Michael Groden, "Ulysses" in Progress.
Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977.

Introduction

> I've put in so many enigmas and puzzles that it will keep the professors busy for centuries arguing over what I meant, and that's the only way of insuring one's immortality.
>
> —James Joyce, in conversation
> (*JJ*, p. 535)

CONSIDERING the activity that has surrounded *Ulysses* since its publication, James Joyce seems to be over fifty years on his way toward the immortality he imagined—an eternity of scholarly perplexity and squabble. By conservative calculation, my book is at least the thirtieth full-length study of *Ulysses* alone, not to mention the more general books on Joyce (well over one hundred) and the thousands of articles and chapters on *Ulysses*. Such a production conjures up images of a flourishing "Joyce industry" but, more importantly, it testifies to the continuing vitality of *Ulysses* itself. Despite the millions of words, there is much yet to be said.

One major aspect of *Ulysses* that has remained obscure is its complicated and bizarre prepublication history. It is not just that Joyce spent eight years on the book; also, he radically changed his artistic goals during the last few years and reworked some of the book's early parts to conform with these new goals. The book was published twice: once in a serialized version while it was very much a work in progress, and later (much revised) set in book form by French printers who knew no English. By the time of its final publication as a book, Joyce's desires for encyclopedic completeness had become so dominant that every set of proofs occasioned further revision and addition, with the result that for some pages there are as many as thirteen different stages of development, beginning with the manuscript from which the typescript was prepared and ending with the published text.

In Ulysses *in Progress* I have investigated four different aspects of Joyce's making of his book. The opening chapter, "*Ulysses*: The Three Stages," looks at the finished book from the point of view of Joyce's processes of composition. Critics have often emphasized only one side of *Ulysses*' many dualisms, the "novelistic" story of Stephen and Bloom, for example, or the "symbolistic" pattern of parallels and correspondences. Recent attempts to incorporate these dualisms into a unified reading have led to the argument that the book's meaning is essentially a multiple or ambiguous combination of novelistic and symbolistic tendencies. This view is strongly supported by Joyce's methods of composing. Between 1914 and 1922 he passed through three distinct stages (rather than two, as has been thought) in his writing, with the middle stage serving as a bridge between his early interest in character and story and his late concern with schematic correspondences. In the first stage ("Telemachus"—"Scylla and Charybdis") he developed an interior monologue technique to tell his story. In the middle stage ("Wandering Rocks"—"Oxen of the Sun") he experimented with the monologue and then abandoned it for a series of parody styles that act as "translations" of the story. He balanced his growing attraction to stylistic surface with a continuing interest in the human story. Finally, in the last stage ("Circe"—"Penelope") he created several new styles and revised the earlier episodes. He only partly reworked the episodes, however, as if to present *Ulysses* as a palimpsest involving all three stages. A complete reading of *Ulysses* must accommodate Joyce's different artistic intentions during his eight years of work on it, since his methods of composition show that he never entirely abandoned a set of aesthetic principles, even when new ones dominated his writing.

The chapters that follow detail the three stages of composition. "The Early Stage: 'Aeolus' " discusses the development (from the first extant version to the final publication) of the early episode that Joyce revised most dramatically to conform with his late intentions. In many ways, the composition of "Aeolus" serves as a microcosm of the entire book. "The Middle Stage: 'Cyclops' " focuses on that point when he abandoned the interior monologue. An unusually complete set of early "Cyclops" drafts shows Joyce's first attempts to create a new style for *Ulysses*, and his use in the process of numerous notes. Finally, "The Last Stage: 1920-1922" documents his work from his arrival in Paris (during the early work on "Circe") to the time of the book's publication. During these eighteen months, he engaged in an elaborate combination of new episodes and revision of earlier ones, a process that became even more complicated when his French printer began to pull proofs in mid-1921.

The prepublication evidence in all four chapters comes from letters, notebooks, drafts, the autograph fair copy, typescripts, proofs, and the early version of *Ulysses* that was serialized in the *Little Review*. Because I will refer frequently to specific documents and their interrelationships, I think it best at the start to outline Joyce's progress on the book, differentiate the documents involved, and indicate the ways in which I will cite these documents.

Joyce's early years of work on *Ulysses* are not very clear; few materials survive to chart the story.[1] As early as 1906 and 1907 he planned a modern version of Odysseus' wanderings, first as a *Dubliners* story and then as a short book (*Letters*, II, 190, and *JJ*, pp. 238-39, 274-75), but he presumably never wrote either. He apparently thought of the long novel *Ulysses* while he worked on the last chapter of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in 1914. His earliest efforts on *Ulysses* were combined with work on several other projects: correcting proofs for *Dubliners*, which was finally being published; molding Chapter V of *A Portrait* while faircopying the earlier parts for the *Egoist* serial publica-

[1] The best discussion of Joyce's early work on *Ulysses* is in Rodney W. Owen's doctoral dissertation, "James Joyce and the Beginnings of *Ulysses*: 1912 to 1917," Diss. Kansas 1977, especially Chapter 2. The following paragraph is based on Owen's research.

tion; faircopying *Giacomo Joyce*; and drafting and then completing the play *Exiles*. These projects were finished when he left Trieste for Zurich in June 1915 (though *A Portrait* would not be published in book form until the end of 1916), so from then until February 2, 1922, his creative energies were directed solely toward *Ulysses*.

Joyce's first explicit reference to *Ulysses*, probably written in 1914, appears in a dream he describes toward the end of *Giacomo Joyce*: "Gogarty came yesterday to be introduced. *Ulysses* is the reason."[2] On June 16, 1915, he told his brother Stanislaus that he was working on a new novel (*Selected Letters*, p. 209); the announcement, written on the day the finished book would immortalize as Bloomsday, is his first mention of *Ulysses* in the surviving letters. Occasional references to it appear in 1915 and 1916. In October 1916 he told Harriet Shaw Weaver that he had nearly completed the first three episodes, the "Telemachia," and had done some work on the "Wanderings" and the "Nostos" (*Letters*, II, 387). In April 1917 he offered to send Ezra Pound excerpts of "the Hamlet chapter" (*Letters*, I, 101), and on August 20, 1917, he was "prepared to consign it [*Ulysses*] serially from 1 January next, instalments of about 6000 words" (*Selected Letters*, p. 227).

It is only toward the end of 1917 that we can begin to document Joyce's progress closely. When Ezra Pound became the European editor of the *Little Review*, he arranged for the serialization of *Ulysses*, and Joyce, probably prodded by the monthly deadlines, began to complete the early episodes in regular succession. To finish each episode, he prepared a holograph manuscript, from which a typescript was made. After correcting errors on the typescript and usually making some changes and additions on all copies, he sent two copies to Pound, one for submission to the *Little Review* and one for Harriet Shaw Weaver of the *Egoist*. He retained a third copy. The *Little Review* published "Telemachus" in its March 1918 issue and had printed one part of "Oxen of the Sun" in the September-

[2] *Giacomo Joyce*, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1968), p. 15.

December 1920 number when a New York court ordered it to cease publishing *Ulysses*.

The book publication process began in the summer of 1921, by which time Joyce was ready with revisions and additions for the episodes that had already appeared in the *Little Review*. He took unused copies of the typescripts prepared and corrected several years earlier for the serial publication, and made his new changes in ink.[3] He sent these doubly emended typescripts to Maurice Darantiere, his printer in Dijon. No new typescripts of the first fourteen episodes were prepared for the book publication. Thus, in 1921 the *Little Review* version of *Ulysses* drops out of the line of transmission. It has no textual significance, except in those cases where it differs from both the fair copy and the later published versions, and where the typescript is not extant to provide holograph evidence of Joyce's intentions. The last four episodes were not published in the *Little Review*; the typescripts of these episodes were prepared directly for the eventual book publication.

Joyce's writing of *Ulysses* hardly stopped when he submitted the typescripts to Darantiere; indeed, for some parts of the book it had barely begun. Darantiere pulled the proofs in two stages: *placards* and page proofs.[4] Joyce received three copies of most pullings, writing his corrections and additions onto one copy. He returned this copy to Darantiere, who used it to reset the type for the next set of

[3] The copy of the typescripts used by the *Little Review* was lost, but Joyce had the other two copies available at this time. One he had retained all along; the other traveled an Odyssean route from Joyce to Pound to Harriet Shaw Weaver to B. W. Huebsch to John Quinn and back to Joyce. See Clive Driver, "Bibliographical Preface," MS, 1, 24. For further discussion of the *Ulysses* typescripts, see the Appendix.

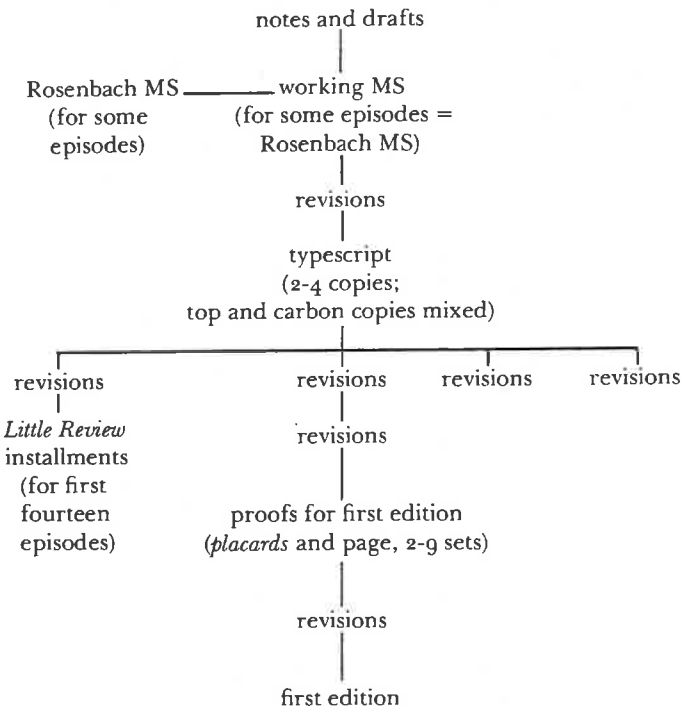
[4] The *placards* (*épreuves en placard*) consist of eight unnumbered pages printed on one side of a large sheet, four pages wide by two high. The second page is printed below the first, the fourth below the third, etc. The page proofs are printed on both sides of a sheet of the same size as the *placards*; each gathering contains sixteen numbered pages. I have included a census of the proofs, with library locations, as an appendix to my doctoral dissertation, "The Growth of James Joyce's *Ulysses*," Diss. Princeton 1975, pp. 314-45.

proofs. Joyce's reading of each set of proofs acted as such a powerful stimulus to revise and add that many sections required five or six sets of proofs; some needed eight or nine.

The prepublication transmission of *Ulysses* can best be summarized in chart form, but the single stemma offered here is necessarily a gross oversimplification. Joyce's unit of composition was the episode, not the entire book. In general, he began each episode with notes and early drafts, eventually producing a holograph manuscript from which a typescript was prepared. He considered each episode finished when the typescript was ready for submission to the *Little Review* (for the first fourteen episodes) or to Darantiere (the last four). Each episode was subsequently revised and augmented on the proofs. This general pattern, however, breaks down at some point for almost every episode. For example, the only extant holograph manuscript, the autograph fair copy owned by the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation (known as the Rosenbach Manuscript), was for several episodes the manuscript from which the typescript was made, but for many others it seems to be a fair copy made from another draft (presumably a holograph manuscript not extant) from which the typescript also was prepared. Likewise, for some pages of one episode ("Ithaca"), more than one typescript was made, each deriving from the previous one. The Appendix discusses the relationships between the prepublication documents and considers the transmission of each episode, but the chart offered here will serve as a general stemma of *Ulysses*.

The many transcriptions had a significant effect on the text of the book. First the typists and then Darantiere's compositors made numerous errors. Joyce caught many of them, but four major factors—the printers' lack of English, Joyce's difficult handwriting and weak eyesight, and the pressures of time—made complete accuracy impossible. As a result, errors have persisted through all editions published since 1922. For example, the angle-bracketed words in the following passage appear in the fair copy of "Lotus

A STEMMA OF *ULYSSES*



Eaters" (MS, fol. 1) and in the *Little Review* (5, iii [July 1918], p. 37), but in no later editions: "So warm. His right hand once more more slowly went over ⟨his brow and hair. Then he put on his hat again, relieved: and read⟩ again: choice blend, made of the finest Ceylon brands" (cf. *Ulysses*, 71.33-34). The printer must have skipped an entire line of the typescript, as he did at the end of "Nausicaa" in the images that pass through Bloom's mind as he falls asleep (again, the angle-bracketed words do not appear in the first or later editions): "young eyes Mulvey plump ⟨bubs me breadvan Winkle red slippers she rusty sleep wander⟩

years dreams return" ("Nausicaa" TS V.B.11.a, p. 21; cf. 382.17).[5] Many errors in spelling and punctuation were introduced in this way. However, considering all the complications involved in writing and publishing *Ulysses*, it is amazing that the text is not more corrupt than it is. Still, there is no doubt that the numerous prepublication transcriptions introduced unfortunate errors that were never corrected.

Many of the relevant prepublication documents have survived. Sets of notes are owned by the British Museum (edited in 1972 by Phillip F. Herring) and the Poetry Collection of the Lockwood Memorial Library, State University of New York at Buffalo (catalogue numbers V.A.2 and VIII.A.5, both edited by Herring in 1977).[6] The Buffalo collection also contains early drafts of several episodes, and the Cornell University Library has a draft of half of one episode. John Quinn began to buy the autograph fair copy in March 1920, but to Joyce's great annoyance he auctioned it in 1924. It is now owned by the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation in Philadelphia, which published a facsimile of it in 1975. Typescripts for twelve of the first fourteen episodes (five of them partial) and for the last four episodes have survived; almost all of these now belong to Buffalo. The *Little Review* collection at the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee has the portion of the "Oxen of the Sun" typescript sent to the *Little Review* but never printed. The typescripts actually used by the *Little Review* have not survived.

