II. Chapter V as we have it, however, proceeds through what I have termed 'movements'. So structured, it is the mirror image of Chapter I.³ Recognising this design and mirror correspondence between the last and the first chapter should prove relevant, at least collaterally, to an enquiry into what narrative content might have been considered to fill the hiatus in Chapter V between Stephen's arrival on, and his departure from, the steps of the National Library.

A couple of sketchings-out exist, presumably from the 1912-1913 phase of composition of *A Portrait*, that may have been intended for, but were never actually integrated into Chapter V as published. They survive among Harriet Weaver's papers in the British Library. A tower episode, though an apparent option, was in the event not used to conclude *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Joyce designed instead a departure into exile for Stephen Dedalus and saved the Martello Tower episode to open *Ulysses*. The second example, at least as significant, of such a using-up of left-over *Portrait* writing, is Stephen Dedalus's Shakespeare performance in Scylla & Charybdis. So strongly has Irina Rasmussen argued in its favour in *Joyce Studies Annual 2019*⁴ that, I would contend, this chapter may well be a core reason for Joyce's carrying over Stephen

3 Here, and implicitly or explicitly throughout this discussion, I build on my early immersion in the genesis of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*: 'The Genesis of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*', in *Critical Essays on James Joyce's 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'*, ed. by Philip Brady and James F. Carens (New York: G. K. Hall, 1998), pp. 83-112 [*second essay in the present collection*]. This essay is revised and integrated from 'The Seven Lost Years of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*', in *Approaches to Joyce's Portrait*, ed. by Bernard Benstock and Thomas F. Staley (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976), pp. 25-60; and 'The Christmas Dinner Scene, Parnell's Death, and the Genesis of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 13.1 (1975), 27-38.

4 Irina Rasmussen, 'Riffing on Shakespeare: James Joyce, Stephen Dedalus and the Avant-Garde Theory of Literary Creation', *Joyce Studies Annual 2019* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019), pp. 33-73.

Dedalus at all and with the character incorporating his fictional *alter ego* again in *Ulysses*.

A significant clue that, for Joyce, a concern with Shakespeare and *Hamlet* goes back a long way, very possibly indeed to his time of writing *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, arises from his correspondence with Ezra Pound in the spring of 1917. Pound requested on 28 March: 'I want SOMETHING from you, even if it is only 500 words'. A couple of paragraphs later, he adds: 'From 500 to 3500 words is about the limit'.⁵ Pound shows himself to be aware that Joyce is working on 'Odysseus' (*sic*). Joyce's answer by return on 9 April reads: 'As regards excerpts from *Ulysses*, the only thing I could send would be the Hamlet chapter, or part of it—which, however, would suffer by excision'. (*Letters I*, 101) *Ulysses*, it is true, features its Hamlet chapter eventually only as the ninth of its eighteen episodes. From the hindsight of the book as published in 1922, Joyce's offering 'the Hamlet chapter' to Pound as early as 1917 is thus astonishing. The Pound-Joyce correspondence in fact antedates the accomplishment for *Ulysses* of its second and third episodes, Nestor and Proteus, by some nine months.

Preparatory labour on the new novel began (we estimate) in 1914. It had thus been in progress for some three years, yet was apparently still very volatile in early 1917. Written testimony from the three early years of thinking and writing towards *Ulysses* does not survive, or at most indistinctly. Yet it is also true that Joyce had already in 1915, on a postcard (in German, and remarkably dated 16 June!) written to his brother Stanislaus, confined in Austrian wartime internment, that he had completed a first full draft of the Martello Tower episode.⁶ Sustained drafting for *Ulysses* therefore began in Trieste. Within weeks after his postcard to Stanislaus, James Joyce and his family escaped to Zurich. Consecutive composition and fair-copying of the novel's eventual opening chapters, three in number—Telemachus, Nestor, Proteus—were yet some two years ahead. Whence could have sprung a fully blown 'Hamlet chapter' described as publishable in March/April 1917, and so elaborate even as perhaps to require excision? For a 'Hamlet chapter' to

5 Pound/Joyce: *The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce*, ed. and with Commentary by Forrest Read (New York: New Directions, 1967), pp. 103-04.

