

A. Walton LITZ

THE  
ART  
OF

JAMES  
JOYCE

Method  
and  
Design  
in  
ULYSSES  
and  
FINNEGANS  
WAKE

# *The Art of James Joyce*

METHOD AND DESIGN IN  
*Ulysses* AND *Finnegans Wake*

A. WALTON LITZ

*Et ignotas animus dimittit in artes*

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## THE ART OF JAMES JOYCE

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First draft of the opening to *Finnegans Wake*  
(Courtesy of the British Museum)

## PREFACE

WHEN I first undertook this investigation of Joyce's methods of composition, and began to examine the drafts and proof-sheets of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, I was confident that these sources would ultimately provide me with a thread for the labyrinth. Like most critics of Joyce, I had been lured by the multiple designs of his art into believing that somewhere there existed one controlling design which contained and clarified all the others. For a time it seemed as if this might be true. Joyce's incessant revisions present a clear record of his evolving artistic aims, as well as incidental clues to the meaning of specific passages; and in the case of *Finnegans Wake* the early drafts are often the best running commentary on the finished work. But somehow the controlling design that I sought eluded me, and I have long since relinquished the comforting belief that access to an author's workshop provides insights of greater authority than those produced by other kinds of criticism. The irreducible gap between the creator and his work faces one at every turn. Indeed it now seems to me that the controlling design—the 'figure in the carpet'—lies always in plain view, not in the dark corners explored by the genetic or biographical critic. Therefore I claim no special authority for this study, although I have tried to found my conclusions on a factual survey of the manner in which *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* achieved their final forms.

The obvious limitations of the present study were inherent in my purpose. It was my intention to write a 'biography' of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, tracing the growth of each work and using this evidence to document Joyce's shifting artistic ideals. My main interest was in technique, and I sought to discover how the methods of the *Wake* developed out of those of *Ulysses*. During the seven years he spent in writing *Ulysses* and the sixteen years devoted to *Finnegans Wake* Joyce's techniques underwent radical changes, yet when the various stages of composition are examined we receive an impression of gradual evolution in method and design which is not conveyed by the finished works. This study should supply further proof of the essential unity in Joyce's achievement.

I have focused my attention on *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* for several reasons. Joyce's poetry and his one play, *Exiles*, are not considered because they stand outside the main stream of his technical development and present special problems peculiar to their genres. The exclusion of *Dubliners*, *Stephen Hero* and *Portrait of the Artist* may seem less defensible, but in all these early works Joyce was accommodating his art to techniques that were already characteristic of advanced English and French fiction. His unique contribution to modern literature is found mainly in his last two works, where new

## PREFACE

techniques are introduced in an effort to express areas of consciousness previously unexplored. Furthermore, information on Joyce's earlier works is readily available, and anyone who wishes to assess his stylistic development between 1904 and 1914 can do so by comparing *Stephen Hero* with *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.

Although I have aimed at a fusion of critical and scholarly methods, hoping that they will support each other, some chapters are necessarily quite factual. The opening chapters of Parts I and III, which trace the evolution of *Ulysses* and the *Wake*, are primarily concerned with the details of composition, and their chronological structure may strike some readers as excessively detailed; but without the evidence provided by these chapters the conclusions put forward elsewhere would have little validity. I hope that the book will be read as a unit since it was written with a single intention, to record and assess Joyce's artistic development between 1914 and 1939. If any further justification for my strategy is needed I can only plead, with Dr. Johnson, that 'it is pleasant to see great works in their seminal state' and 'to trace their gradual growth and expansion'.

This examination of Joyce's mature techniques is somewhat specialized, and for that I am sorry. It was written for the reader who knows Joyce's work and some of the major critical positions, but I have tried to avoid unnecessary reliance on the minutiae of a critical literature which has reached appalling proportions. In recent years the need for general surveys of Joyce's art (such as those of Stuart Gilbert, Harry Levin and W. Y. Tindall) has been filled, and Joycean criticism has entered a phase of consolidation distinguished by a number of specific studies. My work belongs to this phase, and like most special studies it is dependent on the accomplishments of earlier scholars and critics.

