

# **The Afterlives of Joyce's 'Alphabetical Notebook' from *A Portrait to Ulysses* (1910–20)**

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## INTRODUCTION

One of the most remarkable and productive notebooks James Joyce ever compiled is his so-called 'Alphabetical Notebook' (Cornell MS 25).<sup>1</sup> Not only did he first use it to continue writing and revising Chapter V of *A Portrait*, he also relied on it to revise, restructure, and radically transform Chapters I, II, and V. More fully than anything else that survives, the notebook indicates that Joyce intended to write a series of scenes for a more expansive version of *A Portrait* that he chose not to include in the published work. He most likely also wrote still more scenes specifically for the first episode of *Ulysses* in 1914 and 1915 also based on entries he drew from the 'Alphabetical Notebook'. Then, over the next few years he variously repurposed other scenes he had written based on entries from this notebook (and other sources) in the 'Scylla and Charybdis' and 'Sirens' of *Ulysses*. Finally, after Joyce returned to Trieste in October 1919, he transferred a further selection of entries from this notebook for use in the 'Circe' episode.

Although it has been familiar to scholars since it was transcribed by Robert Scholes and Richard Kain in *The Workshop of Daedalus* in 1965,<sup>2</sup> the notebook's full import has not yet been adequately assessed. In fact, it would be hard to exaggerate the significance of this notebook in helping us to understand Joyce's aesthetic development as he continued to write *A Portrait* and then set off on the course that would eventually lead to *Ulysses*. If they were to come to light, it is impossible to gauge how other notebooks and drafts from this crucial juncture in his creative

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<sup>1</sup> The notebook has been reproduced in high contrast black-and-white photo-facsimile in the *James Joyce Archive*, prefaced and arranged by Hans Walter Gabler (New York: Garland, 1977–8), volume 7, pp. 105–56; hereafter all *James Joyce Archive* references will be cited parenthetically in an abbreviated form by volume and page numbers.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Scholes and Richard Kain, eds., *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), pp. 92–105; hereafter cited parenthetically as *WD* and page number(s). Their essential book is available [here](#) as a downloadable PDF as part of the University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries' 'The James Joyce Scholars' Collection'. The editors dubbed it 'The Trieste Notebook' because Joyce compiled the notebook in that city, but its focus was primarily Joyce's early life in Dublin.

evolution might further alter what we think we know about these intertwined masterpieces of Irish literature in English.

In the earlier stages of his career Joyce considered his own life as fodder for his writing,<sup>3</sup> like other things he read or overheard. Nonetheless, the closest he ever came to keeping a diary is his ‘Early Commonplace Book’ (NLI MS 36,639/2/A), but it too was primarily a repository of texts and notes that he meant to use in his creative works.<sup>4</sup> More generally, while he may have jotted down some personal reflections in his many other notebooks over the years, the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ contains the most significant concentration of notes that Joyce drew from his own experiences, sentiments, and memories, as well as those of his family and friends. This essay first looks at how he recorded these personal aspects of his life as lexical material for use in his works. It then traces the notebook’s many afterlives as he used entries from it to write and revise texts for *A Portrait*, some of which he subsequently repurposed for *Ulysses*, as well as other ways in which he relied on this notebook for the newer work.

The Cornell ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ is a bulky desktop address book, bound in half cloth over red-and-black mottled boards, with marbled edges.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript has been given its current name because its three hundred ruled leaves are arranged alphabetically on pages separated by twenty red-lettered tabs. It seems likely that Joyce purposely acquired this type of well-structured repository to facilitate the resorting of a selection of older notes into new subject-oriented constellations.

The first thing Joyce would do when he started a new subject notebook was to write out the headings at the top of some of its pages. In this case, they are an eclectic

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<sup>3</sup> Joyce’s posthumously published ‘Epiphanies’ (primarily Buffalo MS I, as well as several further texts in the Cornell Joyce Collection) are the most obvious examples of how he treated his own life as a source for his creative writing before he went into self-imposed exile. James Joyce, *Poems and Shorter Writings*, edited by Richard Ellmann, A. Walton Litz and John Whittier-Ferguson (London: Faber & Faber, 1991), pp. 161–200; hereafter cited parenthetically as *PSW* and page number(s), as well as my catalogue description of the manuscripts [here](#).

<sup>4</sup> See my discussion about this unique manuscript in ‘A Commentary on James Joyce’s National Library of Ireland [‘Early Commonplace Book: 1903–1912 \(MS 36.639/02/A\)’](#)’, *Genetic Joyce Studies* 9 (2009); hereafter cited as *GJS* by issue number and year. Images of the manuscript itself can be viewed on the NLI’s website [here](#).