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

be conjured up out of a sorcerer's hat at this point in time would appear a doubtful proposition in terms of the *Ulysses* we know. Yet a 'Hamlet' unit that had been made ready early from vestiges of the *Portrait* workshop for the emerging new novel is thoroughly conceivable.

From James Joyce's postcard to Stanislaus we draw yet another intriguing piece of information. Outlining the design then envisaged for *Ulysses*, Joyce assigns four chapters to the opening Telemachiad. Taking this as his honest word from brother to brother, let us assume that these four episodes, by which the protagonist of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is brought over into the new novel, fully circumscribe the conceptual and (in terms of preparatory writing) the textual 'Stephen Dedalus matter' to go into *Ulysses* from the *Portrait* workshop. Over and above Telemachus, Nestor, and Proteus, ultimately realised as the odyssey novel's Telemachiad, the episode to fill the fourth position for that opening according to the provisional design of June 1915 was most likely the 'Hamlet chapter'—testified by Joyce himself to exist fully blown in the spring of 1917.⁷ For manifold compositional reasons, Joyce eventually moved that chapter—thoroughly revised and rewritten to become Scylla & Charybdis—into the central position of *Ulysses* by episode count. Concurring with Irina Rasmussen's assessment that this episode constitutes Joyce's modernist manifesto under the tenets of an avant-garde theory of literary creation, we realise that by relocation of 'the matter of Shakespeare' from an introductory to the central position in the novel's overall design by episode count, Joyce succeeded triumphantly in engaging his fictional *alter ego* Stephen Dedalus once more as his spokesperson in the fiction, now for expounding the artistic credo expressed through *Ulysses*.

However, we do not materially have the 'Hamlet chapter' that Joyce would have sent to Ezra Pound, had Pound taken him up on his offer. Even less do we have a 'Hamlet-chapter' instantiation as an

7 I already said as much in my essay 'James Joyce's text in progress' in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. by Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 213-36 (p. 222); and incorporated, too, in this volume. Michael Groden drew the same conclusion independently in 'A Textual and Publishing History', in *A Companion to Joyce Studies*, ed. by Zack Bowen and James Carens (Westport, Conn., and London: Greenwood Press, 1984), pp. 71-128 (p. 93)—or Michael Groden and I may have exchanged views on the matter during his memorable four-week visit to our edition's working site in Munich during the month of July 1978.

unused leftover from the 1912-13 labours on Chapter V of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. What we have in the way of a document text before Stephen's holding forth on Shakespeare in the National Library according to the fair copy of the ninth episode of *Ulysses* in the Rosenbach manuscript is a draft in three successive notebooks that form part of the Irish National Library's acquisition of Joyce manuscripts in 2002.⁸ This draft comes very close to the fair-copy instantiation of 1918.⁹ So clearly aggregated as a Scylla & Charybdis chapter as this draft is, it is ruled out as the document text of the 'Hamlet chapter' offered to Ezra Pound in 1917. This has simply not survived. Yet the pre-Rosenbach draft does allow an educated guess about its lost predecessor of 1916/1917. Through the first copy-book and until three-quarters down page sixteen in the second, the Shakespeare discussion runs on fluently, assured in its dialogue vitality. Revision and additional invention amounts largely to fine-tuning well-established text. This changes significantly from the entry of Buck Mulligan onwards. The draft manuscript's second half repeatedly features, in particular, extensive passages of first invention: the lavish 'Amen!' to 'Gloria in excelsis deo' passage on Buck Mulligan's entry itself (*cf. U* 9, 482-502);¹⁰ the chanting of Shakespeare's Will (*cf. U* 9, 684-707); the ribald cast-list for the play 'Everyman His Own Wife' near the end (*cf. U* 9, 1167-1189). Such extensive fresh inventions tend to fill almost the entire left-hand pages of given openings—space that Joyce in composition habitually left blank precisely for extensions to the ongoing drafting. The conclusion, though speculative, seems significant: The 'Hamlet chapter' of 1916/1917 comprised essentially the core Shakespeare discussion. Its expansion to render the narrative fully functional for *Ulysses* is aptly heralded by the entry of Buck Mulligan in the pre-Rosenbach draft as preserved in its three copy-books.