In a somewhat different form this book was a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Oxford University. For assistance in preparing that early version I am indebted to H. V. D. Dyson, of Merton College, Oxford, and M. J. C. Hodgart, of Pembroke College, Cambridge. I am also greatly indebted to the following for information and encouragement: John Bryson, Balliol College, Oxford; Frank Budgen; Thomas Connolly, University of Buffalo; Richard Ellmann, Northwestern University; Fred Higginson, Kansas State College; Marvin Magalaner, City College of New York; Joseph Prescott, Wayne State University; Lawrance Thompson, Princeton University; the staff of the British Museum, especially George Painter and Julian Brown; the Cornell University Library; the Lockwood Memorial Library, University of Buffalo, especially Miss Anna Russell; the Princeton University Library; the Philip and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia; and the Yale University Library. Parts of this book originally appeared in PMLA, *Modern Fiction Studies*, *Philological Quarterly*, and *A James Joyce Miscellany: Second Series*. I am indebted to the James

## PREFACE

Joyce Estate and the Society of Authors for permission to quote passages from the Joyce manuscripts. I am deeply grateful to the Research Council of Princeton University for grants which supported much of my basic research and aided in the publication of this study.

For permission to quote from the works of James Joyce I am indebted to the Society of Authors, literary representatives of the Joyce Estate, and to the following publishers: in the United States, The Viking Press (quotations from *Finnegans Wake*, *Portrait of the Artist*, *Exiles*, ed. Padraic Colum, *The Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Stuart Gilbert) and Random House (quotations from *Ulysses*); in England, Faber & Faber (quotations from *Finnegans Wake*), The Bodley Head (quotations from *Ulysses*), and Jonathan Cape (*Portrait of the Artist*). I must also thank Frank Budgen, David Daiches, and Charles Scribner's Sons (publishers of *Axel's Castle* by Edmund Wilson) for permission to quote material.

To Harriet Shaw Weaver, who generously allowed me to examine much of the unpublished material then in her possession, and who patiently gave her attention to the many questions she alone could answer from personal experience, I owe the greatest debt of all. Her unceasing interest in the progress of Joyce's reputation is an inspiration to all who would study his work. Without her assistance this book could never have been written in its present form.



## PREFACE TO THE PAPERBACK EDITION

SINCE the completion of this study in 1960, a number of scholars have published works that valuably supplement my argument. The most important of these are four works concerned directly with Joyce's methods of composition: Robert M. Adams's *Surface and Symbol* (New York, 1962), a fascinating study of *Ulysses* which attempts to establish Joyce's artistic intent by analyzing the ways in which the raw materials of the novel were processed and transformed; James S. Atherton's *The Books at the Wake* (New York, 1960), a comprehensive examination of literary allusions and sources in *Finnegans Wake*; Thomas E. Connolly's *James Joyce's Scribbledehobble* (Evanston, 1961), an edition of the long notebook which Joyce kept during the first years of his work on *Finnegans Wake*; and David Hayman's *First-Draft Version of 'Finnegans Wake'*, an annotated edition of the earliest versions of each section in *Finnegans Wake*. As a further aid to the study of Joyce's manuscripts, catalogues of the two major American collections are now available: Robert E. Scholes' *The Cornell Joyce Collection* (Ithaca, 1961) and Peter Spielberg's *James Joyce's Manuscripts and Letters at the University of Buffalo* (Buffalo, 1962).

The past three years have also witnessed the publication of the best general commentaries on *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*: S. L. Goldberg's *The Classical Temper: A Study of James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (London, 1961) and Clive Hart's *Structure and Motif in 'Finnegans Wake'* (London, 1962). When used in conjunction with Adaline Glasheen's *Second Census of 'Finnegans Wake'* (Evanston, 1963) and his own monumental *Concordance to 'Finnegans Wake'* (Minneapolis, 1963), Hart's *Structure and Motif* is an excellent guide to the total design of Joyce's last work.

I have made a number of small changes in the text of this new edition, and in the Addendum to Section One I have expanded and clarified my earlier remarks on the function of the *Ulysses* note-sheets.

Princeton, New Jersey  
July 1963

## ABBREVIATIONS

PAGE references for *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* are inserted directly in the text, preceded by 'U' or 'FW'. I have used the Modern Library (Random House) text of *Ulysses*, and all quotations have been checked against the authoritative Odyssey Press edition (Third Impression, Hamburg, 1935). In referring to *Finnegans Wake* I have often given both page and line numbers, separating the two by a stroke. The English and American editions of the *Wake* have the same pagination.

In referring to the episodes of *Ulysses* I have used the Homeric titles which Joyce assigned them.