<sup>5</sup> I have not physically examined the notebook, the bibliographical and palaeographical information in this essay is based on its description in Robert E. Scholes, *The Cornell Joyce Collection: A Catalogue* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1961), p. 87.

assortment of the names of friends and family in Dublin, as well as some more conceptual topics, such as 'Lust', 'Esthetic', and 'Jesus'. Entries under the names of several of his friends from his time in University College from September 1898 to October 1902 dominate the notebook: for example, 'Byrne (John Francis)', 'Cosgrave (Vincent)', 'Clancy (George Stephen)', 'Gogarty (Oliver Saint John), and 'Skeffington (Francis Joseph Christopher)'. While these headings refer to real people, Joyce's purpose in noting their sayings, actions, and characteristics was not biographical but rather to provide attributes for many of his fictional creations. Similarly, under the headings 'Giorgino', 'Mother', 'Nora', and 'Pappie', Joyce took the opportunity to note some of his recollections of his immediate family; the notes on his parents would prove to be foundational elements in their fictional elaborations in both *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*. Precisely because it so obviously blurs the distinction between real life and his fictional creations, the entries under the heading 'Dedalus (Stephen)' are some of the most provocative in the notebook. The fact that the majority of these entries are in the third person and past tense shows how Joyce would use the notebooks to transmute his life experiences into art. Other headings signal basic concerns in his works, like 'Ireland' and 'Jesuits'; while others, like 'Cavalcanti' and 'Ibsen', document his early and lifelong interest in literature outside his native country. Finally, another group of headings are the names of Joyce's acquaintances in Trieste: 'Prezioso (Roberto)', 'Roucati (Venanzio)', and 'Sordino (Conte Francesco)'. Even though these people could not appear as characters under their own names in Joyce's Dublin-based books, the headings and notes indicate that in all his works the writer would draw his inspiration for his characters from a broad and diverse mix of acquaintances as well as more often from his reading.

Its large size and the ways in which Joyce used it to sort older notes in new constellations are analogous to how he used the NLI 'Subject Notebook' (NLI MS 36,639/3) that he compiled in the autumn of 1917 as he began to rewrite the 'Telemachiad' episodes for publication.<sup>6</sup> It is also similar to the 'Scribbledehobble Notebook' (Buffalo MS VI.A) that he began compiling in the summer of 1923 at a

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<sup>6</sup> Wim Van Mierlo has written the most comprehensive study of this early *Ulysses* notebook in '[The Subject Notebook: A Nexus in the Composition History of \*Ulysses\*-A Preliminary Analysis](#)', *GJS* 7 (2007). Images of this notebook can be viewed on the NLI's website [here](#).

crucial early juncture in genesis of ‘Work in Progress’.<sup>7</sup> As I have discussed more fully elsewhere, Joyce’s notebooks can be categorized into several kinds.<sup>8</sup> First-order notebooks are those in which Joyce originally took the notes, usually based on his readings. There are usually no headings in these notebooks and the handwriting is often more difficult to decipher, even for Joyce himself. While no first-order notebooks survive for either *Dubliners* or *A Portrait* and only one for *Ulysses* (Buffalo MS V.2.a),<sup>9</sup> most of the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks are of this kind. The systematic way in which Joyce arranged these notes and his particularly legible handwriting show that the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ is a later-order notebook, though it is impossible to know how often Joyce may have transferred these notes before they ended up listed here. Not only did he use these notes directly in his drafts, but he also transferred over a dozen of them yet again to an even later-order note repository a decade after he first compiled the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’.<sup>10</sup>

The notebook is also unusual because Joyce did not cross through with ink or coloured crayon the entries that he used in his drafts or transferred to other note repositories as was his usual practice.<sup>11</sup> This unusual aspect of the notebook and the relative paucity of surviving notebooks and manuscripts for *A Portrait* and early drafts of *Ulysses* make dating Joyce’s various uses of the notebook quite difficult.

### COMPOSITIONAL CHRONOLOGY OF *A PORTRAIT*

While there are some biographical and textual facts that allow us to make certain confident claims about when Joyce compiled and used the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’, as well as about when he wrote various chapters (and sections of chapters) of *A Portrait*, establishing a precise chronology of his creative work on *A Portrait* from the

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<sup>7</sup> Although its scholarship is dated, Thomas Connolly produced the only complete transcription of this pivotal ‘Work in Progress’/*Finnegans Wake* notebook; *Scribbledehobble: The Ur-Workbook for Finnegans Wake* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1961). See my catalogue description of the manuscript [here](#).

<sup>8</sup> See my ‘[A Ulysses Manuscripts Workbook](#)’, *GJS* 17 (2017).

<sup>9</sup> See my catalogue description of the *Ulysses* notebook [here](#), and for more information on the unmatched Joyce Collections at the University at Buffalo in general, see my [catalogue](#).

<sup>10</sup> I discuss this process in [Section 8](#).