This conclusion would likely be corroborated from yet another Shakespeare-related document in Joyce's hand that once existed but is

8 By NLI signature, the copy-books are MSS 36,639/08/A-C. See further, Luca Crispi, 'A First Foray into the National Library of Ireland's Joyce Manuscripts: Bloomsday 2011', *Genetic Joyce Studies*, 11 (Spring 2011). https://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/articles/GJS11/GJS11_Crispi#scylla

9 Cf. the transcription offered in Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon, *James Joyce Digital Archive*, <http://www.jjda.ie/main/JJDA/U/u1ex/k/k11d.htm>.

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

also now lost. Last seen (apparently) in the La Hune exhibition in 1948 in Paris,¹¹ it belonged among the papers left behind when the Joyces fled to escape the German occupation of France at the onset of World War II. These papers were rescued by Paul Léon from Joyce's Paris flat and distributed for safe keeping among Joyce's, and Paul Léon's, acquaintances and friends. The dispersed materials were reassembled after the war and in 1948 exhibited at La Hune before going wholesale to the Poetry Collection in the SUNY Library in Buffalo—yet this one document never arrived there. We know it, or know of it, merely by description in the Slocum and Cahoon *Bibliography of James Joyce* (1953): 'Fragmentary conversations, which appear altered in the final version; on ten large unlined leaves, with a single exception written on one side only'.¹²

So described, the document and its content appear tentatively comparable to extant initial or intermediary Joycean working materials. To judge by the naming of its content—'fragmentary conversations' ['fragments de conversations']—it would have resembled the earlier of the two Buffalo drafts for *Cyclops*, Buffalo V.A.8. The indication of size as 'large leaves', in turn, recalls the intermediate *Circe* manuscript, acquired two decades ago by the National Library of Ireland, and quite pertinently as well, perhaps, the large-size note-sheets that Joyce assembled, apparently for the easier transport of written aids to further work, when, after the end of World War I, the move from Zurich back to Trieste was imminent. In one way or another, the appearance of the '10 large unlined leaves' represents, both in size and by nature and arrangement of contents, a preliminary-to-intermediate itemised disposition of a chapter prior to its being written out in narrative continuity. This lost episode outline, if written up in Zurich at some time after the Joyces arrived there at the end of June 1915, shows by its red-crayon marking that it was used for further texting for the episode. It could thus have served as the written pre-organisation for the narrative

11 Bernard Gheerbrant, *James Joyce. Sa Vie Son Oeuvre Son Rayonnement* [Exposition à Paris] Octobre-Novembre, 1949 (Paris: La Hune, 1949).

12 *A Bibliography of James Joyce: 1882-1941*, ed. by John C. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon (London: R. Hart-Davis, 1953), p. 140. No doubt, this description derives from the entry in French in the La Hune catalogue. It features one further detail: 'Nombreuses marques en crayon rouge.' ('Numerous markings in red crayon.') This indicates that the ten leaves were harvested in the writing of a succeeding document text.