- |                                  |                            |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Telemachus</i>             | 10. <i>Wandering Rocks</i> |
| 2. <i>Nestor</i>                 | 11. <i>Sirens</i>          |
| 3. <i>Proteus</i>                | 12. <i>Cyclops</i>         |
| 4. <i>Calypso</i>                | 13. <i>Nausicaa</i>        |
| 5. <i>Lotus-eaters</i>           | 14. <i>Oxen of the Sun</i> |
| 6. <i>Hades</i>                  | 15. <i>Circe</i>           |
| 7. <i>Aeolus</i>                 | 16. <i>Eumaeus</i>         |
| 8. <i>Lestrygonians</i>          | 17. <i>Ithaca</i>          |
| 9. <i>Scylla &amp; Charybdis</i> | 18. <i>Penelope</i>        |

Other abbreviations for works frequently cited are:

- Budgen** Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses'*, London, 1934.
- Ellmann** Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, New York, 1959.
- Gorman** Herbert Gorman, *James Joyce*, New Edn., New York, 1948.
- Letters** *Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Stuart Gilbert, New York, 1957.
- Slocum** John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon, *A Bibliography of James Joyce, 1882-1941*, New Haven, 1953.

# CONTENTS

## FRONTISPIECE

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| PREFACE . . . . . | v |
|-------------------|---|

|                         |    |
|-------------------------|----|
| ABBREVIATIONS . . . . . | ix |
|-------------------------|----|

## I. THE DESIGN OF *ULYSSES*

|                                      |    |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| 1. Growth of a Masterpiece . . . . . | i  |
| 2. The Late Revisions . . . . .      | 7  |
| 3. Order . . . . .                   | 33 |

## II. NEW BEARINGS

|                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| 1. Expressive Form . . . . .        | 44 |
| 2. The 'Image' . . . . .            | 53 |
| 3. The Condition of Music . . . . . | 62 |

## III. *WORK IN PROGRESS*

|                                                            |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. Exploration, 1923-26 . . . . .                          | 76  |
| 2. Slow Elaborative Patience, 1927-39 . . . . .            | 88  |
| 3. The Evolution of <i>Anna Livia Plurabelle</i> . . . . . | 100 |

## IV. THE WHOLE JOURNEY 121

### APPENDIXES

|                                                                |     |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| A. Manuscripts Consulted . . . . .                             | 129 |
| B. Early Vestiges of <i>Ulysses</i> . . . . .                  | 132 |
| C. A Chronology of Joyce's Work in Progress, 1914-39 . . . . . | 141 |

|                 |     |
|-----------------|-----|
| INDEX . . . . . | 149 |
|-----------------|-----|

# I

## THE DESIGN OF *ULYSSES*

### I. GROWTH OF A MASTERPIECE

**A**LTHOUGH *Ulysses* bears the date-line 'Trieste-Zürich-Paris, 1914-1921' its origin lies in Joyce's early experiences, and a full history of its development would be a history of his artistic career to the age of forty. In 1917, with the novel well under way, Joyce told a Zürich friend, Georges Borach, of his early fascination with the *Odyssey*:

I was twelve years old when we dealt with the Trojan War at school; only the *Odyssey* stuck in my memory. I want to be candid: at twelve I liked the mysticism in Ulysses. When I was writing *Dubliners*, I first wished to choose the title *Ulysses in Dublin*, but gave up the idea. In Rome, when I had finished about half of the *Portrait*, I realized that the *Odyssey* had to be the sequel, and I began to write *Ulysses*.<sup>1</sup>

The version of the *Odyssey* Joyce encountered at the age of twelve was Charles Lamb's *Adventures of Ulysses*, and the 'mysticism' that he liked was probably Lamb's fusing of realistic action and symbolism, his attempt—announced in the Preface—to make the characters both human figures and figures denoting 'external force or internal temptations'.<sup>2</sup> Lamb's 'mystical' view of the *Odyssey*, so unlike that of most nineteenth-century translators and critics, had a lasting influence on Joyce's imagination, proving to him that the Homeric plot could be recreated in the language of contemporary life and used as a foundation for symbolic actions. In 1922, shortly after the publication of *Ulysses*, he recommended that his Aunt Josephine (Mrs. William Murray) buy Lamb's *Adventures* as a guide to the novel, and every reader can profit from this advice.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to the Victorian *Odyssey* of Butcher and Lang, Lamb's version helps us to understand the many

similarities between the 'internal temptations' of Ulysses and those of Leopold Bloom.