<sup>11</sup> Joyce’s use of coloured crayons has been helpful when trying to identify the various passes he made through a notebook, particularly his more or less consistent use of this creative practice for *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*.

start of 1910 to 4 November 1914 (when he sent the final chapters to Ezra Pound for publication in *The Egoist*) is simply impossible without further evidence. In fact, the most effective way of analysing Joyce's progress with *A Portrait* is to determine the relatively few periods when he actually had the opportunity and motivation to work on his novel; they break down into the following intervals:

- March 1910 to February-March 1911: begins with the compilation of the 'Alphabetical Notebook' and ends with Joyce's attempt to throw the manuscript of *A Portrait* in the family stove;
- Summer to November 1911: begins after his family managed to rescue the manuscript from the fire and ends with Joyce's efforts to become a secondary school teacher;
- April through June 1912: begins with his public lectures on English literature and the publication of 'The Shade of Parnell' and ends with his departure on his third and final trip to Ireland;
- 15 September to November 1912: begins after Joyce's return to Trieste and ends with his intensive reading on Shakespeare's works and life;
- 11 February to May 1913: begins with his final lecture on 'Hamlet' and includes the crucial juncture where Joyce decided to have *A Portrait* end on the eve of Stephen's departure from home;
- Mid-December 1913 to mid-January 1914: begins with a letter from Ezra Pound offering to help get Joyce's works published and ends with the submission of Chapter I for publication in the *Egoist*;
- February to March, then May to mid-July 1914: Joyce continues to prepare Chapter V of *A Portrait* for publication in the *Egoist*.
- September to October 1914: Joyce possibly resumes work on Chapter V before he finds a means of posting the final two chapters after the outbreak of war.

This section sets out what we know for certain about when Joyce used the notebook to write and revise *A Portrait*, though much of the evidence for these claims will only be discussed more fully in the rest of the essay. One of these facts is that when Joyce returned from Dublin with his sister Eileen to Trieste on 6 January 1910, he was stricken with a particularly severe case of iritis that left him 'unwell' until at least 9 March.<sup>12</sup> Just as he would do again during the even longer gestation periods of both

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<sup>12</sup> Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce; 9 March 1910; James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, Volume II, edited by Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1966) p. 283; hereafter cited parenthetically as *Letters II*, by date and page number(s).

*Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce used this decisive juncture in the genesis of *A Portrait* to compile this subject-oriented notebook.

There simply is not enough information to definitively date when Joyce originally took most of entries which he subsequently transferred to the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’. This extended process must have been sporadic and on-going from about 1900 through 1909. Stanislaus Joyce recounts how Joyce was fond of using one of phrases his brother noted here before he left Dublin in 1904,<sup>13</sup> but several of the entries make it clear that Joyce could only have compiled the notebook after his second return trip to Ireland in January 1910, though he presumably filled it rather quickly as was his usual practice. In the order in which they appear in the notebook, the first entry is under the heading ‘Clancy (George Stephen)’ and unambiguously dates the notebook: ‘Chance did not bring us face to face on either of my visits to Ireland. I wonder where he is at the present time. I don’t know is he alive still’ (*WD* 93; *JJA* 7:112). There are also all of the entries under the heading ‘Healy (Michael)’, which Joyce could only have taken after his visit to Nora Barnacle’s uncle in Galway in late August 1909 (*WD* 99–100; *JJA* 7:131–2). Finally, there is an entry under the heading ‘Pappie’ (that is, John Stanislaus Joyce): ‘He gave me money to wire to Nora on Christmas Eve, saying: “Non ignorus [*sic*] malorum miseris soccorere [*sic*] disco.”’ (*WD* 103; *JJA* 7:145). It does not appear that Joyce used any of these notes in his writings.<sup>14</sup> The particularly personal nature of these and other entries in this notebook sets it apart from all of the others that survive for any of Joyce’s works.

Throughout his career Joyce first used a new notebook shortly after he had compiled it, and then would return to it to over and over again to prompt further revisions and additions to whichever text he was currently working on. Therefore, it is most likely that he first used the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ (together with other note material that is no longer extant) almost immediately and then repeatedly between March 1910 and February–March 1911 to substantially revise and continue writing *A Portrait*. This major creative undertaking included at least revising and continuing to write a different and much longer version of what became Chapter V, of which only a

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<sup>13</sup> I discuss this note in [Section 8](#).