The proofs are now housed in several libraries. Joyce's corrected and augmented *placards* are at Harvard; the page

[5] I have discussed these and other omitted passages in "Toward a Corrected Text of *Ulysses*," *James Joyce Quarterly*, 13 (1975), pp. 49-52. See also Jack P. Dalton, "The Text of *Ulysses*," in *New Light on Joyce from the Dublin Symposium*, ed. Fritz Senn (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 99-119.

[6] The Buffalo collection has been catalogued by Peter Spielberg, *James Joyce's Manuscripts and Letters at the University of Buffalo: A Catalogue* (Buffalo: Univ. of Buffalo, 1962).

proofs are at Buffalo (catalogue number V.C.1), except for the final set of proofs, which is owned by the Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin. Unmarked duplicates of these proofs are at Buffalo and Princeton: the proofs at Buffalo run through the middle of "Sirens" (both *placards* and page proofs: V.C.2, V.C.3, V.C.4), and those at Princeton cover the rest of the book.

Wherever possible I have used Joyce's own words to support my statements. I have given parenthetical references to all works included in the list of abbreviations. In referring to drafts, notebooks, and typescripts (most of which are at Buffalo), I have provided Peter Spielberg's catalogue number and folio or page number. I have followed Phillip F. Herring's page numbering for the documents he edited in *Joyce's Notes and Early Drafts for* Ulysses: *Selections from the Buffalo Collection*; this should facilitate tandem use of my discussion with that volume. In the autograph fair copy, Joyce returned to number 1 at the beginning of each episode; I have followed this practice, citing episode name and folio number. I have referred to notebook and typescript sheets as "pages" and to loose manuscript leaves as "folios," using "r" and "v" (recto and verso) when necessary to indicate front (on which Joyce usually wrote out his text) and back (usually reserved for additions to the facing recto). For the notesheets at the British Museum, I have used Phillip Herring's page and line notations (e.g., "Cyclops" 9:13).

Despite its lack of textual authority, I have occasionally referred to the *Little Review* version of the first fourteen episodes. This happens primarily when there is no typescript to provide more authoritative evidence, or when the context calls less for textual accuracy than for the version of his work that Joyce released to the public. In referring to the major stages of Joyce's progress, I have often called the first stage "fair copy-*Little Review*"; in discussing later revisions in relation to this stage, I have used the phrase "post-*Little Review*."

A final point requiring clarification is my method of transcription from the prepublication documents. Unless stated otherwise, all angle brackets in my transcriptions indicate additions to or changes in the document's original text. An angle-bracketed passage following crossed-out words is a substitution; otherwise it is an addition. Double angle brackets indicate an addition or substitution within an addition. I have placed a question mark before any word I could not decipher with certainty.

The Early Stage: "Aeolus

"You will scarcely recognise parts of *Ulysses* I have worked so much on them," Joyce wrote to his friend Valery Larbaud in September 1921 (*Letters*, III, 49). For a reader who had followed *Ulysses* as it appeared serially in the *Little Review* from 1918 to 1920, the least recognizable episode in the published book would certainly have been "Aeolus." Joyce "recast" the episode before the final publication (*Letters*, I, 172); he radically altered its appearance to include symbolic correspondences and aspects of exaggeration and parody like those he built from the beginning into the later episodes. In "Aeolus," however, he superimposed the new form on top of the old. He revised all Bloom's early episodes through a continual process of expansion, but he chose the newspaper episode to receive the greatest burden of augmentation. The composition of the episode is a miniature model of the composition of the book as a whole; the different stages reflect Joyce's changes in aesthetic aims as he wrote *Ulysses*. His original work emphasized the novelistic story of Stephen and Bloom; later, he augmented the episode with many symbolic correspondences or elements from the schema that he prepared late in his work on *Ulysses*: references to wind and to the color red, rhetorical devices and newspaper subheads.

Joyce's work on "Aeolus," like his work on the whole of *Ulysses*, fell into three main stages. He began the episode in Zurich during the summer of 1918. On May 18, 1918, he told Harriet Shaw Weaver that the sixth episode, "Hades," was being typed (*Letters*, I, 113); presumably he had already begun work on "Aeolus" or would soon do so. Two months later, on July 29, he told Harriet Weaver, "Very soon I shall send the seventh [episode] 'Eolus' " (I, 115), and on August 25 he said, "I sent the eighth [*sic*] episode of

Ulysses (Eolus) to Mr Pound some days [ago] and hope you have it now" (I, 118). The composition of the episode from the first drafts (not extant) to the autograph fair copy (Rosenbach MS) thus occurred between mid-May and mid-August 1918. Using a typescript prepared probably not from this fair copy but from an intermediate manuscript or typescript (there are about one hundred differences between the extant fair copy and typescript), the *Little Review* published the episode in its October 1918 issue, ending the first stage of composition.[1]

The middle stage consists of the few changes and additions Joyce wrote in ink onto a copy of the original typescript (the typescript prepared for the *Little Review*) before he sent it to his French printer, Maurice Darantiere, in mid-1921. In a letter of November 24, 1920, Joyce described these changes as "chiefly verbal or phrases, rarely passages" and said that he sorted them by episode before he left Trieste in July 1920 (*Letters*, III, 31; II, 348). It is impossible to say with certainty when he planned or compiled these changes. One of them, the alteration of Murray's first name from John to Red, appears on a "Circe" notesheet (20:28), which Joyce probably compiled during the spring or early summer of 1920 (*Notesheets*, p. 526). However, other revisions probably did not occur to him until he actually added the phrases to the typescript in mid-1921. He compiled the revisions on cards or scattered sheets of paper whenever they occurred to him; he arranged them by episode in mid-1920; in mid-1921 he added the accumulated "Aeolus" phrases to the typescript and sent the augmented episode to the printer.

The third stage marks Joyce's "great revision" of the episode. He filled "Aeolus" with correspondences, adding, among other things, all the subheads and many of the wind references and rhetorical devices. This process was taking

[1] See the Introduction for an explanation of the various documents, and the Appendix for the problems involved in the assumption that the typescript was prepared directly from the autograph fair copy.

place while Darantiere pulled the *placards* and page proofs—from early August until October 1921. On August 30 Joyce told Harriet Shaw Weaver, "I have made a great deal of addition to the proofs so far (up to the end of *Scylla and Charybdis*)" (*Letters*, I, 171); this covers the first two sets of *placards* for "Aeolus," by which time the subheads were added. On October 7 he wrote Harriet Weaver that the episode was "recast" (I, 172), but the revision of the episode was not at an end, for he added a few more passages between then and the publication of the book in February 1922.

The table on pages 68-69 summarizes the stages of composition and the relevant documents.

The Early Form

"In the Heart of the Hibernian Metropolis," the opening words in the final version of "Aeolus," serve remarkably well to upset the expectations that *Ulysses* gradually promotes in the first six episodes. Despite its changes in style and its second beginning in the fourth episode, the book up to now has seemed unified in its balance between external description and interior monologue, and in its concentration on single characters, first Stephen Dedalus and then Leopold Bloom. "Aeolus" stands apart from the six preceding episodes, and it boldly announces this fact. However, as Joyce wrote the episode in 1918 and submitted it to the *Little Review*, no such conspicuous new direction exists; in fact, one of its prominent features is its continuity with the six previous episodes.

In many ways, the finished "Aeolus" seems like a new beginning for *Ulysses*: it is the first episode after the opening six scenes linked by a common time scheme; it represents the first extended appearance of both Bloom and Stephen in a single episode; and Dublin and the other Dubliners become increasingly prominent. (The opening head, "In the Heart of the Hibernian Metropolis," suggests both the new beginning and the new emphasis on the city and its

inhabitants.) These features (except the head) exist in the fair copy-*Little Review* version, but the episode in its early form displays more continuity with what has preceded it. For example, the fair copy "Aeolus," like Bloom's first three episodes, begins with a declarative sentence in the narrator's voice, reinforcing the outward-moving development of the episodes:

> "Calypso"—Bloom alone in his kitchen: "Mr Leopold Bloom ate with relish the inner organs of beasts and fowls."
>
> (MS, "Calypso," fol. 1; cf. *Ulysses*, 55.1-2)

> "Lotus Eaters"—Bloom alone in the streets of Dublin: "By lorries along Sir John Rogerson's quay Mr Bloom walked soberly, past Windmill lane, Leask's the linseed crusher, the postal telegraph office."
>
> (MS, "Lotus Eaters," fol. 1; cf. 71.1-3)

> "Hades"—Bloom within a circle of acquaintances: "Martin Cunningham, first, poked his silkhatted head into the creaking carriage and, entering deftly, seated himself."
>
> (MS, "Hades," fol. 1; cf. 87.1-2)

> "Aeolus"—Bloom within the city: "Grossbooted draymen rolled barrels dullthudding out of Prince's stores and bumped them up on the brewery float."
>
> (MS, "Aeolus," fol. 1; cf. 116.23-24)

This progression continues until Bloom leaves in the middle of the episode to the words, "Go. ['Begone' in the final version] . . . The world is before you" (MS, "Aeolus," fol. 13).

As the four opening sentences make clear, the original "Aeolus" resembles the three preceding episodes in the careful adaptation of the narrator's voice to the episode's theme and setting. If "Calypso" is dominated in language and style by the briskness of Bloom's early-morning inquisitiveness and "Lotus Eaters" by the pervasive langour,

THE DEVELOPMENT OF "AEOLUS"

Stage	Date	Name	Description	Other Documents
Early	1918 July-Aug.	Rosenbach MS	autograph fair copy now in possession of the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia	Buffalo MS VIII.A.5—notes from Joyce's reading earlier drafts not extant
	Aug.	typescript —Buffalo TS V.B.5	the autograph fair copy was probably made from another MS, which (with additions and corrections) also served as the typist's copy; perhaps contains a few corrections and additions by Joyce in margins	
	Oct.	*Little Review*	set from typescript, with Joyce's corrections and additions—5, vi (Oct. 1918), pp. 26-51	
Middle	1920-1921	typescript —Buffalo TS V.B.5	between the lines and in the margins, Joyce revised and augmented a copy of the typescript prepared in August 1918	notes or cards not extant
Last	1921 Aug.-Sept.	*placards*—Harvard; Buffalo V.C.4	two or three different proofs pulled for each page; first set pulled from typescript; each subsequent set incorporates new additions	Buffalo MS V.A.2—notes for late revisions
	Sept.-Oct.	page proofs—Buffalo V.C.1,2; Texas	three different proofs pulled for each page; each set incorporates new additions	
	1922 Feb. 2	publication	published book includes additions written onto last page proof	

then in "Aeolus," especially at the beginning, the dominant feature is sound, from rolling barrels to creaking doors to snipping scissors:

> Grossbooted draymen rolled barrels dullthudding out of Prince's stores and bumped them up on the brewery float.
>
> —There it is, John Murray [*sic*]. Alexander Keyes.
>
> —Just cut it out, will you? Mr Bloom said, and I'll take it round to the *Telegraph* office.
>
> The door of Ruttledge's office creaked again.
>
> John Murray's long shears sliced out the advertisement from the newspaper in four clean strokes.
>
> (MS, "Aeolus," fol. 1)[2]

The statements of the omniscient narrator at the beginning, like those in "Lotus Eaters," are long, verbose, full of many prepositional phrases. However, the style, sleepy earlier, becomes windy here, and the rhythmical repetition of the prepositional phrases echoes the noise of the machines. Occasionally, the noise even breaks into the narration ("Sllt. The nethermost deck of the first machine jogged forward its flyboard with sllt the first batch of quirefolded papers. Sllt"; MS, fol. 5), or the narrator lets Brayden's slow rhythm replace that of the machines: "It passed statelily [*sic*] up the staircase, steered by an umbrella, a solemn beardframed face" (fol. 1; when Joyce substitutes Brayden's rhythm for the machines', he echoes the subservience of the editors and reporters to their publisher). Bloom's mind fully reflects the noise around him, whether in the abrupt thought, "We" (fol. 1), or in the rhythm of a string of thoughts:

> Hynes here too: account of the funeral probably. Thumping. Thump. This morning the remains of the late Mr Patrick Dignam. Machines. His machines are working away too. Like these, got out of hand: fermenting. Working away, tearing away. And that old grey rat tearing to get in.
>
> (fol. 2)

The noise of the machines, and the accompanying style of the narration and the interior monologue, end after Bloom leaves the machine room, and he enters the *Evening Telegraph* office "softly" (fol. 7; the first words he hears are "murmured softly," the repetition emphasizing the contrast with the machines).

Even in its earliest form, "Aeolus" contains two different structural patterns that are evident in the final version. On the one hand, the episode splits in half, as Bloom leaves the newspaper office halfway through and Stephen then enters. On the other hand, it consists of a long central section in the *Evening Telegraph* office, flanked by shorter sections at the beginning in the machine room and at the end in the streets of Dublin. These two patterns parallel those of *Ulysses* itself, which splits in half after "Scylla and Charybdis" as an alternative to the more obvious three-part structure. Joyce's list of the episodes in a September 1920 letter to John Quinn notes both structural divisions (*Letters*, I, 145).