elaboration of the 'Hamlet chapter' offered to Pound. This, however, is only one of three options for positioning it in a genetic stemma for Scylla & Charybdis. As an aid to drafting the chapter's eventual instantiation, it could alternatively have preceded the new NLI draft in three copy-books. Yet, though distinctly less likely, it could even have originated during the composition of *A Portrait*, Chapter V, as a planning sketch for composing a Shakespeare performance to fill the hiatus between Stephen's arrival on, and departure from, the library steps. Into whichever order the documents, lost or extant, of Joyce's 'Hamlet' progression should be configured, the roots of that progression in the gestation of Chapter V of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is hauntingly recalled at the conclusion of the Scylla & Charybdis episode in *Ulysses*: 'The portico. | Here I watched the birds for augury.' (*U* 9, 1205-1206)

Composing the 'Hamlet chapter' was Joyce's first sustained writing campaign on *Ulysses* in Zurich—as has not, in so many words, been stated before; nor has it yet been made explicit what this signifies. That Joyce wrote a 'Hamlet chapter' in 1915-16 to such satisfaction to himself that he felt he could offer it to Ezra Pound as a pre-publication promise on the novel *Ulysses* in progress means that, through the years 1914 to 1917, he was not merely—not one-sidedly, as it were—occupied with plotting and peopling the new fiction and working up his knowledge of Homer and of *verismo*-historic analyses of the Odyssey of his own times (and eking out, besides, his considerable Latin with some less Greek¹³). His urge, at the same time, was to anchor the new venture into writing fiction in a rethought aesthetics and understanding of literary creation. We can be confident, even while confined to supporting this assessment from the latter-day Scylla & Charybdis, that the 'Hamlet chapter' of 1916 in essence began to articulate James Joyce's revised conception of his art to carry the literary fiction *Ulysses*.

Significantly, Joyce reached this new stance by a route paralleling that by which earlier his systematised notions and perceptions of literary art were infused into those of the Stephen Daedalus/Dedalus characters

13 Prominent among Joyce's contemporary sources for the Odyssey was, as is well known, Victor Bérard's *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* (1902). As to Joyce's working up some Greek, see his Greek notes in the *James Joyce Archive*, ed. by Michael Groden, *et al.*, 63 vols. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1977-79), vol. [3], pp. 258-353—preceded in that volume from p. 136 onwards by his notes on English drama, Shakespeare, and *Hamlet*.

of his earlier prose. What Stephen sets forth, first in *Stephen Hero*, and then, partially re-thought and re-phrased, to Lynch in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, derives (as we can verify still from Joyce's papers) from impressive collections of notes of theory that Joyce compiled and, more pertinently, from the range of essays and lectures Joyce wrote and gave during his Dublin years. On an analogous epistemological route, Joyce prepared to turn knowledge gained through systematic scholarly research into imaginative literary art in *Ulysses*—and to do so again through his trusted spokesman Stephen. He embarked on that fresh route in 1912, which brings us back to precisely the time of the frame construction for the narrative movement to go in between Stephen's arrival at, and departure from, the National Library in Chapter V of *Portrait*. There is no telling how far a Shakespeare-related drafting of the matter to be inserted into that frame ever got. It is at any rate not fanciful to believe that a Shakespeare performance by Stephen Dedalus was considered to be staged inside the library at that interstice of the *Portrait* narrative.

Support for the hypothesis may be drawn from circumstantial evidence grounded in material proof. Joyce, while bringing *A Portrait* to conclusion, was simultaneously deeply engaged with Shakespeare, the author, and *Hamlet*, the play, as well as indeed with Hamlet, the character, and Shakespeare, the man and his life. William H. Quillian has investigated, and published in transcription, the notes with which Joyce prepared for his 'twelve lectures on *Amleto di G. Shakespeare*, given from November 1912 through February 1913 in the Università Popolare in Trieste.¹⁴ The coincidence with the period of finishing *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* is perfect. For these lectures, Joyce's extensive and deep-searching notes have been preserved. The appendix to Quillian's essay transcribes them from the originals held in Cornell University Library. Given that there is, at his time of writing, no other text to link them to than Scylla & Charybdis, Quillian naturally relates them to that ninth episode of *Ulysses*, even though it was written as it survives in the Rosenbach fair-copy manuscript some five to six years after Joyce's note-taking for the Trieste lectures. What Quillian argues, at the same time, and makes fascinatingly apparent by letting the notes