<sup>14</sup> For more information about this anecdote, see Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, revised edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 306; hereafter cited parenthetically as *JJ* and page number.

short section has survived. It is known as the British Library 'Doherty Fragment'.<sup>15</sup> Although written for *A Portrait*, it is the only vestige of a text that Joyce subsequently repurposed for *Ulysses*. He probably only wrote this surviving faircopy version of this scene in 1912 or 1913, but he most likely wrote one or more now missing versions of it in 1910–11, based in part on entries he drew from the 'Alphabetical Notebook'. Furthermore, the notebook makes it clear that Joyce planned to write several more scenes for the last chapter of *A Portrait*, specifically scenes based on a Gogarty-like character as well as others based on the life and death of his mother. Whether or not Joyce wrote these scenes before 1915 cannot be proven, but it is significant that he had at least considered them for *A Portrait*, but then ultimately deployed them in 'Telemachus', along with the 'Doherty Fragment'.<sup>16</sup>

Besides his health, after his return to Trieste Joyce's major concern was with his family's almost constant money worries. He had to continue relying on Stanislaus's begrudging financial support of the newly expanded Joyce family to try to alleviate their distress, even if it was only sporadic and temporary. Unsurprisingly, this burden put a great deal of strain on their relationship. After so many years, this led to a feigned moment of crisis between the brothers at the start of 1911, as we know from a letter Joyce wrote to Stanislaus:

I take the opportunity of letting you know (as you have no doubt heard) that I am about to leave Trieste. [...] I intend to do what Parnell was advised to do on a similar occasion: clear out, the conflict being beneath my dignity, and leave you and the *cattolicissime* [their sisters] to make what you can of the city discovered by my courage (and Nora's) seven years ago, whither you and they came in obedience to my summons, from your ignorant and famine-ridden and treacherous country. My irregularities can easily be made the excuse of your conduct. A final attempt at regularity will be made by me in the sale of my effects, half of which will be paid by me to your account in a Trieste bank, where it can be drawn on or left to rot according to the dictates of your conscience.

I hope that [...] when I have left the field you and are your sisters will be able, with the meagre means at your disposal, to carry on the tradition I leave behind me in honour of my name and my country. (12 January 1911; *Letters II* 288–9)

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<sup>15</sup> This manuscript is catalogued as British Library ADD MS 49975, ff. 2–5; hereafter referred to as the 'Doherty Fragment' and folio number(s); high-resolution images of the manuscript are available [here](#). The manuscript was first transcribed by A. Walton Litz in his *The Art of James Joyce: Method and Design in 'Ulysses' and 'Finnegans Wake'* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), Appendix B, pp. 132–5; see also *WD*, pp. 107–8; as well as *JJA* 10:1219–22.

<sup>16</sup> I discuss the 'Doherty Fragment' and these other texts more fully in [Section 3](#).

According to Ellmann, Joyce's melodramatic and insincere letter was prompted by 'some dispute involving their pupils, in which Stanislaus was apparently to blame' (*JJ* 313). Needless to say, Joyce did not follow through on his grandiose threats to leave Trieste (or on his promise to repay his brother), and Stanislaus, as usual, subsequently succumbed to his brother's pleas for more money to support the family in their sometimes-extravagant mode of living. But these personal issues were not the only things on his mind. His business interests included winding down the Volta Cinema in Dublin, concerns about the sales of *Chamber Music* and having the poems set to music, as well as his entrepreneurial initiatives acting as an agent in Trieste for the Dublin Woollen Mills. More pressingly, Joyce was also involved in heated negotiations with George Roberts of Maunsel & Co. about the proposed Irish publication of *Dubliners*.

Joyce continued to work on his novel regardless of his personal and professional preoccupations, but the lack of extant manuscript material from this period as well as his few and imprecise statements in his correspondence about his progress make dating his work on *A Portrait* a notoriously complex endeavour. One of the few certain dates in this period is the pivotal moment in early 1911 (probably February–March, we cannot be more precise than that) when Joyce impulsively threw the manuscript of *A Portrait* into the kitchen stove. Almost a decade later this is how he described the scene to Harriet Shaw Weaver:

I have been imagining about the best way to send my MS as the postal service in this annexed zone is not very good. I think my brother-in-law (who is a clerk in a Czech bank here) can arrange to have it sent in their mail in different sendings. If it cannot be done I shall send it (also in four lots) by post. Of course if all or any of it goes astray I shall write it out again for you but it would be better for you to have the original. The 'original' original I tore up and threw into the stove about eight years ago in a fit of rage on account of the trouble over *Dubliners*. The charred remains of the MS were rescued by a family fire brigade and tied up in an old sheet where they remained for some months. I then sorted them out and pieced them together as best I could and the present MS is the result.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Joyce to Harriet Shaw Weaver; 6 January 1920. The first three sentences quoted above have not been published; for the rest of the letter, see James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, Volume I, edited by Stuart Gilbert (New York: Viking, 1957; reissued with corrections by Richard Ellmann 1966), p. 136; hereafter cited parenthetically as *Letters I*, by date and page number(s).