Since "Aeolus" is the first episode in which Bloom and Stephen both appear, it is not surprising that the two-part structure contrasts the two men. In the newspaper office Bloom faces a larger, less familiar, and more hostile group of people than that in "Hades" (significantly, Simon Dedalus, the only holdover from "Hades," is kindest of all the men to Bloom). The only time the men in the office consider Bloom part of the group occurs after he has gone, when the professor includes him in the list of professions represented in the room. Stephen, on the other hand, finds

[2] The opening sentence, which appears once in the fair copy and typescript, is repeated in the *Little Review* (5, vi [Oct. 1918], p. 26). It is possible that Joyce in some way indicated the repetition to the *Little Review*. But the printer may have set the sentence twice by mistake (Hans Walter Gabler has suggested that this is especially possible because the first printing of the sentence involves special type for the word "Grossbooted") and, taking advantage of the error, Joyce may have seen the opportunity for an additional rhetorical form by reversing the order of the phrases to produce a chiasmus. The reversed sentence appears as a handwritten addition to Buffalo TS V.B.5, the copy Joyce sent to Darantiere in 1921.

himself for the only time in the book among people who flatter him and court his literary aspirations; his reception contrasts strongly with the one shortly to come in "Scylla and Charybdis." The group misunderstands his ambitions, as will the sympathetic individuals Almidano Artifoni and Leopold Bloom later in the day, but Myles Crawford unwittingly invites Stephen to write *Ulysses*:

> —Foot and mouth disease! the editor cried scornfully. Great nationalist meeting in Borris-in-Ossory. All balls! Bulldosing the public. Give them something with a bite in it. Put us all into it, damn its soul. Father, Son and Holy Ghost.
>
> (fol. 19)

Bloom enters and leaves alone (though a "file of capering newsboys" follows him when he leaves; fol. 14), but Stephen is "escorted" in (fol. 16) and leaves as the center of attraction in a small crowd.

There are distinct differences in the interior monologues of the two characters. Bloom's thoughts continue to reveal his interest in his surroundings and his ability to adapt himself to them:

> Mr Bloom, glancing sideways up from the cross he had made, saw the foreman's sallow face, think he has a touch of jaundice, and beyond the obedient reels feeding in a huge web of paper. Clank it. Clank it. Miles of it unreeled. What becomes of it after. O, wrap up meat, parcels: various uses, one thing or another.
>
> (fol. 4)

Through both the noise of the machines and the snubs from the men in the office, Bloom retains his equilibrium, flexibility, and curiosity, as he has done throughout the book. Stephen's thoughts, though, differ from those in his first three episodes. After his long meditations in "Proteus," and probably in response to the verbosity around him, his thoughts here are short, terse, uncomplicated. Many are direct quotations from his reading, repetitions of

remarks people have made to him during the day or in the past, or echoes of his own words to others. Others are abrupt words or phrases: "Bit torn off" (fol. 16), "Dublin" (27), "Dubliners" (27), "Poor Penelope. Penelope Rich" (31). None of his thoughts here begins to approach the complexity of those in "Telemachus," "Nestor," or "Proteus."

The three-part structure contrasts Stephen and Bloom to some extent, since the opening and closing sections focus on them. Joyce presents both characters in their milieus performing their occupations. The opening section portrays Bloom doing his job (a late addition calls him "the canvasser at work"; 119.35), but primarily it shows his compatibility with his urbanized, mechanized surroundings. We watch Bloom "slipping his words deftly into the pauses of the clanking" (fol. 4), and he admires this adaptability of man to machines in others, since he recognizes the power of the machines:

> The machines clanked in threefour time. Thump, thump, thump. Now if he got paralysed there and no-one knew how to stop them they'd clank on and on the same, print it over and over and up and back. Monkeydoodle the whole thing. Want a cool head.
>
> (fols. 2-3)

In the closing section Stephen (typically on the way to a pub) creates his "vision" as a response to other aspects of Dublin: a work of art, John F. Taylor's speech; a monument in front of him, Nelson's Pillar; and two real women of his acquaintance.

In the long central section, Bloom and Stephen are adjuncts to the other Dubliners. The 1920 schema that Joyce wrote for his friend Carlo Linati described the meaning of "Wandering Rocks" as "the hostile environment" (Linati Schema), and Joyce begins to present this aspect of the city in the newspaper office. The noise of the machines is replaced by the noise of human bombast in the three set speeches, the professor's stilted language and syntax,

Myles Crawford's yelling, Lenehan's jokes, and the newsboys' screams. Like the competing newspapers, the men strive for attention by interrupting, yelling, or orating. This is the beginning of Joyce's extended presentation of the other Dubliners, a facet of the book that he will continue to develop, especially in "Wandering Rocks," "Sirens," and "Cyclops."

None of these aspects of "Aeolus" is missing from the final version, but Joyce's later elaborations obscured some of them. This process is evident, for example, in the beginning of Stephen's parable. (The words in angle brackets were not yet in the episode when Joyce faircopied it.)

> —Come along, Stephen, the professor said. That is fine, isn't it. It has the prophetic vision. ⟨*Fuit Ilium!* The sack of windy Troy. Kingdoms of this world. The masters of the Mediterranean are fellaheen today.⟩
>
> The first newsboy came pattering down the stairs ~~behind them~~ ⟨at their heels⟩ and rushed out into the street, yelling:
>
> —Racing special!
>
> Dublin. ⟨I have much, much to learn.⟩
>
> They turned to the left along Abbey street.
>
> —I have a vision too, Stephen said.
>
> —Yes, the professor said, skipping to get into step. Crawford will follow.
>
> Another newsboy shot past them. Yelling as he ran:
>
> —Racing special!
>
> ⟨DEAR DIRTY DUBLIN⟩
>
> Dubliners.
>
> —Two Dublin vestals, Stephen said, elderly and pious, have lived ~~fiftyfive~~ ⟨fifty and fiftythree⟩ years in Fumbally's lane.
>
> (fol. 27; 144.24-145.4)

Besides the two changes, there are only three additions to the passage—"*Fuit Ilium!*" and the words following; Stephen's brooding "I have much, much to learn"; and the subhead. Yet these additions change the movement of the passage. As Joyce originally wrote it, the professor, less oratorically than usual, invites Stephen to comment on Taylor's speech, and after a quick succession of stimuli—the speech, the newsboys, the pillar—Stephen responds with his parable. Like two opening chords in a musical piece, the words in Stephen's mind, "Dublin" and "Dubliners," announce the parable's distinct setting and theme and indicate its contrast to both Taylor's speech and his own shadowy poem.

The revisions changed the passage's emphasis. The professor's invitation to Stephen becomes much less sincere; he answers his own rhetorical question and reveals that he asked it only to hear himself speak. (The addition brings in one of the few explicit references in the book to the world of Homer.) Joyce also destroyed the symmetry of Stephen's two thoughts. The addition of "I have much, much to learn" represents one indication that Stephen is becoming aware of the need to associate himself with his Dublin environment, rather than to isolate himself. The subhead, which in context functions as a hackneyed sentimentalization of Dublin squalor, contrasts fully with Stephen's unsentimental attitude in the parable. Stephen's thought, "Dubliners," its relationship with the earlier "Dublin" cut off by both additions, now alone introduces the parable and even suggests that Joyce as omniscient author is linking the parable with the stories in *Dubliners*.

These revisions were still years in the future when Joyce first wrote the episode. Before discussing them in more detail, we need to consider another aspect of "Aeolus" that occupied Joyce from the start.

The Early Scaffolding

Although Joyce emphasized the story of *Ulysses* much more during the early writing than during the late revisions, he meticulously built elaborate parallels and correspondences into the early versions. The "scaffolding"

existed from the start,[3] although the correspondences were neither so noticeable nor so necessary for an understanding of the book as they were after the late revisions. An extant notebook from early 1918 (Buffalo MS VIII.A.5; *Notes and Early Drafts*, pp. 1-33) provides important evidence about Joyce's general concerns at that time and some of the specific sources for "Aeolus."

Joyce used this notebook to record information from books he read in the Zentralbibliothek Zürich. As the notebook's editor, Phillip F. Herring, has shown, the notes come primarily from two sources: Victor Bérard's *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* and W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der Grieschischen und Römischen Mythologie*, with a few entries from three of Thomas Otway's plays and a seventeenth-century French translation of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. These notes indicate some ways in which Joyce built up his system of correspondences, and they also provide rich clues for further exploration. (The following discussion is greatly indebted to Herring's efforts in locating the specific sources for Joyce's notes.)

The notebook shows, for one thing, that at a quite early stage in his work on *Ulysses* Joyce was carefully sorting out his notes by episode and storing them for future use. The division into episodes here is not as systematic as in the later notebooks and sheets—the British Museum notesheets for the last seven episodes, the 1921 notebook (Buffalo MS V.A.2), or the *Finnegans Wake* notebook edited as *Scribbledehobble*[4]—but Joyce did group the notes as he

[3] "These correspondences are part of Joyce's mediaevalism and are chiefly his own affair, a scaffold, a means of construction, justified by the result, and justifiable by it only." Ezra Pound, "Paris Letter" (June 1922), rpt. in *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce*, ed. Forrest Read (New York: New Directions, 1967), p. 197. Pound greatly underestimated the importance the parallels and correspondences eventually assumed in Joyce's mind.

[4] Thomas E. Connolly, ed., *James Joyce's Scribbledehobble: The Ur-Workbook for* Finnegans Wake (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1961). See also Buffalo *Finnegans Wake* notebook VI.C.7, in which Mme. France Raphael transcribed earlier (and presumbly unused) *Ulysses* notes, all grouped according to episode.

read sections of Bérard or Roscher. There are clear references to "Lotus Eaters" (VIII.A.5, pp. 3, 15), "Hades" (p. 26), "Aeolus" (p. 15), "Lestrygonians" (p. 13), "Scylla and Charybdis" (p. 1), "Nausicaa" (p. 19), "Oxen of the Sun" (p. 11), "Circe" (p. 16), "Eumaeus" (pp. 4, 7), "Ithaca" (p. 5), and "Penelope" (pp. 7, 9). He always said that he had drafted the last three episodes very early in the writing of the book (in mid-1920 he wrote that "a great part of the Nostos or close was written several years ago"; *Letters*, I, 143), and the notebook provides support for this contention, since it shows him taking notes for the entire book at once, even while he was writing specific early sections. (This should not suggest, however, that his plans for the later episodes were very far advanced at this stage in his work. He probably had no idea that the later episodes would differ at all from the ones he was then writing.)

Joyce compiled at least the first few pages of the notebook before he wrote "Lotus Eaters" in early 1918 and the "Aeolus" notes before he wrote the manuscript of that episode. Such notes as "LB.—all eat it—all one family ∴" (VIII.A.5, p. 2; see Herring's introduction to the notebook in *Notes and Early Drafts*, pp. 3-5) and "Grey bootsole, petticoat" (p. 3) appear in the fair copy of "Lotus Eaters," and one of the "Aeolus" notes, "pillar of cloud by day (Israel)" (p. 15), which occurs in the fair copy, suggests that the "Aeolus" notes preceded the completion of the episode's first version. His general use of the notebook was rather curious, though. Many of the notes and phrases recorded here entered the book after the *Little Review* publication; examples are "Get wind of it (Glasnevin)" in "Aeolus" (p. 3; 125.15-20), "P. Mooney's father bailiff bumbailiff" in "Cyclops" (p. 1; 303.3; see "Cyclops" notesheet 4:6), and "U. astride of a beam" in "Nausicaa" (p. 19; 378.41). Joyce apparently used a few notes for the original versions of the episodes and then regularly returned to the notebook for his revisions and augmentations of 1920 and 1921. (He raided the notebook when he compiled the notesheets for the last seven episodes; over 50 of the notes reappear on the sheets, bunched mainly on "Cyclops" 7,

"Nausicaa" 6, and especially "Circe" 3:100-21.)[5] Despite all this, there are surprisingly few specific uses of these notes in the book. Many furnished broad ideas that he later reworked in the idiom of the individual episodes (for example, "Eumaios pigherd good" and "Melanthus goatherd—bad"; p. 4), and some provided specific information which he probably intended to use but never did ("7 notes = isles"; p. 16). Herring suggests that "like a patient scholar he researched his subjects thoroughly, if sometimes credulously, making notes that suggested hitherto unforeseen possibilities for his art, trusting to genius for transforming trivia into the sublime" (*Notes and Early Drafts*, p. 4). As he transformed this notebook into his art, Joyce used some notes directly, reworked others, but rejected even more.