14 William H. Quillian, 'Shakespeare in Trieste: Joyce's 1912 *Hamlet* lectures', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 12, nos. 1/2 (1974/1975), 7-63.

preparatory to the lectures speak for themselves, is Joyce's searching and intellectually alive range of enquiry, highly alert to Shakespeare's dramatic art and his life both in aesthetic and historic terms. As Quillian maintains, the Shakespeare/Hamlet lectures, preceded moreover by Joyce's Defoe and Blake lectures also at the Università Popolare in the spring of 1912, 'brought to a focus a period of aesthetic speculation' (7). Because James Joyce's lectures themselves have not been preserved, Quillian, of necessity, illustrates their presumed stance on aesthetics, as on historicity in the mode of *verismo*, from Stephen's rhetoric in 'Scylla & Charybdis'; yet he concludes, 'The notes which survive from Joyce's own *Hamlet* lectures suggest that his method was very close to Stephen's' (9).

But would this have been true or, indeed, could it have been achieved in a Shakespeare performance by Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*? Having so far emphatically argued that Joyce had at least the transitional intention to let Stephen speak up for Shakespeare and Hamlet in Chapter V of *A Portrait*, I must now alter the perspective. In terms of the flow and structure of the narrative, it is irrefutably evident that Joyce made careful preparation for putting into compositional practice his idea of transforming his own public lectures on *Amleto di G. Shakespeare* into a performance given by Stephen Dedalus in *Portrait*. He built into Chapter V those narrative bridge-heads of Stephen first arriving on, and hours later leaving from, the steps of the National Library. Yet, on reflection, what havoc would a Shakespeare performance of Stephen's have wrought to the novel as a whole? How impossibly, at closest narrative distance, would the delivery of Stephen's Aristotelian and Thomistic aesthetics from *Stephen Hero* have clashed with the avant-garde understanding of art inspired by Shakespeare when articulated only pages later again through Stephen? Against the background of the whole *Portrait* novel, moreover, the Stephen Dedalus of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was altogether simply too much still the artist as a young man. He was not yet conceived as mature enough a character and artist to stand up and hold his own against Shakespeare. Nor was Joyce, as author, yet sufficiently secure in the originality of his art to design with full assurance the fictional Stephen as his *alter ego* in maturity. This insight may also lie behind his remark to Frank Budgen in Zurich that Stephen Dedalus could not be changed. Not for nothing, either, as it would seem, did Joyce in *Ulysses* proceed to

organise the fiction around the distinctly less autobiographical figure of Leopold Bloom. As for the narrative design of Chapter V of *A Portrait*: against the danger of destabilising the novel as a whole if he infused into it his matured aesthetics and grasp of his literary art gained through his *Hamlet* lectures, closing the gap between the National Library bridge-heads proved a merely pragmatic problem. Joyce inserted into the space prepared for a Shakespeare performance by Stephen Dedalus a narrative of his fictional artist-as-a-young-man's creation of a pre-*Portrait* villanelle poem of his, Joyce's, own authorship.