Joyce's account is vague in several ways. When he describes the only surviving holograph manuscript of *A Portrait* as the 'original', he most likely simply means that it was the one he provided to the typists to prepare the novel for publication in *The Egoist*. At this stage in both his professional and personal relationship with Weaver, Joyce wanted to present his patron with the (almost) complete faircopy manuscript of the book she had published in serial form as well as in its first English edition.<sup>18</sup> But what he intended when he described its predecessor manuscript as 'The "original" original' is more problematic. As Hans Walter Gabler has convincingly demonstrated (and I have recently confirmed),<sup>19</sup> the NLI manuscript of *A Portrait* is a composite; that is, it is composed of sectional strata of different manuscripts that Joyce rewrote as needed to create a unified final document for typing and thereby for subsequent publication.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, it is not the 'original' manuscript in the sense of its being the first, and certainly not the only, manuscript Joyce prepared of *A Portrait*. Furthermore, based on both palaeographic and textual evidence, Gabler has also shown that Chapter IV and the opening of Chapter V are its earliest surviving sections.<sup>21</sup> In fact, there were most likely several intermediary versions of the rest of the text before he created the final holograph manuscript that he ultimately gave to

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<sup>18</sup> In making this gesture of gratitude, Joyce was presumably guided by his recent experience with the misleadingly called 'faircopy' (Rosenbach) manuscript of *Ulysses* that he was still consigning to John Quinn at the same time. Weaver donated the *A Portrait* manuscript to the NLI in 1958. Along with the 'Doherty Fragment', she also given the only missing leaf in the final *A Portrait* faircopy (see *JJA* 9:165), which she donated to the British Library along with all of her vast collection of Joyce manuscripts, various correspondence, as well as her *Egoist* business papers.

<sup>19</sup> Gabler is the leading authority on the genesis of *A Portrait* and his work is the foundation of much of my argument here. He set out the most complete statement of his research and analysis in his 'The Genesis of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*' in *Critical Essays on James Joyce's A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, eds Philip Brady and James F. Carens (New York: G.K. Hall; London: Prentice Hall International, 1998), pp. 83–112. See also his 'The Seven Lost Years of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*' in *Approaches to Joyce's Portrait: Ten Essays*, edited by Thomas F. Staley and Bernard Benstock (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976), pp. 25–60; and 'The Christmas Dinner Scene, Parnell's Death, and the Genesis of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*', *James Joyce Quarterly*, Volume 13, Number 1 (Fall 1975), pp. 27–38.

<sup>20</sup> The only surviving *A Portrait* holograph manuscript is catalogued as NLI MSS 920 and 921. Joyce also worked sectionally for certain episodes in the Rosenbach manuscript of *Ulysses*.

<sup>21</sup> See [Section 1](#) for further information about this earliest textual strata of the NLI *A Portrait* manuscript.

Weaver in 1920. Furthermore, Joyce's claim that 'the present MS is the result' of his work on the remnants of the burned manuscript is misleading when it is taken literally. Actually, he intends the phrase in the extended sense of it being the final product of almost three years of intensive, though sporadic, work on the book between late 1911 and November 1914. On the other hand, his account of waiting just 'some months' before beginning to reassemble the 'charred remains of the MS' appears to be a more reliable (if still vague) claim, since that would mean that Joyce set to work on the novel again in the summer of 1911, and we know that he did so with the 'Alphabetical Notebook' at his side once again.

Gordon Bowker's more ample account of the famous scene is closer to Joyce's version of the events a decade later to Weaver and is more convincing than the version readers of Ellmann's biography would be familiar with:

One day, when his self-confidence was already dented following [George] Roberts's last letter, Nora told him he was wasting his time with his scribbling. Joyce who was working in the kitchen on *A Portrait*, suddenly lost control. 'All right,' he said, 'I'll give up writing,' and in a fit of despair thrust the manuscript into the burning stove while, according to Eileen, Nora stood by laughing, saying 'He's mad! He's mad!' Eileen, so she claimed, quickly snatched the burning pages from the fire and, with the maid Maria's help, spread them around the kitchen. Thus a minor masterpiece that linked Joyce's life to all his later work, was rescued from an act of desperation. Eileen recalled that later that next day Jim told her, 'Some parts of it I could never have written again,' and presented her with three bars of multi-coloured soap, some mittens, a collar and a bow. Re-energized, he sat down to rewrite the novel, which, from here on, would not only consume him but point him towards *Ulysses*.<sup>22</sup>

The near destruction of the manuscript Joyce had been writing and revising for almost a year was the culmination of one stage in the transformation of the novel, but the manuscript evidence shows that there were several more to follow over the next three years before *A Portrait* achieved its final form.

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<sup>22</sup> Gordon Bowker, *James Joyce: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2011), p. 197. The later biographer relied on interviews or correspondence with Eileen Schuarek in the Ellmann Collection at McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa, that Ellmann chosen not to use in his biography (and that I have not seen). On the other hand, based as it is on Thomas Staley's June 1960 interview with the Joyces' new housekeeper, Maria Eccel, Ellmann's account that Joyce threw the manuscript in the fire because Nora refused to stay in bed with him after the maid arrived seems fanciful (*JJ* 314).