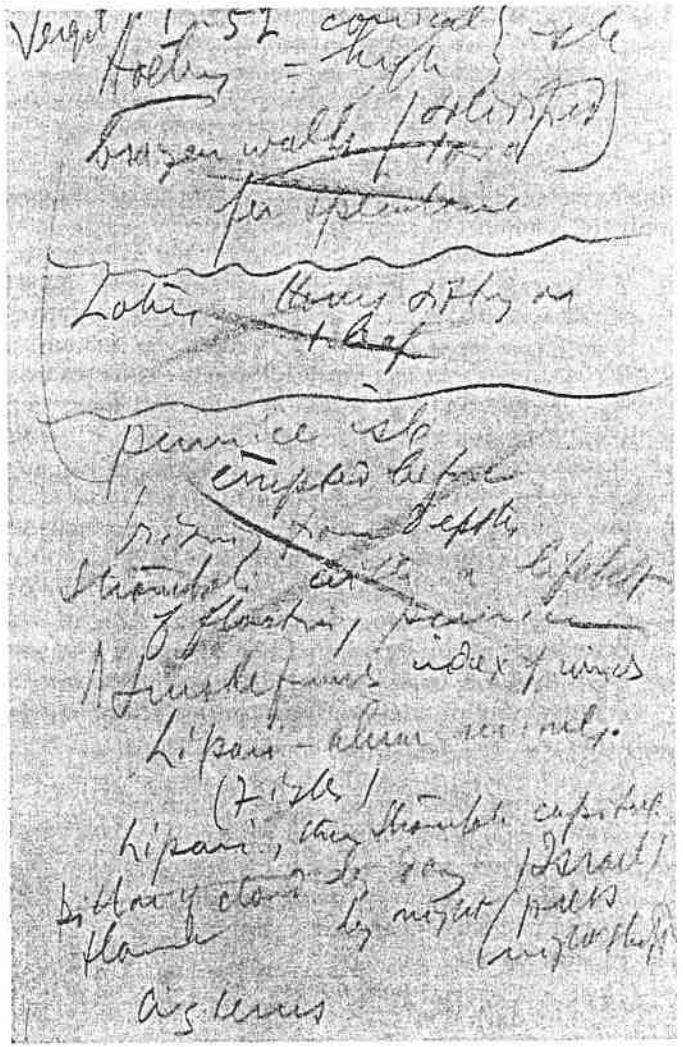
Most of the notes for "Aeolus" are grouped together in a series of jottings from Victor Bérard's chapter on the Aeolian islands in *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* (see Figure 1):

Aoelus [sic] = conical / high } isle

brazen walls (solidified lava)
fer spéculaire
pumice isle erupted before ?boiling from depths.
Stromboli with a lifebelt of floating pumice
Λ smokefumes index of winds
Lipari—alum mines (7 isles)
Lipari, then Stromboli capitol.
pillar of cloud by day (Israel)
by night (press nightshift)
flame
cisterns
figs—malmsey
incest
6 sons—6 daughters
7 notes = isles

(VIII.A.5, pp. 15-16)

[5] Phillip F. Herring has indicated these borrowings in his notes to the individual British Museum notesheets.



Joyce's notes from Victor Bérard (Buffalo notebook VIII.A.5). Reproduced courtesy of the Society of Authors and the Lockwood Memorial Library, State University of New York at Buffalo. (Figure 1)

A few others occur elsewhere in the notebook:

pressgang (p. 1)
Get wind of it (Glasnevin) (p. 3)
Antisthenes—placed P. above Helen (p. 8)
philosophical essay ρτψ of Ods (p. 8)

Finally, several notes on diction and rhetoric probably apply to "Aeolus":

heroic	1 to 1	par a par
dactyl	‖ — | ∪ ∪ ‖	narrative
spondee	‖ — | — ‖	solemn
iamb	‖ ∪ | — ‖	conversat
trochee	‖ — ∪ ‖	dance
pean	‖ — | ∪ ∪ ∪ 3-2 ‖ ‖ ∪ ∪ ∪ | — ‖	

prose (numerous) — rhythm
verse — measure
anabole?
antistrophe?
Periode diction
—qui de soi a un commencement et une fin est de grandeur à être vue tout d'un coup sans donner de peine

~~Simple~~ compound period: perfect, complete
(members) pronouncable in 1 breath
Comp. period
antithesis in clauses to sustain length
of equal limbs = parisose
equal ends
= paromoeose
" starts?
(isocolic
isocolon)
parison the good is geason and short is his abode
the bad bides long and easy to be found

paromœon O Tite, tute, Tati, tibi tanta tyranne tulisti
Paromology I grant he is resolute—but to his undoing

Object—to make folk learn easy
∴ foreign words; proper names ?tabu
Metaphor prefer to comparison
Comparison makes folk wait and tells you
only what smthg is like.
Good diction tria
metaphor, antithesis, energy

(VIII.A.5, pp. 23-25)

These three groups of notes provide important clues to Joyce's method of building up his episode. Most of the notes from Bérard pertain to a physical description of the Aeolian islands, particularly Stromboli, which Bérard derives from the French Navy's *Nautical Instructions*, Lazzaro Spallanzani's *Travels in the Two Sicilies* (1792), and his own visit to the islands. Joyce used notes like "brazen walls (solidified lava)" or "*Aoelus* [*sic*] = high" (a summary of Bérard's etymological account of the name) to create an analogy in the Dublin pressroom for Aeolus' island as described by Bérard. Stuart Gilbert discusses these analogies using ideas certainly supplied by Joyce himself:

> The brazen walls of the palace of Aeolus have, perhaps, their counterpart in the tramlines, "rows of cast steel", which encircle the office. . . . A buoyant debris, vomited by the printing machines, like pumice from a volcano, litters the offices—"strewn packing paper", "limp galleypages", light "tissues" which, "rustling up" in every draught, "floated softly in the air blue scrawls and under the table came to earth".
>
> (Gilbert, pp. 185-86)[6]

[6] Gilbert never mentions Bérard in his chapter on "Aeolus," although he does name him elsewhere in his book. Yet the quotation from Thévenot, and everything else on pp. 184-86, comes directly from Bérard.

No doubt Joyce planned analogies like these for the other notes, such as "7 notes = isles," but later changed his mind.

A note like "pillar of cloud by day (Israel)" shows a different process at work. Joyce read two passages in Bérard:

> Elle [Stromboli] atteint presque mille mètres d'altitude et, de son cratère, monte une colonne de fumée durant le jour, une lueur de feux intermittents durant la nuit. (II, 184)

> Des Sept Iles, Stromboli est, sinon la plus haute, du moins la plus lointainement visible: vers sa pointe de 940 mètres, vers son panache de fumée durant le jour, vers sa lampe de feu durant la nuit. . . . (II, 198)

He translated "colonne de fumée" and "panache de fumée" into another everpresent guide, from Exodus 13:22: "He took not away the pillar of the cloud by day, nor the pillar of fire by night, from before the people." Apparently Joyce originally planned an ironic parallel between the dependable "pillar of the cloud by day" and that capricious guide, the daily newspaper, since he included an analogy for Bérard's (and Exodus') nocturnal fire in "press nightshift." But he ultimately incorporated the "pillar of the cloud" into his version of John F. Taylor's speech (143.11-12; Taylor did not actually use the phrase in his speech),[7] and he dropped the "nightshift" entirely. (The phrase "pillar of the cloud by day" recurs twice in *Ulysses*; 210.25, 727.20.)

Although generally dismissed as a Homeric scholar, Victor Bérard was a major influence on *Ulysses*. Led to *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* by Joyce, Stuart Gilbert emphasizes two aspects of Bérard's account that must have been extremely attractive to Joyce: the arguments that the *Odyssey* is a fictional transformation of the Mediterranean voyages

[7] A pamphlet containing Taylor's original peroration is reprinted in Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain, eds., *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for* A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 155-57.

of Phoenician sailors and that the place names in the *Odyssey*, as well as the Greek language and culture, have a Semitic origin. These interpretations surely appealed strongly to the creator of Leopold Bloom, the modern Odysseus, but Bérard offered Joyce even more important support. Following the nineteenth century archeologists (as well as Strabo, a geographer of the first century B.C.), Bérard insists on the geographic verisimilitude of the *Odyssey*. For example, he writes of the Aeolian islands, "Il faut seulement prendre au pied de la lettre ses épithètes dites poétiques, et tout aussitôt nous apercevons, derrière les vers du poète, la Haute Pierre Montante, enclose d'une muraille circulaire de laves métalliques, et flottant sur une ceinture de ponces" (II, 192). And most important of all, as Michael Seidel has recently demonstrated, Bérard provided Joyce with a theory of epic geography and movement, a southeast-northwest pattern, from centers of known lands to borders of the unknown, that characterizes Odysseus' movements in the Mediterranean and Bloom's wanderings in Dublin.[8]

Bérard's presence in *Ulysses* is much more pervasive than the notebook would indicate. Joyce's notes are specific details from Bérard's descriptions of the islands, and they lead to individual correspondences such as those Stuart Gilbert discusses, but Joyce found other things in Bérard equally important to him. It is possible that the notes in notebook VIII.A.5 resulted from Joyce's second, or even later, reading of *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, rather than from his first encounter with Bérard's idiosyncratic account.

Joyce employed Bérard's geographical analysis of Homer in a startling way: just as he superimposed Homer's world onto his own, he superimposed Bérard's map of the Tyrrhenian Sea onto Dublin. When Bloom comes to the

[8] *Epic Geography: James Joyce's* Ulysses (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976). The following pages in my discussion consider Bérard's precise influence on a single episode of *Ulysses*; Joyce's general use of Bérard for the geography and movement of *Ulysses* as Seidel presents it is a logical, consistent extension of his specific use in "Aeolus."

newspaper offices from Glasnevin Cemetery and Stephen arrives there from Sandymount strand, they duplicate the routes to the Aeolian islands of, respectively, Odysseus from Cyclops' cave and the Phoenician sailors from the Straits of Messina (Bérard, II, 115, 199, and see my Maps 1 and 2).[9] When Odysseus first leaves Aeolus' island for Ithaca, he moves south before going east, and Bloom too goes south to find Keyes in Dillon's auction rooms in Bachelor's Walk (129.16-18). Joyce added several other parallels in the late revisions. First, a subhead gives Brayden an identifiable home, "William Brayden, Esquire, of Oaklands, Sandymount" (117.9-10), which means that he comes from the same direction as Stephen did; and when Joyce changed "a stately figure entered from Prince's street" (MS, fol. 1) to "a stately figure entered between the newsboards of the *Weekly Freeman and National Press* and the *Freeman's Journal and National Press*" (117.15-17), he included the part of the voyage from the Mediterranean through the narrow Straits of Messina. Then, the tramlines that Joyce added to the beginning of the episode all go south or southeast when they leave Nelson's Pillar (116.3-7); Bérard says of Odysseus' original departure from the island, "Ulysse s'embarque. Aiolos . . . lui procure un bon vent de la partie Nord, une brise du Nord-Ouest" (II, 195). Like Odysseus and his men, the tram cars return to their point of embarkation to face an unhappy situation, a short circuit. Thus, moving through Dublin, Joyce's characters (and the machines) trace the paths of Homer's men, as interpreted by Bérard.

Joyce uses another feature of Bérard's geography. There are two analogues to Aeolus' volcanic island in the episode, the upstairs newspaper offices and Nelson's Pillar. (The monument was prominent in the fair copy because of Stephen's parable, but when, in the late revisions, Joyce

[9] See Seidel's discussion of Bloom's and Stephen's movements (*Epic Geography*, pp. 164-65). If Stephen goes directly from the pub on Abbey Street to the National Library, he traces the path of sailors from the Aeolian islands through the Straits of Messina, hence by Scylla and Charybdis.

added it along with the tramlines to the beginning and end of the episode, he increased its significance as an Aeolian island.) Here, too, Joyce follows Bérard, who emphasizes that the capitol of the Aeolian archipelago frequently shifted back and forth between Stromboli and Lipari (II, 196); curiously enough, these two islands are situated in the same position relative to each other as are Nelson's Pillar and the Prince's Street newspaper offices.

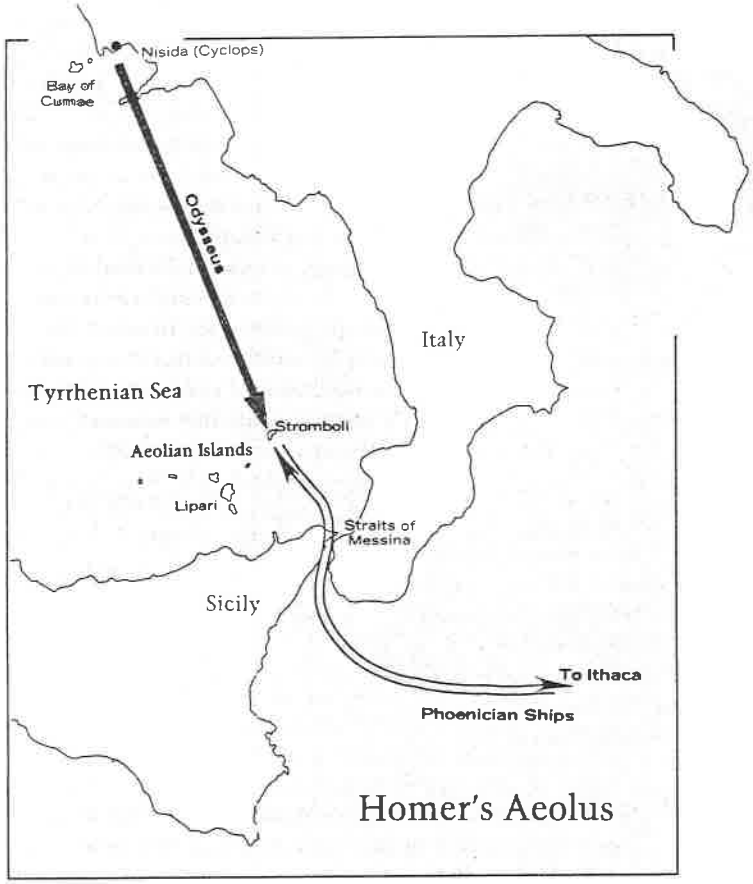
As if to acknowledge indirectly his use of Bérard's geography, Joyce included a similar act of superimposition among the happenings in the newspaper office.[10] Myles Crawford recounts Ignatius Gallaher's brilliant method of cabling to New York the escape route of the Invincibles following the Phoenix Park murders; Gallaher superimposed a map of Dublin onto a newspaper advertisement:

> Take page four, advertisement for Bransome's coffee, let us say. . . . B is parkgate. . . . T is viceregal lodge. C is where murder took place. K is Knockmaroon gate. . . . F to P is the route Skin-the-goat drove the car for an alibi. Inchicore, Roundtown, Windy Arbour, Palmerston Park, Ranelagh. F. A. B. P. Got that? X is Davy's publichouse in upper Leeson street. . . . X is Burke's publichouse, see? . . . Gave it to them on a hot plate, . . . the whole bloody history.
>
> (136.30-137.16)

Gallaher successfully transmitted his message across the space of the Atlantic Ocean; Joyce, the superior artist, uses the method to recreate a map across both time and space, and moving far beyond Gallaher, to indicate an entire conception of epic geography and movement.