Once *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* was out of his way and in the process of being published from 2 February 1914 to 1 September 1915 in instalments in *The Egoist* in London, Joyce turned his mind to two fresh tasks. One was the composition of his play *Exiles*. This he largely wrote in Trieste, though he took the manuscript with him to Zurich in June 1915 and there touched it up with final revisions. What he wrote in Trieste and what he inserted into the fair copy to replace previous pages (discarded and consequently no longer extant) is easily distinguishable in the manuscript because, simply, the Trieste and Zurich pages differ in size. The other task was both to conceptualise and to begin to write *Ulysses*. For the writing, the unused materials from the *Portrait* workshop paved his way. As his entry into the new novel, he penned, still in Trieste, a first draft of the Martello Tower episode and reported it done to his brother on 16 June 1915. The unfinished *Portrait* business that remained was to turn the 'Hamlet chapter' into an episode of *Ulysses*. This can be dated to 1916, assuredly if broadly, by Joyce's offering it to Pound in April 1917. The efforts between 1914 and 1917 of fleshing out the fresh enterprise of *Ulysses*, and stocking the new workshop accordingly, remain much harder to gauge. Richer materials, which bear witness that the overall design of *Ulysses* was a protracted and multi-directional business over these years, have only lately come to light through the 2002 acquisitions at the National Library of Ireland. From them, we are learning better to understand, in particular, the volatility of options arising from Joyce's intense immersion into 'the matter of Odysseus/*Ulysses*' during his first two years in Zurich, and to estimate better why the full composition of the two Telemachiad episodes without a *Portrait* pre-history, Nestor and Proteus, cannot be safely attested earlier than around the middle of 1917. The early copy-books now at the NLI may

yet enable fresh discoveries about Joyce's pre-1918 work patterns—among them, for example, the one copy-book (NLI 36,639/07/A), which comprises not only note and pre-draft assemblies for the future episodes Proteus and Sirens—surprisingly enough together in the one copy-book—but also contains, interspersed in the Proteus section, jottings suggestive of the tentative planning of a 'Lacedemon chapter' for the Telemachiad, and thus the Stephen-Dedalus domain to which Sirens can never, of course, have been thought to belong.¹⁵ A 'Lacedemon chapter' was never realised. The 'Hamlet chapter', as we have seen, was removed from the Telemachiad position first intended for it—as before it had already once been removed from the position into which it had meant to be embedded in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Transformed into Scylla & Charybdis, rock and whirlpool, it was anchored at mid-point of the Odyssean adventures of *Ulysses*. What this meant, as through Irina Rasmussen's essay we freshly understand, was nothing less than installing Stephen Dedalus maturely in *Ulysses* as the spokesperson for James Joyce's modernist manifesto of aesthetics and art, which is persuasive to us as Joyce's reading audience, if less so to Stephen's listeners on the fictional occasion in the National Library—and to many a Joyce critic since. So, narratively positioned in the episode's centre, Stephen Dedalus, the novel's Telemachus, in fact steals the show from the novel's Ulysses, Leopold Bloom. That Bloom at the episode's end slinks out between the rock-and-whirlpool placeholders, Stephen and Mulligan, is at most an arabesque compared to the emblematic image we derive from the episode as a whole of Stephen, tied to the mast of his vision of modernist aesthetics and art, steering his course between the rock of Plato and Aristotle and the whirlpool of St. Thomas and Ignatius Loyola, while himself all ears to the siren-song of Shakespeare.

A fact that tantalisingly beckons us toward further paths by which we might feel our way to Joyce, as he builds his art from associative

15 See Daniel Ferrer, 'An Unwritten Chapter of Ulysses? Joyce's Notes for a "Lacedemon" Episode', in *James Joyce: Whence, Whither and How: Studies in Honour of Carla Vaglio*, ed. by Giuseppina Cortese, Giuliana Ferreccio, M. Teresa Giaveri, Teresa Prudente (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2015), pp. 363-77, <http://www.item.ens.fr/articles-en-ligne/an-unwritten-chapter-of-ulyssesjoyces-notes-for-a-lacedemon/>, preceded by his essay 'What song the sirens sang . . . is no longer beyond all conjecture: A Preliminary Description of the New "Proteus" and "Sirens" Manuscripts', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 39-1 (2001), 53-68.