In his ground-breaking and prescient study of the origins of *Ulysses*, after a brief sketch of what we know of Joyce's work on *A Portrait* from 1911 to 1914, Rodney Wilson Owen simply concluded that 'The entire matter has little historical or biographical documentation'.<sup>23</sup> Whether Joyce was able to both substantially revise Chapter V as well as recopy all of Chapters I–IV from March 1910 to March 1911 is not known. If he completed all of this work that year, it would make it an exceptionally busy and productive period in his career, much more so than has been thought. On the other hand, it is just as likely that he only recopied the entire manuscript in its then current state after it had been rescued from the stove, completing this work by 2 July 1912, when he left Trieste to visit Ireland for his third and last time. I will argue that Joyce completed writing the earliest substratum of the surviving NLI faircopy manuscript during this later period.

Besides working on *A Portrait*, Joyce was also preoccupied with getting *Dubliners* published as well as other creative work. The second half of 1911 was a difficult time in Joyce's personal and creative life. In July Eva Joyce returned to Dublin just in time to be by the side of their youngest sister Mabel as she succumbed to typhoid, a loss that profoundly impacted Joyce. This has been considered an unproductive period, but it seems quite clear now that Joyce was actually very engaged with revising, restructuring, and recopying *A Portrait*, partly based on the 'Alphabetical Notebook'.

Meanwhile, he continued to struggle with George Roberts of Maunsel & Co. in Dublin over the publication of *Dubliners*, going so far as to threaten legal action as well as a press campaign in Ireland, all of which culminated in the appearance in the *Northern Whig* and then *Sinn Fein* in August and September 1911 of what he would later submit to the *Egoist* as 'A Curious History'. From November 1911 through April 1912 Joyce was also preoccupied with his ultimately fruitless efforts to become an Italian secondary school teacher. Furthermore, in February 1912 he gave the first of two public lectures in Italian on English literature, and then on 16 May 1912 *Il Piccolo della Sera* published his 'L'ombra di Parnell' ('The Shade of Parnell'). As I argue in [Section 4](#), it was most likely Joyce's work on his article on Parnell that prompted him to revise the Christmas dinner scene with entries from the

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<sup>23</sup> Rodney Wilson Owen, *James Joyce and the Beginnings of 'Ulysses'* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), p. 41.

‘Alphabetical Notebook’, though his decision to relocate it textually and temporally from its original setting in Chapter II to Chapter I could have occurred either in 1912 or in 1913, though I presume it was in the later period.<sup>24</sup>

Richard Ellmann’s perspective on Joyce’s life and work in 1912 has dominated our understanding of this crucial period in the genesis of *A Portrait*. It remained unchanged from 1959 to his revised new edition of the biography in 1982. He opens his chapter on this year by claiming that ‘Joyce was to turn thirty without any change in his misfortunes, and the year 1912, in which exacerbations multiplied, was the most disheartening of his life’ (*JJ* 318). Rodney Owen, on the other hand, asserts that during this period ‘An acceleration in his artistic endeavors was beginning to take place. By the beginning of 1913, he had returned to active work on *Portrait* and expected its completion within the year’.<sup>25</sup> The diverse evidence we have indicates that, regardless of his issues getting *Dubliners* published, Joyce persevered with his novel in an exceptionally productive way. We would be able to gauge more precisely how the novel developed in 1912 and 1913 if some drafts from the period were to come to light.

Between 12 July and 15 September 1912 Joyce was in Ireland. Presumably, he did not get much if any actual writing done on *A Portrait* during this period, although much of his creative process actually took place in his mind before he left any traces of it on paper. Nonetheless, Joyce continued to be preoccupied with his novel. In a moment of brief optimism about the possible Dublin publication of *Dubliners*, he wrote to Nora that ‘a ray of hope has sprung out of the clouds. [...] I hope I shall have good news tomorrow. If only my book is published I will plunge into my novel and finish it’.<sup>26</sup> A few weeks later, his unfounded hopes were dashed when the printer destroyed all but one set of the *Dubliners* sheets. Joyce returned to Trieste on 15 September having written ‘Gas from a Burner’ as his response to his most recent Irish ordeal. While he continued to try to interest other publishers in his collection of short stories, he was also preparing his ‘Hamlet’ lectures, which he presented at the

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<sup>24</sup> I discuss the interface between Chapters I and II in [Section 4](#).

<sup>25</sup> Owen, *Beginnings of ‘Ulysses’*, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> See Joyce to Nora Barnacle; postmark: 22 August 1912. James Joyce, *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, edited by Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1975; London: Faber, 1975), p. 204; hereafter cited parenthetically as *Selected Letters* and page number(s).