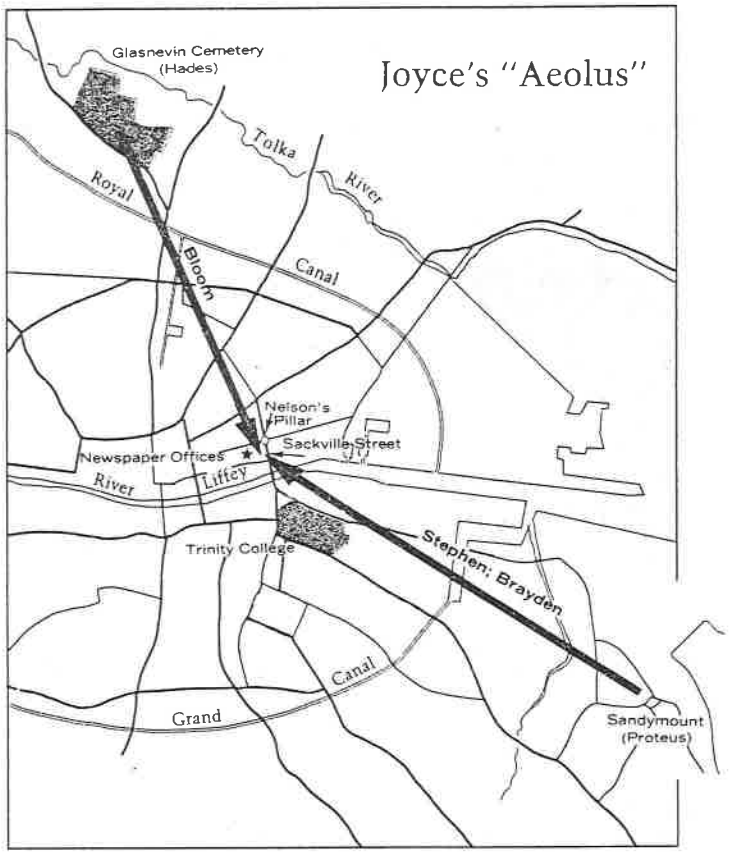
Joyce augmented his basic analogy between the newspaper offices and the island of the winds with several details from Bérard. According to Bérard, the smoke from the Aeolian volcanoes was considered a predictor of good or bad weather for sailing (II, 193). Joyce recorded this fact as

[10] Peter Garrett suggested the following extension of Joyce's use of Bérard.



Victor Bérard's map of the Homeric Aeolian islands (Map 1)

"smokefumes index of winds" (VIII.A.5, p. 15). So "Aeolus" is filled with predictions, from Bloom's belief about Nannetti ("Soon be calling him my lord mayor"; 119.20), to MacHugh's forecast of Bloom's success ("He'll get that advertisement"; 129.26), to Myles Crawford's prediction of the World War ("Sent his heir over to make the king an Austrian fieldmarshal now. Going to be trouble



Joyce's "Aeolus": Dublin: June 16, 1904 (Map 2)

there one day"; 132.34-35. This is a late addition, perhaps intended to replace a prediction of the war that Joyce deleted from "Cyclops" before the fair copy of that episode). He may also be commenting ironically on newspapers when Crawford praises them not for forecasting events but for quick response after the fact: "The Old Woman of Prince's street was there first" (137.23-24).

There are other parallels. Although Aeolus' home in Homer is usually considered to be a "floating island," Bé-

rard refines the meaning of "Aeolus" on the basis of Semitic etymology to "High Island" (II, 192) or "Pointing Island" (II, 190). On the other hand, the Hellenic name for the island, "Strongyle," means "Round Island" (II, 190). References to height and roundness occur throughout "Aeolus," and there are pointing fingers everywhere. Joyce includes over twenty references to height, from "glossy crown" (118.29) to haughtiness (141.16) to mention of hats (121.18, 130.25, 146.7) and mountains (125.5, 131.12-13, 143.13). When Bloom makes "two crossed keys" with his fingers (120.21), he creates a mountain like the one Joyce drew in his notebook, and the printer's term, "round the top in leaded" (120.26), is an analogue to the island's "wall of bronze" (Bérard, II, 187). On the other hand, when people leave, they go "round," Bloom to the *Evening Telegraph* office (116.29) and to Bachelor's Walk (129.16), Simon and Ned, significantly, to the "Oval" (130.6-7). Nannetti "turned round" (120.6) and "looked about him round" the machines (121.32); words go "round the top in leaded"; Keyes is "round there in Dillon's" (129.18). Besides the frequent use of the word itself, the episode contains round objects like barrels, reels, circles, a doorknob, hot plate, hook and eye, globe, hoop, and dome. Finally, the characters point or gesticulate throughout: Myles Crawford "stretched forth an arm amply" (129.21), "stuck his finger on a point" (136.28-29), and gesticulated by "pointing sternly" (130.26) and "holding out a hand" (131.36). Lenehan "extended his hands in protest" (134.15), MacHugh "raised an outspanned hand to his spectacles" (141.22), and Bloom talked to Hynes, "pointing backward" (119.28). All these examples appear in the fair copy of the episode.

Nelson's Pillar combines the Semitic "high, pointing" island and Hellenic "round" island. Bérard points out that there are two ways of viewing Stromboli, since it appears high from the sea and round from the top or from the slopes (hence, according to Bérard, the different Semitic and Hellenic names; II, 184, 190), and he asserts that "le

poète odysséen nous en décrit très exactement l'élévation et la rondeur tout ensemble" (II, 192). Stephen's parable includes this double mode of perception. Inside the pillar the two "Dublin vestals" climb a round "winding staircase" (145.26), but they also react to the pillar's height: "They had no idea it was that high" (145.30). As the "onehandled adulterer" (148.9), the statue is also a "pointing island"; at least, its hand is outstretched, and it "tickled the old ones too" (150.14). Commentators on the parable have pointed out both the analogy with Bérard's etymology and also the likelihood that Stephen's subtitle for his creation, "The Parable of the Plums" (a late addition), is a pun on *periplum*, an account of a voyage around an island and a word Bérard frequently uses when he talks about the Odyssean poet's source.[11]

Bérard discusses the importance of a guard on each island, who watched the sea from the rocks to protect the villagers from invading pirates, especially at night (II, 191-92); Gumley is "minding stones for the corporation" as a "night watchman" (136.19), and a newspaper, the *Skibereen Eagle*, is called "our watchful friend" (139.7; a late addition). Furthermore, the Aeolian islands, despite their rocky terrain, produced enough goods to be self-sufficient (II, 201); in Dublin, "sufficient for the day is the newspaper thereof" (139.9).

Bérard spends a great deal of time seeking factual bases for the myth of Aeolus as "lord of the winds" and for his island as "island of the winds." Joyce incorporates several of Bérard's explanations in the episode. The smoke rising from the volcano can serve the sailors by predicting the weather around the islands (II, 193); no danger exists when the winds come from the north, but there is great danger when they are from the south (II, 204). Joyce uses the volcano's smoke, the sailors' ship, and the storm ac-

[11] Irene Orgel Briskin, "Some New Light on 'The Parable of the Plums,'" *James Joyce Quarterly*, 3 (1966), esp. pp. 248-51; J. G. Keogh, "*Ulysses*' 'Parable of the Plums' as Parable and Periplum," *James Joyce Quarterly*, 7 (1970), pp. 377-78.

companying the southerly wind in the poem which Stephen "revises" from Douglas Hyde:

Hyde:
And my love came behind me—
He came from the South;
His breast to my bosom,
His mouth to my mouth.[12]

Stephen:
On swift sail flaming
From storm and south
He comes, pale phantom,
Mouth to my mouth.
(MS, "Aeolus," fol. 16; Joyce later revised "phantom" to "vampire," 132.14)

In another conjecture, Bérard suggests that Aeolus became "lord of the winds" by successfully predicting the weather from the volcano's fumes (II, 193), and the analogy with a city's leading newspaper is obvious.

A final use of Bérard exists in Joyce's equivalent for the incestuous marriage of Aeolus' sons and daughters. The 1921 schema simply lists "journalism" as the correspondence, suggesting the movement of journalists from one newspaper to another either in Bloom's general opinion about them (125.18-24) or in Myles Crawford's specific account of Ignatius Gallaher's career (137.25-29; Gallaher, in Crawford's idiom, "was all their daddies," like Aeolus). Gilbert applies the correspondence to the journalists' craft itself; he calls it "an illicit union, of aspiration and compromise, of literature and opportunism" (Gilbert, p. 187). In discussing Aeolus' family, Bérard states that Aeolus himself ruled one of the Seven Islands and that his six sons, each married to a sister, ruled the others (II, 201). Joyce's analogy for this seems to be the paired newspapers, joined either in a single building or under one management or

[12] Weldon Thornton, *Allusions in* Ulysses: *An Annotated List* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1968), entry 48.3. Thornton credits Joseph Prescott with the identification.

editorship: "the *Weekly Freeman and National Press* and the *Freeman's Journal and National Press*" (117.16-17), "the *Irish Catholic* and *Dublin Penny Journal*" (146.13-14; both phrases are late additions), and the *Freeman's Journal* and *Evening Telegraph*, housed in the same building and "closely associated" with one another (*JJ*, p. 297; Gilbert, p. 177).

In Bérard's unorthodox view of Homer, Joyce obviously found an extremely compatible group of ideas, and he built a significant number of Homeric-Bérardian correspondences into "Aeolus" from the start. But he went to other sources for information about the Homeric myth. Phillip Herring has demonstrated Joyce's familiarity with W. H. Roscher's six-volume encyclopedia of ancient myth, the *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griesischen und Römischen Mythologie* (*Notes and Early Drafts*, pp. 7-8). Herring suggests that this compendium of information on the classical world probably supplied Joyce with the many character correspondences he sought and used in *Ulysses*. Buffalo notebook VIII.A.5 contains entries from Roscher's accounts of Penelope, Hades, Alcmene, Anticleia, and Eriphyle, but there are no notes from Roscher's section on Aeolus. If Joyce did read Roscher on Aeolus, he would have seen the more orthodox equivalents of some of Bérard's idiosyncratic conjectures.

Even if he did not read Roscher's account of Aeolus, the account of Penelope perhaps gave him a clue for the newspaper episode. As Herring reveals, the notes "*Antisthenes*—placed P. above Helen" and "philosophical essay ρτψ of Ods" come from Roscher, and they may have supplied Joyce with the information for one of Professor MacHugh's responses to Stephen's parable. Roscher says,

> Ihre [Penelope's] Tugenden wurden überdies gefeiert in besonderen Lobschriften, so angeblich von *Isokrates* . . .; wahrscheinlich lief auch *Antisthenes*' verlorene Schrift περὶ Ἑλένης καὶ Πηνελόπης . . . auf eine Verherrlichung der treuen Gattin des Odysseus hinaus, die bisweilen sogar wegen ihrer Schönheit über Helena

> gestellt wird . . . , während seine Abhandlung περὶ Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Πηνελόπης καὶ τοῦ κυνός . . . eine rhetorisch-philosophische Wiedergabe der einschlägigen Bücher der *Odyssee* (ρτψ) gewesen sein mag.[13]

MacHugh's words are very similar to the first part of this account:

> —You remind me of Antisthenes, . . . a disciple of Gorgias, the sophist. It is said of him that none could tell if he were bitterer against others or against himself. He was the son of a noble and a bondwoman. And he wrote a book in which he took away the palm of beauty from Argive Helen and handed it to poor Penelope. (148.30-149.4)

Joyce had to go beyond Roscher for the information on Antisthenes' background; if he looked up the "rhetorical-philosophical rendering" of the three books of the *Odyssey* that recount Odysseus' return to Penelope in the source listed by Roscher (Mullach's *Fragmenta Philosophorum Graecorum*), he must have discovered a curious fact that suggests Antisthenes as one of the unacknowledged patrons of the "Aeolus" episode. Alone among critics of Homer, Antisthenes discussed πολύτροπος (polytropos)—the word used to describe Odysseus in the first line of the *Odyssey*, usually translated as "of many turns" (i.e., widely experienced) or "of many sides" (i.e., wily)—in a way that seems to mean "of many tropes."[14]

Tropes were on Joyce's mind during his early work on "Aeolus," as notebook VIII.A.5 clearly indicates. Of the ninety-five rhetorical devices Stuart Gilbert lists for the

[13] W. H. Roscher, ed. *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griesischen und Römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1884-1937), III, col. 1907.

[14] "*Polytropos*, he [Antisthenes] argues, does not refer to character or ethics at all. It simply denotes Odysseus's skill in adapting his figures of speech ('tropes') to his hearers at any particular time." W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero*, 2nd ed. (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1963, 1968), p. 99.

episode, sixty-four were included by the time of the fair copy. As A. Walton Litz notes, the thirty-one late additions "provide the margin that makes rhetorical experimentation such an obvious characteristic" of the episode (Litz, p. 50), since Joyce's late desire for all-inclusiveness increased his audacity in the examples of rhetorical devices; nevertheless, he filled the episode with devices from the start. The notebook confirms the suspicion that Joyce went to rhetoric books to learn about the terms and devices.