intuition, is that, for a long time, the episode directly following Scylla & Charybdis was to be Sirens. Next in line after Scylla & Charybdis for the novel's adventures-of-Odysseus sequence, Sirens was also the one episode towards which Joyce's thoughts already projected in that notebook (NLI 36,639/07/A) that he also used to sketch out ingredients for the narrative units destined to form the novel's Telemachiad opening. What he sketched between asterisks in the notebook turns up dispersed and integrated into the textual flow of the pre-Rosenbach draft manuscript for Proteus. Now, at the turn of 1918 to 1919, Joyce became very conscious that he had reached a half-way mark for the novel in progress. He under-wrote the Scylla & Charybdis fair copy with the autograph *finis*: 'End of First Part of "Ulysses"'. After considerable mulling over how to proceed, he bridged the mid-way hiatus with a structural *tour-de-force*. He intercalated before Sirens as the novel's tenth chapter a non-Homeric counter-episode, Wandering Rocks, with Dublin as protagonist, and, as its template in Greek myth, Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece on a sailing adventure analogous to that between Scylla & Charybdis which Odysseus chose on his route to Ithaca.¹⁶

As the novel, over its second nine-episode half, pursues its 'odyssey of style' (to use Karen Lawrence's felicitous title),¹⁷ memory and memories of the author's, of the readers', of the text itself of itself play key roles, fulfil multiple functions, generate the narrative progression, and altogether propel *Ulysses* forward. Very soon, Joyce's first readers balked at the avant-garde course he was now steering. The experimental narrative structure of Wandering Rocks was at once outdone by the musical tone and sequentiality devised for Sirens. On reading Sirens in typescript, both Ezra Pound and Harriet Weaver voiced their unhappiness. Initially, this quite disturbed Joyce, yet upon taking a few deep breaths, he insisted to Harriet Weaver that he knew what he was doing: '[I]n the compass of one day to compress all [*Ulysses*'s] wanderings and clothe them in the form of this day is for me only possible by such variation which, I beg

16 The outcome warrants an essay of its own: 'Structures of Memory and Orientation: Steering a Course Through Wandering Rocks', in the present volume; and also in: *Text Genetics in Literary Modernism and Other Essays* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2018), pp. 81-110, https://www.openbookpublishers.com/htmlreader/978-1-78374-363-6/ch4.xhtml#_idTextAnchor014

17 Karen Lawrence, *The Odyssey of Style in 'Ulysses'* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

you to believe, is not capricious'. (*Letters I*, 129) Under the over-arching modernist tenet of segmentation and refraction that Joyce here terms 'variation', *Ulysses* in its entirety progresses over seventeen episodes within an Aristotelian framework of narration from beginning through middle to end—past-present-future—to reach the large-period end of Ithaca. 'The *Ithaca* episode [. . .] is in reality the end as *Penelope* has no beginning, middle or end' (*Letters I*, 172). At its ultimate conclusion, *Ulysses* thus turns non-Aristotelian. Its final variation triumphantly breaks the fetters of conventional narrative order and expectation of sequentiality. Its end soliloquy, voiced through Molly Bloom, draws both the past and the future into one ever self-renewing present in the never-ceasing stream of her awareness verbalised and so projected through the mind and pen of her author.¹⁸

But not to lose touch with the *Portrait* roots of *Ulysses*: What was, perhaps, the most important and encompassing rescue from the *Portrait* phase of James Joyce's narrative art was, I suggest, the salvaging for *Ulysses* of the original structural ground-plan for *A Portrait*, Chapter V. When Joyce pulled back from letting Stephen hold forth on Shakespeare in the National Library in the third movement of that chapter, he also sacrificed the structural design by which Stephen would have proceeded from home into exile on a straight course and timeline from fore-noon to evening in one day. Yet the one-day structure was not abandoned. It was only momentarily shelved. Salvaged for re-use, it was turned into the momentous overall timeframe for *Ulysses*.

18 This shift in terms of even the novel's narrative mode I have set forth in German in 'Nachwort', in *James Joyce, Penelope. The Last Chapter of 'Ulysses'*, ed. by Harald Beck (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1989), pp. 175-89, <http://epub.ub.uni-muenchen.de/5802/1/5802.pdf>. From and beyond this grew the twelfth essay in this volume, 'Composing *Penelope* Towards the Condition of Music'.