Minerva Society between 11 November 1912 and 10 February 1913.<sup>27</sup> Shortly thereafter Joyce was hard at work on *A Portrait* once again. I argue in [Section 3c](#) that Joyce's intensive study of Shakespeare's works and life may have prompted him to write (in whatever rudimentary form) some version of Stephen's 'Hamlet' discussion for the extended version of Chapter V as it was then planned. Ultimately, if this is when he first wrote it, Joyce decided against including this material in *A Portrait*, but then he reworked it as a core element of what became the 'Scylla and Charybdis' episode of *Ulysses*.

Furthermore, in a letter on 23 March 1913 ('Easter Day' as he chose to name it), Joyce signalled his active engagement with *A Portrait* on his return to Trieste by offering Elkin Mathews, as part of his ultimately fruitless negotiations for the publication of *Dubliners*, the option on 'the refusal of the novel which I am engaged on and shall finish this year *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, a book about which you may have heard something from your Irish acquaintances' (*Letters I* 73). While, as always, Joyce was being overly optimistic about the progress of his work in his correspondence with publishers, from February to May 1913 he was most likely writing Section B of Chapter III,<sup>28</sup> and then moved on to recast Chapter V as we know it in the published work, though whether he completed the process of transforming the later chapter at that stage is not clear. It was probably during this period that he decided to set aside what we presume was a considerable amount of material from *A Portrait*, subsequently reusing it for the opening episode of *Ulysses*.<sup>29</sup> Preoccupied as he was with more practical matters, such as his new teaching appointment at the Scuola Revoltella, it is unlikely that Joyce was actively working on *A Portrait* from May to September 1913.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, his creative energies resumed in the autumn. He wrote his poem 'Watching the Needleboats at San Saba', which was published in the *Saturday Review* on 30 September 1913 (*PSW* 52). Then, Joyce turned his attention to compiling notes for *Exiles* for most of November of that year.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> For more information about these lectures, see William H. Quillian, 'Shakespeare in Trieste: Joyce's 1912 *Hamlet* lectures', *James Joyce Quarterly*, Volume 12, Nos. 1/2 (1974/1975), pp. 7–63.

<sup>28</sup> I discuss Joyce's work Chapter III in relation to The Third Movement of Chapter V in [Section. 5](#).

<sup>29</sup> I discuss these abandoned texts in [Section 3](#).

<sup>30</sup> See Owen, *Beginnings of 'Ulysses'*, p. 30.

<sup>31</sup> This is [Buffalo MS III.A](#).

On 15 December 1913 Ezra Pound wrote to offer his help getting Joyce's work published, and exactly a month later the *Egoist* published 'A Curious History', in which Joyce chronicles his struggles getting *Dubliners* into print. These were the first signs that 1914 would prove to be one of the most productive and rewarding in Joyce's entire career. After years of negotiations, Grant Richards ultimately agreed to publish *Dubliners* on 29 January. Then, just a few days later, on 2 February, Joyce's thirty-second birthday, Chapter I of *A Portrait* began to appear serially in the *Egoist*. The dates that conclude *A Portrait* mark a decade of intense work and aesthetic development: 'Dublin 1904 / Trieste 1914'. Now, with both his collection of stories and his novel finally ready for publication, Joyce's misgivings about ever becoming a successful writer, which had prompted him to throw the manuscript of his novel in the fire just a few years earlier, had been fully dispelled.<sup>32</sup>

Three weeks after Pound's initial inquiry, Joyce was able to send him the restructured Chapter I for publication. Since we know that Joyce had recopied the extant manuscript of Chapter II before that of Chapter I, this raises the fascinating possibility that, besides having already moved the Christmas dinner scene from Chapter II to I, he may also have made other significant structural and thematic alterations to Chapter I around the time Pound asked for his work, possibly even adding or transforming the book's prelude. If this was the case, it would have significant implications on Joyce's on-going reconfiguration of Chapter V, since the two chapters are intricately connected.

We have very little tangible evidence of how much of the rest of *A Portrait* Joyce actually wrote or rewrote as it was appearing in print in 1914. We know that whatever work remained to be done was focused on Chapters III and V, since he had completed Chapters II and IV between 1910 and 1913. The amount of time and effort Joyce was able to dedicate to his novel in 1914 is actually quite limited since he was willing and able to turn his attention back again to both *Exiles* and 'Giacomo Joyce' as he was finishing *A Portrait* and having it typed (see *Letters I* 104–5). It seems

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<sup>32</sup> Final negotiations regarding *Dubliners* continued throughout February, Joyce corrected proofs in April, and the book finally appeared on 15 June 1914. Nonetheless, with no royalties coming in either for his stories or his novel, in January 1914 he also took on a part-time job translating and writing business correspondence for a paint factory in Venice (see *JJ* 355).

likely that he worked on *A Portrait* quite intensively in February and March, and it is possible that he returned to work on it in again September and October 1914.