But although Ulysses was a 'Favourite Hero' of the young Joyce,<sup>4</sup> the first evidence that he intended to write a story based on the wanderings of his hero dates from 1906, when he was twenty-four years old and working on *Dubliners*. On 30 September 1906 he wrote from Rome to his brother Stanislaus: 'I have a new story for *Dubliners* in my head. It deals with Mr Hunter [a Dublin jew reported to be a cuckold, later one of the models for Bloom]'. In November Joyce was still thinking of the story; then, on 6 February 1907, he notified Stanislaus that '*Ulysses* never got any forrader than the title'.<sup>5</sup> The extreme personal difficulties the Joyce family encountered while living in Rome were obviously responsible in part for this neglect of *Ulysses*, but a further reason for delay is suggested by Joyce's remarks to Georges Borach. During his stay in Rome (July 1906–March 1907) Joyce realized that a full-length work based on the *Odyssey* 'had to be the sequel' to *Portrait of the Artist* (then the half-completed *Stephen Hero*), and as a consequence the writing of the short story *Ulysses* was deferred. Additional evidence of this awakening to the possibilities of a modern 'epic' may be found in those parallels between *Dubliners* and the *Odyssey* which have been detected by some critics. It is significant that these parallels are most tenuous in *The Dead*, the only story written after Joyce had abandoned his plan to make *Ulysses* a part of *Dubliners* and had foreseen a sequel to his autobiographical novel.<sup>6</sup>

Late in 1907 Joyce told Stanislaus that he wished to expand his story *Ulysses* into a short book, 'a Dublin *Peer Gynt*'; it is not clear whether the short story was actually written at this time, or simply planned.<sup>7</sup> In any event nothing substantial came of the project, although between 1907 and 1914 Joyce maintained his interest in the *Odyssey*, carefully reading Homer and investigating the work of commentators such as Bérard.<sup>8</sup> He never lost sight of the potential 'sequel' to *A Portrait*, and several manuscript

fragments have survived which link *Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait* with *Ulysses* (see Appendix B, where these fragments are described and analysed). Two of the fragments indicate that Joyce was working on a rudimentary version of the Martello tower scene while completing *Portrait*, but excluded it from his autobiographical novel in anticipation of the first chapter in *Ulysses*. These discarded passages show that the design of *Ulysses* was gradually developing in Joyce's mind while he completed *Portrait of the Artist*.

Early in 1914, with *Portrait* finished and appearing serially in the *Egoist*, Joyce turned his full attention to the problems of a sequel and began the monumental task which was to take him seven years. The total design of the new work was already far enough advanced in his mind that he could start by 'setting down' what Herbert Gorman describes as 'the preliminary sketches for the final sections'.<sup>9</sup> Undoubtedly he wished to clarify some general problems of structure before concentrating on the early episodes. The nature of these 'preliminary sketches' is difficult to determine, but presumably they contained material later included in the *Nostos* or close (the last three episodes). In June of 1920, with the *Circe* episode still unwritten, Joyce wrote to his literary agents, the English firm of Pinker & Son, that the 'close of the book' was 'already drafted'.<sup>10</sup> Less than a month later he expanded upon this statement in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver: 'A great part of the *Nostos* or close was written several years ago and the style is quite plain.'<sup>11</sup> The amount of the *Nostos* previously written can be surmised from a passage in a letter sent to Frank Budgen late in 1920:

I am going to leave the last word with Molly Bloom, the final episode being written through her thoughts and tired Poldy being then asleep. *Eumeus* you know so there remains only to think out Ithaca in the way I suggest.<sup>12</sup>

These remarks would seem to indicate that *Eumaeus* was the first part of the *Nostos* to be fully conceived and outlined.

Confirmation for this may be found in Gorman's statement that Joyce wrote *Circe* and *Eumaeus* 'simultaneously', work on the partially constructed *Eumaeus* being a relief from the complexities of the Nighttown episode.<sup>13</sup>

These early 'sketches for the final sections' raise the important question of the order in which Joyce wrote *Ulysses* and, later, *Finnegans Wake*. His approach to both works was 'pictorial'. In each case he attempted to visualize the general design of the work before completing individual episodes, and the process of composition did not correspond with the final order of the chapters; instead, he programmed his writing as his interests or the need for clarification dictated. He felt that only through a long process of revision and elaboration could a work of art achieve unified form. 'The elements needed will only fuse after a prolonged existence together', he wrote in defence of his painstaking method of composition.<sup>14</sup> For Joyce revision provided an opportunity for exploration and discovery; it was a search for form. While constructing *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* he often worked on several sections at the same time, allowing the development of one to illuminate the problems of the others. This method was made possible, as we shall see later, by the unique form of Joyce's late work.