In notebook VIII.A.5, Joyce copied from Book III, Sections 8, 9, and 10 of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, using a seventeenth-century French translation by François Cassandre (see *Notes and Early Drafts*, p. 9). He was perhaps searching in the Zurich library for information on periodic diction to improve the "polished periods" (139.23) of Seymour Bushe and John F. Taylor, and he went to Aristotle (as he did for the three types of speeches in the episode; see Gilbert, pp. 187-88). He first copied in French and then switched to English. At one point in section 9 Aristotle discusses a periodic sentence in which the parts are antithetical and names some specific devices:

> Quant aux autres manieres de figurer les Periodes, le tout consiste, Ou à faire que le Periode soit composée de membres égaux, ce qui s'appelle *Parisose*: Ou bien par le moyen de la *Paromœose*, de faire que les extremitez de châque membre se ressemblent pour le terminaison. Or ceci arrive en deux façons, car il faut de necessité ou que cette Ressemblance se rencontre au commencement de châque membre, ou seulement à la fin; Si c'est au commencement, toûjours il faudra que les mots entiers se ressemblent; & Si c'est à la fin, ce sera assez que la ressemblance se trouve dans les dernieres syllabes; ou qu'un Nom soit mis en divers Cas, ou que le même mot soit repeté.[15]

[15] Aristotle, *La Rhétorique d'Aristote*, trans. François Cassandre (1654; Amsterdam: J. Covens and C. Mortier, 1733), pp. 413-14. See pp. 402-25 *passim*.

Wanting English examples of parisosis and paromoeon, Joyce went to a reference source, probably the O.E.D. (*Notes and Early Drafts*, p. 9). Reading along after "paromoeon," he noticed that the next word is also a rhetorical device, "paromology," and he copied down an example of it. He then returned to Aristotle, read on into section 10 about clever words and phrases, and took a few more notes.

He crossed out the examples of parison and paromology in the notebook, and after the *Little Review* publication of "Aeolus" he added a parison to John F. Taylor's speech ("Israel is weak and few are her children: Egypt is an host and terrible are her arms"; 143.2-3), and a paromology to J. J. O'Molloy's dialogue ("—Seems to be, J. J. O'Molloy said, taking out a cigarette case ⟨in murmuring meditation, but it is not always as it seems)"; 130.16-17; the bracketed words are the addition. Gilbert cites this sentence as an example of epanalepsis; pp. 195-96). None of the three rhetorical terms appears in Stuart Gilbert's list of devices, which suggests that when he made these notes Joyce was involved in a different hunting game from the one that resulted in the inclusion of nearly a hundred devices in "Aeolus." For the latter endeavor, he probably used a standard nineteenth-century prosody book that included a list of devices, and he certainly showed either this book, or his own list culled from it, to Gilbert for the exegesis of the episode. (See Gilbert's preface to the 1952 edition of *James Joyce's* Ulysses, pp. viii-ix.)

Given Joyce's detailed reading of Bérard, Roscher, and Aristotle in early 1918, it is amazing that his use of them in the first version of "Aeolus" remains buried so far under a realistic surface. Clearly, research of this kind was an essential part of his initial preparation for the episodes of *Ulysses*, but it is equally clear that at the beginning he did not want such "scaffolding" to show. We must turn to the various stages of revision to see this private background become public.

The Early Revisions

Unfortunately, we cannot explore Joyce's earliest work on "Aeolus," because no documents prior to the autograph fair copy have survived. However, we can see some of Joyce's concerns before the *Little Review* published the episode (hence, the end of the first stage of composition) in a few revisions on the fair copy itself and in some differences between the fair copy and the typescript from which the *Little Review* version was printed.[16] There are about one hundred changes; most involve single words or short phrases. The few complete sentences that were added occur in dialogue or in Bloom's interior monologue: "He ran that workaday worker tack for all it was worth" (MS, "Aeolus," fol. 2; TS V.B.5, pp. 1-2; cf. 118.31-32), in which Bloom's mind echoes the rhythm of the machines; and "Shema Israel Adonai Elohenu. No, that's the other" (MS, fol. 7; TS, p. 3), which augments the original "Adonai." The changes or additions serve the novelistic aspect of the episode, increasing the precision of wording, the vividness of expression as a reflection of the episode's setting, and the details of characterization. To increase precision, Joyce altered many lifeless words and expressions into memorable ones:

> He took out his handkerchief to dab his nose. ~~Almond?~~ ⟨Citronlemon?⟩ Ah, the soap I put there.
> (MS, fol. 7; TS, p. 4)

> —Look at the young ~~arab~~ ⟨guttersnipe⟩ behind, Lenehan said, and you'll kick.
> (fol. 14; cf. TS, p. 7)

> —The point is did he forget it, J. J. O'Molloy said quietly. Saving princes is a ~~bad~~ ⟨thankyou⟩ job.
> (fol. 17; TS, pp. 8-9)

[16] These differences point up the problematical position of the Rosenbach Manuscript in the textual transmission of *Ulysses*. See the Appendix for further discussion.

Onomatopoeic words include the description of the machines as "clanking" (MS, fol. 2; TS, p. 1) and the alteration of "His machineries are working away too" to "pegging away" (fol. 2; p. 1). The sharpening of characterization primarily involves Myles Crawford. He is given a straw hat (fols. 14, 19, 29; pp. 7, 10, 15), and a pet expression, "That'll be all right," which replaces "That's all right" and "That'll go in all right" (fols. 12, 27; pp. 6, 14; Joyce later restored both original phrases). Joyce builds up the general impression of Crawford as a raving bird through such additions as "scarlet face" (fol. 29; p. 15; red, as the color of the episode, figures prominently in the late revisions). In the late revisions, Joyce identified the bird when Bloom calls the newsmen "Weathercocks" (125.20), appropriate for the Bérardian predictor of the winds. (The *Little Review* printer, perhaps recognizing the editor's birdlike qualities, at one point misprinted his name as "Crowford"; *LR*, 5, vi [Oct. 1918], p. 41.)

Some of the changes serve the function of "rhetoric." Although the famous list of rhetorical devices was not yet a part of the episode, rhetoric itself was integral, and several changes, often simply the addition or deletion of articles or connectives, heighten the artificial, rhetorical aspect of much of the dialogue or narration. A single "but" increases the artificiality of Dan Dawson's style: "Or again if we ⟨but⟩ climb the towering mountain peaks" (MS, fol. 9; TS, p. 5). In "Pyrrhus ⟨, misled by an oracle,⟩ made a last attempt to retrieve the fortunes of Greece" (fol. 17; p. 9), Joyce heightens the lecture-like speech of Professor MacHugh. He further "polishes" Seymour Bushe's "period": "that eternal symbol of wisdom and of ~~admonition~~ ⟨prophecy⟩ which, if aught that the ⟨imagination or the⟩ hand of sculptor has wrought in marble . . ." (fol. 23; p. 12).[17] The

[17] Joyce heard Bushe's speech in 1899 and included a phrase from it in his 1904 Pola notebook: "which, if anything that the hand of man has wrought of noble and inspiring and beautiful deserves to live deserves to live" (*Workshop of Daedalus*, p. 90). Joyce had already altered Bushe's words when he wrote the fair copy of "Aeolus," and his subsequent additions made Bushe's speech even more of a "polished period" than it was originally.

description of O'Molloy's gestures while he quotes Bushe becomes more rhetorical when it loses two articles: "His slim hand with a wave graced ~~the~~ echo and ~~the~~ fall" (fol. 23; p. 12). Finally, Lenehan, the other "rhetorician" of the episode, says "expectorated" rather than the original "expected" in his long adjectival account of Moses' career (fol. 26; p. 14).

The last significant aspect of early revision occurs in Stephen's parable, "A Pisgah Sight of Palestine." Although the parable underwent practically no revision after the *Little Review* publication, Joyce augmented it significantly between the fair copy and the typescript. These revisions fall into several categories. Some tighten Stephen's account by changing general statements into specifics, primarily by adding Dublin information. Thus, the two women "buy one and fourpenceworth of brawn and four slices of panloaf" originally "in an eatinghouse in Marlborough street" but then "at the north city diningrooms in Marlborough street from Miss Kate Collins, proprietress" (MS, fol. 28; TS, p. 15). "Rathmines church" becomes "Rathmines' blue dome" (fol. 30; p. 16), and Stephen adds the Dublin expression "to take off the thirst of the brawn" as the reason for the purchase of the plums (fol. 28; p. 15). Other changes increase the rhetorical nature of Stephen's talk: "fiftyfive years" becomes "fifty and fiftythree years" (fol. 27; p. 14); "twentyfour ripe plums" becomes "fourand twenty [*sic*]" (fol. 28; p. 15); and the women carry umbrellas "for fear it may ⟨come on to⟩ rain" (fol. 28; p. 15). Finally, Joyce reveals a typical concern for precise detail. The "tin letterbox moneybox," like real Dublin mailboxes, is now "red" (fol. 28; p. 15; this addition shows Joyce's early interest in the episode's symbolic color); Florence MacCabe's weekly drink changes from "stout" to "double X" (fol. 28; p. 15); and for no apparent reason, the economic level of the venture is lowered, as the women's total savings

drop a shilling from "four and tenpence" to "three and tenpence" and the coppers drop from "two and seven" to "one and seven" (fol. 28; p. 15). Joyce made one deletion from the parable: the women originally look down from the pillar on "Rathmines church, Saint Michael and John's, Adam and Eve's," but the typist, presumably following Joyce's instructions, crossed out the middle church (fols. 30-31; p. 16).

These revisions brought "Aeolus" to the version published in the *Little Review*. Some of the changes serve the interest of the correspondences in the episode, such as the use of "prophecy" in Bushe's speech or the few additions of "red." Most do not, although from this point on in the development of the episode, the balance between the novel and the schema begins to shift in favor of the latter.

The Middle Stage

When Joyce wrote to John Quinn on November 24, 1920, and demanded that all his insertions to the episodes already published in the *Little Review* be included in any projected book publication of *Ulysses*, he described the new passages as "chiefly verbal or phrases, rarely passages" and named the four episodes having the greatest number of additions. "Aeolus" was not among these (*Letters*, III, 31). Joyce was still several months away from his "recasting" of the episode (I, 172) and the middle-stage revisions, which appear as handwritten additions to the typescript he sent to his printer Maurice Darantiere in June or July 1921, do not differ radically from those between the fair copy, typescript, and *Little Review* texts, except that the thirty-five changes are equally divided between the novelistic and symbolistic aspects of the episode. By the time Joyce compiled these revisions (probably beginning in 1920 and lasting until mid-1921), the expansive, symbolistic aspects had assumed a much greater importance in his conception of *Ulysses* than they had had before, but they had not yet come to dominate that conception.

The additions to Bloom's interior monologue reveal

both Joyce's growing concern with symbols and correspondences and his continued interest in precise phrasing and minute delineation of character. Joyce provides Bloom with responses to the machines' power, "Smash a man to atoms if they got him caught. Rule the world today" (TS, p. 1; 118.22-23); to the smell in the printing works, "Lukewarm glue in Thom's next door when I was there" (p. 4; 123.4-5); and to J. J. O'Molloy, "A mighthavebeen" (p. 5; 125.13). On the other hand, Bloom contributes a trope and several allusions to wind: "More Irish than the Irish" (p. 2; 119.11-12), "Bladderbags" (p. 4; 124.9), "Windfall when he kicks out" (p. 4; 124.17), "What's in the wind, I wonder" (p. 5; 125.4), and "Wonder is that young Dedalus ~~standing~~ ⟨the moving spirit⟩" (p. 15; 147.3; Joyce must have enjoyed this revision especially, since, without changing the meaning, he created motion out of stasis). In all, there are eighteen new novelistic phrases and sixteen symbolistic additions. These changes do not cause the episode to seem overwhelmed by the schema, although they do show that Joyce had begun to add allusions to wind and examples of rhetoric where they seemed appropriate. His limited revisions from the schema during his middle stage of work paved the way for the dramatic recasting in the last stage.

In discussing the revisions of "Aeolus," A. Walton Litz quotes a paragraph that he feels epitomizes Joyce's overhauling of the episode (Litz, p. 51). The paragraph is a fascinating example of the gradual accretion of symbolistic elements. Litz provides both the *Little Review* and final versions:

> Practice dwindling. Losing heart. Used to get good retainers from D. and T. Fitzgerald. Believe he does some literary work for the *Express* with Gabriel Conroy. Well-read fellow. Myles Crawford began on the *Independent*. Funny the way they veer about. Go for one another baldheaded in the papers and then hail fellow well met the next moment.
>
> (*LR*, p. 32)

> Practice dwindling. A mighthavebeen. Losing heart. Gambling. Debts of honour. Reaping the whirlwind. Used to get good retainers from D. and T. Fitzgerald. Their wigs to show their grey matter. Brains on their sleeve like the statue in Glasnevin. Believe he does some literary work for the *Express* with Gabriel Conroy. Well-read fellow. Myles Crawford began on the *Independent*. Funny the way those newspaper men veer about when they get wind of a new opening. Weathercocks. Hot and cold in the same breath. Wouldn't know which to believe. One story good till you hear the next. Go for one another baldheaded in the papers and then all blows over. Hailfellow well met the next moment.
>
> (125.13-24)

We will be following the growth of this passage through the different stages of revision. An indication of Joyce's aims in his additions to the typescript is the fact that, given all the eventual augmentation, only "A mighthavebeen," a non-windy phrase, entered at the middle stage.

One other document belongs to this stage of composition: the first of Joyce's two schemata for *Ulysses*. He prepared the outline for Carlo Linati and sent it to him with a letter on September 21, 1920 (*Selected Letters*, pp. 270-71). The entries for "Aeolus" include the following information:

> Time—12-1
> Colour—Red
> Persons—Aeolus, Sons, Telemachus, Mentor, Ulysses(2)
> Technic—Simbouleutike [deliberative oratory], Dikanike [forensic oratory], Epideictic [public oratory], Tropes
> Science, Art—Rhetoric
> Sense (Meaning)—The Mockery of Victory
> Organ—Lungs
> Symbol—Machines: Wind: Hunger: Kite: Failed Destinies: Press: Mutability
>
> (Linati Schema)

How important was this schema to Joyce? The fair copy includes the entries for the time, the technic, the sense (as in various failures near the goal), and the symbols. In his additions to the typescript, Joyce was filling in the categories of tropes, rhetoric, lungs, wind, and redness. But some of the schema entries present problems. The symbolic meaning of MacHugh's hunger is not clear (is it a contrast with the feasts in Aeolus' castle?), nor are some of the "persons." The journalists may represent Aeolus' sons, and perhaps either John F. Taylor or MacHugh, each a conscience of Ireland, is Mentor, but who is the second Ulysses? When Joyce wrote the schema, these correspondences must have been like the entries of rhetoric, tropes, lungs, wind, and redness: ideas and plans in his mind rather than actual parts of the written episode. He compiled the schema after he had written the middle-stage episodes ("Cyclops," "Nausicaa," and "Oxen of the Sun") that leave behind the early novelistic concerns and the interior monologue technique for new directions of parody and exaggeration. But the revised "Aeolus" typescript shows that even though a major change in aesthetic direction had occurred in Joyce's new work, it was only beginning to appear in his revisions to the early episodes.

The Last Stage

Joyce's final work on "Aeolus" involved a great deal of addition and reworking in an extremely short period. The last revisions occurred in several stages between early August and the end of September 1921. (Darantiere pulled the first set of *placards* on August 11 or 12 and the last page proofs on October 3; Joyce's work probably preceded those dates by no more than a few weeks.) The recasting of the episode took place during the second and third weeks of August 1921, when he received the first set of *placards*. This was almost two months before he told Harriet Shaw Weaver of his reworking of "Aeolus" (Oct. 7, 1921; *Letters*, I, 172) and just before he wrote her, "I have made a great

deal of addition to the proofs so far (up to the end of *Scylla and Charybdis*)" (Aug. 30, 1921; *Letters*, I, 171).

Darantiere's men prepared the episode seven different times. In the following discussion I will refer to the various proofs by letter symbols; the letters refer to the typescript or set of proofs onto which Joyce wrote his revisions:

A—typescript; Buffalo TS V.B.5
B—first *placards*, *ca.* Aug. 11-13, 1921; Harvard
C—second *placards*, *ca.* Aug. 23-25; Harvard
D—third *placards*, *ca.* Sept. 12-14; Harvard
E—first page proofs, *ca.* Sept. 18-20; Buffalo V.C.1
F—second page proofs, *ca.* Sept. 23-25; Buffalo V.C.1
G—third page proofs, *ca.* Oct. 2-4; Texas

The late revisions involve only a very few novelistic aspects of the episode. Two additions to Stephen's monologue intensify the possibility that a new humility and receptiveness to experience distinguish the Stephen of *Ulysses* from that of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*; these are "I have much, much to learn" (144.31), Stephen's response to the Dublin around him, and "Dare it" (145.10), an addition at the beginning of Stephen's parable that suggests a break in his protective self-irony. Additions like these, though, are extremely rare compared to the increase in the schematic aspects of the episode.

A general pattern emerges in Joyce's revisions. He began by developing an initial impulse only to a limited extent; then in subsequent revisions he expanded and expanded. (It should be remembered, though, that some passages in the episode remain intact from earliest to last stage with no changes at all.) The broad categories of these changes follow the entries in the Linati schema: rhetoric (both tropes and subheads), allusions to wind, machines, lungs, and redness. No set of proofs is augmented in only one of these categories; Joyce increased all of them all the time.

The stages of Joyce's accretion process can be seen in every passage that underwent significant expansion. He augmented Bloom's thoughts about J. J. O'Molloy and capricious newsmen on each of the first five sets of proofs. (All of the bracketed passages are additions; superscripts indicate the typescript or proof onto which the addition is written.)

> Practice dwindling. ⟨A mighthavebeen.^{A}⟩ Losing heart. ⟨Gambling. Debts of honour.^{C}⟩ ⟨Reaping the whirlwind.^{D}⟩ Used to get good retainers from D. and T. Fitzgerald. ⟨Their wigs to show their grey matter. Brains on their sleeve like the statue in Glasnevin.^{B}⟩ Believe he does some literary work for the *Express* with Gabriel Conroy. Wellread fellow. Myles Crawford began on the *Independent*. Funny the way ~~they~~ ⟨those newspaper men^{B}⟩ veer about ⟨when they get wind of a new opening^{B}⟩. ⟨Weathercocks.^{E}⟩ ⟨Hot and cold in the same breath. Wouldn't know which to believe. One story good till you hear the next.^{D}⟩ Go for one another baldheaded in the papers and then ~~hail~~ ⟨all blows over. Hail^{B}⟩fellow well met the next moment.
>
> (125.13-24)[18]

Wind references appear as additions to B, D, and E. The addition to B, "get wind of a new opening," coupled with that to C about Glasnevin, comes from an entry in the Zurich notebook (VIII.A.5, p. 3). At every step, when Joyce received a set of proofs he added and elaborated (and corrected printer's mistakes in the previous set of additions). He had determined the general plan for the paragraph, but he decided the specific degree to which he would carry the elaboration only as he finished each successive stage.

This process occurs in other passages—in Bloom's monologues, in dialogue, and in the set speeches:

[18] The printers misread Joyce's symbols for his additions and substituted "those newspaper men" for "Their wigs to show the [*sic*] grey matter. Brains on their sleeve like the statue in Glasnevin" on C. Joyce had to repeat the additions on C, substituting "their" for "the," and the words appear correctly on D. Also, the printers mistakenly set "Hail fellow" as one word on C, and the error persisted through all the proofs and all published editions.

Strange he never saw his real country. Ireland my country. Member for College green. He ~~ran~~ ⟨boomed[F]⟩ that workaday worker tack for all it was worth. ⟨It's the ads and side features sell a ~~paper~~ weekly not the stale news[B]⟩ ⟨in the official gazette[E]⟩. ⟨Queen Anne is dead.[B]⟩ ⟨Published by authority in the year one thousand and. Demesne situate in the townland of Rosenallis, barony of Tinnahinch. To all whom it may concern schedule pursuant to statute showing return of number of mules and jennets exported from Ballina.[F]⟩ ⟨Nature notes.[B]⟩ ⟨Cartoons.[D]⟩ ⟨Phil Blake's weekly Pat and Bull story.[G]⟩ ⟨Uncle Toby's page for tiny tots. Country bumpkin's queries. Dear Mr Editor, what is a good cure for flatulence?[B]⟩ ⟨I'd like that part. Learn a lot teaching others.[F]⟩ ⟨The personal note. M. A. P. Mainly all pictures. Shapely bathers on golden strand. World's biggest balloon. Double marriage of sisters celebrated. Two bridegrooms laughing heartily at each other.[C]⟩ ⟨Cuprani too, printer. More Irish than the Irish.[A]⟩ .

(118.30-119.12)[19]

—⟨You take my breath away.[B]⟩ Is it not ⟨perchance[C]⟩ a French compliment? Mr O'Madden Burke asked. ⟨'Tis the hour[A]⟩ ⟨, methinks,[B]⟩ ⟨when the winejug[A]⟩ ⟨, metaphorically speaking,[C]⟩ ⟨is most grateful[A]⟩ ⟨in Ye ancient hostelry[B]⟩.

(143.36-39)

—As ~~it were~~ ⟨'twere[B]⟩, in the peerless panorama ⟨of Ireland's portfolio, [B]⟩ ⟨unmatched, [A]⟩ ⟨despite their wellpraised prototypes in other[B]⟩ ⟨vaunted[D]⟩ ⟨prize regions,[B]⟩ ⟨for very beauty,[A]⟩ of bosky grove and undulating plain and luscious pastureland ⟨of vernal green[C]⟩, steeped in the transcendent

[19] Joyce changed "paper" to "weekly" on B. He added "of sisters" to the addition he wrote onto C, but the printers omitted it on D. He rewrote it onto D, and it first appears on E. "Tinnahinch" was erroneously printed as "Tinnchinch" on G, the final page proofs. Joyce noted the error, but instead of changing the "c" to "a," the printers added the "a," and the name appears incorrectly as "Tinnachinch" in all published editions.

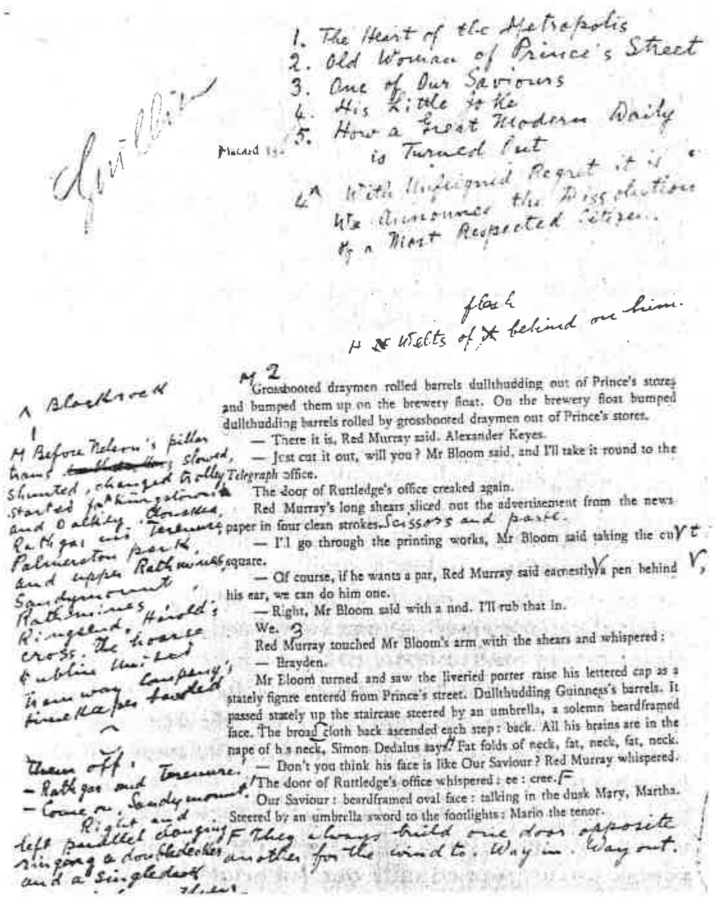
translucent glow of our mild mysterious Irish twilight. . . .

(125.33-38)[20]

Every category of revision follows this process, including the rhetorical devices and the subheads. As we have seen, Joyce filled the episode with rhetorical devices from the start, but included in the thirty-one new examples are the startling, unique phrases that make Gilbert's list seem like a dominant part of the episode. Among the new devices are Lenehan's "Clamn dever" (137.36; his remark remains the unexciting "Clever idea" until Joyce changed it on D); his palindromes, "Madam, I'm Adam. And Able was I ere I saw Elba" (137.22); and his quips, "Muchibus thankibus" (140.25), "I feel a strong weakness" (134.24), and "O, for a fresh of breath air!" (135.11). The new forms entered at every stage of revision, as Joyce thought of more and more examples to include. Joyce added five examples to A, eight to B, eleven to C, four to D, and three to E.

The subheads, the most noticeable single group of additions to "Aeolus," follow a similar pattern. Joyce added them to the first *placards* (B) as part of the large single wave of recasting (see Figure 2), but he revised some and introduced others on the many proofs. There are sixty-three subheads in the final text; he wrote slightly over half of them in their final form directly on B. He included many of the others in their basic form on B but augmented or changed them later; a few exist in their final location in the additions to B, but he entirely rewrote them; still others he added to later proofs. After they first appeared on the proofs Joyce dropped only one subhead entirely: on the third page, "His Little Joke" originally existed between "—Well, he is one of our saviours also" and "A meek smile accompanied him . . ." (118.9-10). Joyce probably deleted this head when he added "The Crozier and the Pen" (118.1) on the next set of proofs to avoid crowding the first pages of the episode with subheads.

[20] The printers transposed "prize regions" and "other" on C. Joyce corrected the error on C, and the phrase appears correctly on D.


1. The Heart of the Metropolis
2. Old Woman of Prince's Street
3. One of Our Saviours
4. His Little Joke
5. How a Great Modern Daily is Turned Out

4^A With Unfeigned Regret it is We Announce the Dissolution of a Most Respected Citizen

Grossbooted draymen rolled barrels dullthudding out of Prince's stores and bumped them up on the brewery float. On the brewery float bumped dullthudding barrels rolled by grossbooted draymen out of Prince's stores.

— There it is, Red Murray said. Alexander Keyes.

— Just cut it out, will you? Mr Bloom said, and I'll take it round to the Telegraph office.

The door of Ruttledge's office creaked again.

Red Murray's long shears sliced out the advertisement from the newspaper in four clean strokes. Scissors and paste.

— I'll go through the printing works, Mr Bloom said taking the cut square.

— Of course, if he wants a par, Red Murray said earnestly, a pen behind his ear, we can do him one.

— Right, Mr Bloom said with a nod. I'll rub that in.

We.

Red Murray touched Mr Bloom's arm with the shears and whispered:

— Brayden.