In the spring of 1914, with the 'preliminary sketches for the final sections' of *Ulysses* behind him, Joyce called a temporary halt to the planning of *Ulysses* and began work on his play, *Exiles*, which occupied a large portion of his time until late 1915.<sup>15</sup> The writing of *Exiles* seems to have provided Joyce with a catharsis that was necessary before he could fully develop the design of *Ulysses*. In *Exiles* he exorcised the spectre of Ibsen, a dominant influence since the days at University College; but, more important, he dramatized in the play a personal experience of sexual jealousy, thus preparing the way for objective treatment of Bloom's jealousy and cuckoldry.<sup>16</sup> The writing of *Exiles*, like Stephen's laughter in the Library episode, enabled Joyce to 'free his mind from his mind's bondage' (U 209).

*Exiles* completed, Joyce once again turned his full attention to *Ulysses* and began to compose the episodes in their final order, often working on two or three at once to promote their 'fusion'.<sup>17</sup> By June of 1915, when he and his family left Trieste for Zürich, he had begun the third episode, *Proteus*.<sup>18</sup> During the hard years of 1915 and 1916, while Joyce struggled for a living in the refugee city of Zürich, the writing of *Ulysses* still progressed. The design of the work seemed to exist as a single image in his mind, and no piece of information was too irrelevant to find its place in the comprehensive pattern.

As early as May of 1918 Joyce had conceived the basic structure of *Ulysses* in what was substantially its final form. On the 18th of that month he wrote to Harriet Weaver:

I thank you for having transmitted to me the kind proposal of my New York publisher. Will you please write to him and say that I could not, for many reasons, undertake to deliver the entire typescript of *Ulysses* during the coming autumn. If the *Little Review* continues to publish it regularly he may publish as a cheap paperbound book the *Telemachia*, that is, the three first episodes—under the title, *Ulysses I*. I suggest this in case his idea be to keep the few persons who read what I write from forgetting that I still exist. The second part, the *Odyssey*, contains eleven episodes. The third part, *Nostos*, contains three episodes. In all seventeen episodes of which, including that which is now being typed and will be sent in a day or two, *Hades*, I have delivered six. It is impossible to say how much of the book is really written. 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.<sup>19</sup>

By the end of 1918 the first seven episodes had been published by the *Little Review* in tentative versions, and by the beginning of 1920 serial publication had reached the *Cyclops* episode. Meanwhile, Joyce had got as far as the thirteenth episode, *Nausicaa*, in his writing, with parts of *Oxen of the Sun* and the *Nostos* already drafted and material for the other episodes collected. It was at



this point, and while writing the last five episodes, that he undertook 'the great revision'. One is tempted to compare this recasting of the earlier episodes with Henry James's revision of his early novels and tales for the New York Edition, but I think there is an important difference. James's revisions were, for the most part, elaborations and refinements of elements already present in the earlier versions: they seem to be logical extensions of the original intent. But Joyce's late revisions—as we shall see later—often ran counter to the intent of his earlier work. The early episodes of *Ulysses* were drafted in a style not far from that of *A Portrait*; but when Joyce returned to them in 1920 and 1921 he attempted radical alterations in their style and structure. In October of 1921, with parts of the novel already in proof, he wrote to Harriet Weaver concerning these late revisions:

*Eolus* is recast. *Hades* and the *Lotus-eaters* much amplified and the other episodes retouched a good deal. Not much change has been made in the *Telemachia* (the first three episodes of the book).<sup>20</sup>

Joyce never stopped revising *Ulysses*, labouring unceasingly to give the novel a closer texture and more organic form. Every episode was subjected to an intensive process of revision; the extant drafts reveal massive alterations and augmentations. *Oxen of the Sun* and *Circe* seem to have given Joyce the most difficulty, as might be expected. 'I wrote the *Circe* Episode nine times from first to last', he told a friend in January of 1921.<sup>21</sup>

As in the final stages of his work on *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce continued to augment and correct episodes until the moment of publication. Usually five or more sets of proof were required. In protesting to John Quinn against the sale of the *Ulysses* manuscript to A. S. W. Rosenbach, Joyce said:

It must be understood, however, that I will not write in any pages of the MS. to 'complete' it. The additions were made by me on printed proofs.<sup>22</sup>

The surviving sets of proofs for *Ulysses* were copiously cor-