Mr Bloom turned and saw the liveried porter raise his lettered cap as a stately figure entered from Prince's street. Dullthudding Guinness's barrels. It passed stately up the staircase steered by an umbrella, a solemn beardframed face. The broad cloth back ascended each step: back. All his brains are in the nape of his neck, Simon Dedalus says. Fat folds of neck, fat, neck, fat, neck.

— Don't you think his face is like Our Saviour? Red Murray whispered.

The door of Ruttledge's office whispered: ee: cree.

Our Saviour: beardframed oval face: talking in the dusk Mary, Martha. Steered by an umbrella sword to the footlights: Mario the tenor.

They always build one door opposite another for the wind to. Way in. Way out.

The "great revision" of "Aeolus" (the first *placard* of the episode's opening, corrected and augmented by Joyce). Reproduced courtesy of the Society of Authors and by permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University. (Figure 2)

The accompanying list shows the subheads as Joyce originally added them to the first *placards* (left column) and the heads as they appear in the published book (right column).

The Heart of the Metropolis	In the Heart of the Hibernian Metropolis
	The Wearer of the Crown
Old Woman of Prince's Street	Gentlemen of the Press
One of Our Saviours	William Brayden, Esquire, of Oaklands, Sandymount
	The Crozier and the Pen (deleted)
His Little Joke	
With Unfeigned Regret it is We Announce the Dissolution of a Most Respected Citizen	With Unfeigned Regret It Is We Announce the Dissolution of a Most Respected Dublin Burgess
How a Great Modern Daily is Turned Out	How A Great Daily Organ Is Turned Out
The Canvasser at Work	We See the Canvasser at Work
House of Key(e)s	House of Key(e)s
Orthographical	Orthographical
Noted Churchman a Contributor	Noted Churchman an Occasional Contributor
A Dayfather	A Dayfather
	And It Was the Feast of the Passover
That Soap Again	Only Once More that Soap
Erin, the Gem of the Sea	Erin, Green Gem of the Silver Sea
To the Point	Short But to the Point
Sad	Sad
His Native Doric	His Native Doric
What Wetherup Said	What Wetherup Said
Memorable Battles Recalled	Memorable Battles Recalled
Harp Eolian	O, Harp Eolian
Spot the Winner	Spot the Winner
They Collide	A Collision Ensues
Exit Bloom	Exit Bloom
A Street Procession	A Street Cortège
The Calumet of Peace	The Calumet of Peace
The Grandeur that was Rome	The Grandeur that was Rome
? ? ?	? ? ?
Shindy in Restaurant	Shindy in Wellknown Restaurant
Lost Causes	Lost Causes/Noble Marquess Mentioned
Kyrie eleison!	Kyrie Eleison!

Lenehan's Limerick	Lenehan's Limerick
	Omnium Gatherum
"You can do it!"	You Can Do It!
The Great Gallaher	The Great Gallaher
A Distant Voice	A Distant Voice
Clever, very	Clever, Very
Rhymes and Reasons	Rhymes and Reasons
Sufficient for the Day . . .	Sufficient for the Day . . .
	Links with Bygone Days of Yore
	Italia, Magistra Artium
A Polished Period	A Polished Period
A Man of High Morale	A Man of High Morale
Impromptu	Impromptu
From the Fathers	From the Fathers
Ominous—for him!	Ominous—For Him!
Let us Hope	Let Us Hope
Dear Dirty Dublin	Dear Dirty Dublin
	Life on the Raw
Return of Bloom	Return of Bloom
Interview with the Editor	Interview with the Editor
	K. M. A.
	K. M. R. I. A.
Raising the Wind	Raising the Wind
	Some Column!—That's What Waddler One Said
Those Slightly Rambunctious Females	Those Slightly Rambunctious Females
Dames Donate Dublin's Cits	Dames Donate Dublin's Cits/ Speedpills Velocitous Aeroliths, Belief
Sophist Smites Haughty Helen on Proboscis. Spartans Gnash Molars. Ithacans Vow Pen is Champ	Sophist Wallops Haughty Helen Square on Proboscis. Spartans Gnash Molars. Ithacans Vow Pen is Champ
Hello There, Central!	Hello There, Central!
What?—and Likewise—Where?	What?—and Likewise—Where?
Virilian [*sic*], Says Pedagogue. Sophomore Plumps for Old Man Moses	Virgilian, Says Pedagogue. Sophomore Plumps for Old Man Moses
Horatio Now is Cynosure	Horatio is Cynosure This Fair June Day
Diminished Digits Prove Too Titillating for Frisky Frumps. Anne Sighs, Flo Wangles—Yet Can You Blame Them?	Diminished Digits Prove Too Titillating for Frisky Frumps. Anne Wimbles, Flo Wangles—Yet Can You Blame Them?

Several patterns exist in the development of these heads. For one thing, Joyce was apparently less certain of what he was doing at the beginning and at the end of the episode than he was in the middle. The first eight subheads in the final version (and thirteen out of the first sixteen) were either changed or completely rewritten after they first appeared, or they were added after B. Similarly, seven of the last twelve were altered or added later. Only a few of the heads in between underwent any type of revision except Joyce's correction of the ubiquitous printer's errors. There are two possible explanations for this. First, the historical aspect of the subheads is most prominent at the beginning and end, and Joyce probably needed more time to perfect these than he did for the less conspicuous heads in the middle. Second, the lifeless quality of some of the beginning subheads—a phrase merely lifted from the text, "One of Our Saviours," or a tag line, "Old Woman of Prince's Street"—suggests that Joyce may not yet have warmed up to the project of creating these heads when he began to write them. On the successive proofs, Joyce made some of the original subheads much livelier by changing the grammatical structure or by adding single words or phrases, usually adjectival. Like all the revisions, then, the heads entered in stages and underwent a regular process of revision.

Stuart Gilbert discusses the subheads (which he calls captions) as a preparation for later stylistic developments in *Ulysses*:

> It will be noted that the style of the captions is gradually modified in the course of the episode; the first are comparatively dignified, or classically allusive, in the Victorian tradition; later captions reproduce, in all its vulgarity, the slickness of the modern press. This historico-literary technique, here inaugurated, is a preparation for the employment of the same method, but on the grand scale, a stylistic *tour de force*, in a later episode, the *Oxen of the Sun*.
>
> (Gilbert, p. 179n)

This is an orthodox view, the one Joyce wished to convey, and it is true to the book as it finally came to exist. In the actual writing, however, the *tour de force* came first and the preparation for it fifteen months later.

The great collection of additions to the first *placards* included Nelson's Pillar and the tramlines at the beginning and end of the episode. (Joyce added the "vermilion mailcars" and their accompanying subhead [116.15-21] to C, the second *placard*.) The pillar and tramlines increase the emphasis on machines, placing the trams as well as the newspaper presses at the "heart" of Dublin. There is thus a contrast with "Hades," the organ of which is the heart. Bloom makes a connection like this when he analyzes the human heart as a machine in "Hades" (105.36-38), and in "Aeolus" his thoughts bring together Dignam's remains, the wording of the newspaper account of the funeral, the noise of the machines (118.21-22). The tramlines serve as an analogy to the "walls of bronze" of Aeolus' castle (Gilbert, p. 185), and they seem to correspond to Aeolus' children. Joyce originally included only twelve destinations for the trams ("Sandymount Tower" came later), which is the number of Aeolus' sons and daughters.[21] (Joyce noted "6 sons—6 daughters" in notebook VIII.A.5, p. 16, and in "Aeolus" Bloom thinks of another family of twelve, "the twelve brothers, Jacob's sons"; 122.24-25.) These analogies come as much from Bérard as from Homer; they are a sign that Bérard's influence on Joyce never waned.

Some of Joyce's late revisions were filtered through other documents. He obviously returned to notebook VIII.A.5 for entries like "6 sons—6 daughters" and "Get wind of it (Glasnevin)." A more important notebook at this time, though, was the one containing entries for thirteen episodes (notes similar to those on the British Museum notesheets for the last seven episodes). This notebook, Buffalo MS V.A.2, contains only a few notes for "Aeolus":

[21] Joyce added a thirteenth tramline perhaps to suggest the tower as the home of Christ and Judas, perhaps to link it with the man in the mackintosh, the mysterious thirteenth mourner at Paddy Dignam's funeral (111.9-13).

> wind on stomach, divine afflatus, blarney, caricature, Irish Catholic, messenger of Sacred Heart, Donegal tweed, parked [illegible word] Solon——belief, Velocitous, bambino Jakes M'Carthy, Dubl. Gazette, circulation estabd. 1763 replies to correspondents
>
> (V.A.2, p. 27)

Joyce handled these notes like those on the British Museum notesheets: he crossed out the words he used (though no pattern to his use of colors is immediately apparent) and, conversely, used no words in "Aeolus" that he did not delete.[22] The notes are very specific; Herring concludes that Joyce used this notebook for "verbal insertions" or "finishing touches" to the episodes he was reviewing in proof (*Notes and Early Drafts*, pp. 39, 41). He seems to have known exactly where he would use most of the notes. For example, "parked" went into the following paragraph, the rest of which was intact when the third *placard* (D) was pulled:

> Under the porch of the general post office shoeblacks called and polished. ~~In~~ ⟨Parked in⟩ North Prince's street His Majesty's vermilion mailcars, bearing on their sides the royal initials, E. R., received loudly flung sacks of letters, postcards, lettercards, parcels, insured and paid, for local, provincial, British and overseas delivery.
>
> (116.16-21)

Likewise, "caricature" refers to the alteration of "swiftly" to "in swift caricature" (130.1), and "belief, Velocitous" signals the addition "Speedpills Velocitous Aeroliths, Belief" to a subhead that, through the pulling of E, read only "Dames Donate Dublin's Cits" (148.12-14). Joyce must have had these specific revisions in mind when he noted these words and phrases; the notes probably served to remind him to make the changes.

He added all eleven notes from notebook V.A.2 which

[22] "Solon," one of the deleted notes that does not appear in "Aeolus," is in a *Finnegans Wake* notebook (Buffalo MS VI.C.7, p. 137), where Joyce again listed it under the category "Aeolus."

appear in "Aeolus" to the third *placards* or the page proofs. Since most of the additions to the episode were entered on the first two sets of *placards*, it is significant that this notebook contains revisions that followed the initial recasting. The proofs in question date from mid-September 1921, so Joyce probably compiled the "Aeolus" notes at just about that time. This concurs with the conclusion of most other scholars who have studied this notebook that Joyce compiled and used notebook V.A.2 in the very last stages of addition and revision. (For a summary of the evidence, see *Notes and Early Drafts*, pp. 38, 41.)

The late revisions reveal a certain amount of cross-exchange between "Aeolus" and later episodes that Joyce had already written, although not as much as might be expected. The subheads as preparation for "Oxen of the Sun" are the main examples of this, but there are more minute ones. For example, "Davy Stephens" (116.30), whom Joyce added to "Aeolus" on C, speaks to Bloom in one of the "Circe" hallucinations, where his words contain one of the V.A.2 entries that did not get into "Aeolus": "*Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and *Evening Telegraph* with Saint Patrick's Day Supplement. Containing the new addresses of all the cuckolds in Dublin" (469.15-17). Stephens, however, and some of the details about him, did move from "Circe" back to "Aeolus." Likewise, the references in "Aeolus" to the specific Dublin newspapers, "the *Weekly Freeman and National Press* and the *Freeman's Journal and National Press*" (117.15-17) and "the offices of the *Irish Catholic* and *Dublin Penny Journal*" (146.13-14), both late additions, occur distorted in "Circe" as Myles Crawford says, "Hello. *Freeman's Urinal* and *Weekly Arsewiper* here" (458.19).

One final document is relevant to Joyce's late revisions: the second of his schemata for the book. Joyce first gave this schema to Valery Larbaud in November 1921 for Larbaud's December 7 lecture on *Ulysses* (*Letters*, III, 53-54), and a few of Joyce's friends saw it during the 1920s. Stuart Gilbert published it, minus the list of correspondences, in

1930. Joyce's 1921 plan contains less information than the earlier one, although it is clearly an outline of an existing episode:

Scene—The Newspaper
Hour—12 noon
Organ—lungs
Art—rhetoric
Colour—red
Symbol—editor
Technic—enthymemic
Correspondences—Crawford – Eolus: Incest – journalism: Floating Island – press

(1921 Schema)

This schema is a bare outline, lacking obscure symbols like "hunger" and, significantly, lacking such an explicit statement of "meaning" as the earlier "mockery of victory." Yet the outline is truly indicative of the work Joyce had done on the episode since his previous schema.

Joyce's late revisions to "Aeolus" changed the shape of the episode, and as a result they altered the entire first half of *Ulysses*. The subheads foreshadow not only the succession of parody styles in "Oxen of the Sun," as Gilbert suggests, but all the voices—distinct both from the characters and from the narrators of the early episodes—who tell the story in the second half of the book. The heads fragment an episode that otherwise flows quite smoothly; they slow down an episode that otherwise moves at a pace similar to the other early episodes and cause "Aeolus" to resemble the slower last half of *Ulysses*. The final version of "Aeolus" looks like a late episode and prepares us for the elaborations to come, but compared to "Cyclops" or "Ithaca," for example, its recasting was very restrained. Only the subheads and the tramlines change the episode's look and feel; the other additions, such as the allusions to wind, redness, and machines, are no different from Joyce's late revisions to the surrounding episodes, "Lotus Eaters,"

"Hades," or "Lestrygonians." He changed "Aeolus" sufficiently for it to foreshadow later developments, but no more. He was careful that his early work would not be obscured beyond recognition by his late revisions, and that all his stages of work on "Aeolus"—early, middle, and late—would be visible. In its final form, "Aeolus" serves as a microcosm of Joyce's work on *Ulysses*.