At the start of April Pound confirmed receipt of Chapter II,<sup>33</sup> and it started appearing in the *Egoist* on 1 May. In all likelihood, Joyce was working on Section B of Chapter III in February to March, although there was a delay in sending it to Pound until 15 July 1914, and it began appearing at the beginning of August. Joyce's work on Chapter III at this time must have involved restructuring and possibly re-focalizing the central sermon scenes.

Gabler was also the first to realise that Joyce started working on Section A of the Third Movement of Chapter V just after he finished writing Chapter III.<sup>34</sup> There is no explicit evidence to help us date when Joyce wrote Section B of the Third Movement of Chapter V, but a confluence of other evidence indicates that he wrote it after he had decided to have the novel end on the eve of Stephen's departure from Dublin, thereby excluding at least the scenes that revolve around the character's stay in the Martello Tower, and possibly his memories of his mother's life and death, as well as the discussion of 'Hamlet' in the National Library.<sup>35</sup> Textual and palaeographic evidence suggests that Joyce wrote the Third Movement that includes Stephen's villanelle at this very late stage (possibly to stand in for Stephen's presentation of his theories about 'Hamlet', if he had in fact written it at this stage).<sup>36</sup> This required him to rewrite the Second Movement just before he set about radically transforming the Fourth Movement, the finale of the book as we know it.<sup>37</sup>

Joyce recorded the transformational decision to use the events following Stephen Dedalus's flight into exile in a subsequent work in an addition in his 'Giacomo Joyce' manuscript: 'Gogarty came yesterday to be introduced. *Ulysses* is the reason' (*PSW* 239–40; *JJA* 2:306). Joyce wrote most of the textual fragments in 'Giacomo Joyce' at various times in 1913–14. Besides whatever autobiographical resonances it may have, 'Giacomo Joyce' contains germinal ideas and texts for A

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<sup>33</sup> See Ezra Pound to Joyce; [c. 1 April] 1914. *Pound/ Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce, with Pound's Essays on Joyce*, edited by Forrest Read (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 25.

<sup>34</sup> Gabler, 'Seven Lost Years', p. 32–3.

<sup>35</sup> I discuss these abandoned texts for *A Portrait* and Joyce's subsequent reuse of them in [Section 3](#).

<sup>36</sup> I discuss the newly conceived Villanelle movement in [Section 6](#).

<sup>37</sup> I discuss what little evidence there is for the transformation of the final movement in [Section 7](#).

*Portrait, Exiles, and Ulysses*.<sup>38</sup> He prepared the surviving faircopy manuscript of ‘Giacomo Joyce’ in July–August 1914, and it seems most likely that he added the note about Gogarty’s reaction to Joyce’s plans for him in *Ulysses* in the autumn of 1914, after he had decided to restructure Chapter V. While we cannot be sure when Joyce wrote Section B of the Chapter V’s First Movement, we can presume that he was writing Section A of its Third Movement in February–March, followed shortly thereafter by its Second Movement. In all likelihood, Joyce wrote the Fourth Movement as we have it last of all. It is possible that this iconic Modernist manifesto only achieved its final form in September–October 1914. Chapter IV started appearing in the *Egoist* on 1 December 1914 after a hiatus of five issues without a contribution from Joyce. The serial publication of *A Portrait* concluded with the 1 September 1915 issue of the *Egoist*.

This essay’s principal focus is what Joyce’s various uses of the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ can tell us about the genesis of *A Portrait* and its interface with the beginnings of *Ulysses*. Nonetheless, the notebook had one final stage in its many afterlives: from June to December 1920 Joyce used notes from this notebook to write and revise all the known holograph drafts of ‘Circe’, which I discuss in the essay’s [final section](#).

### **1. SECTION A OF THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF CHAPTER V (P V.1–226)**

Gabler has persuasively demonstrated that all of Chapter IV and the first thirteen leaves of Chapter V (P V.1–226;<sup>39</sup> *JJA* 10:867–93) constitute the earliest textual substrata of the extant NLI *A Portrait* manuscript. He has also argued that this section is all that survives of the version of the text that Joyce wrote before he tried to destroy the manuscript in February–March 1911,<sup>40</sup> but there simply is not enough palaeographic, textual or biographical evidence to prove the latter claim one way or

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<sup>38</sup> As others have noted before, there is a good deal of textual overlap between ‘Giacomo Joyce’ and *A Portrait*; for example, see Owen, *Beginnings*, pp. 52–60.

<sup>39</sup> All references to the text are to James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Contexts, Criticism, edited by John Paul Riquelme, text edited by Hans Walter Gabler with Walter Hettche (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2007); and will be cited parenthetically as *P* by chapter and line number(s). An online version of the text is available [here](#).

<sup>40</sup> Gabler, ‘Genesis of *A Portrait*’, pp. 84–6.

the other.<sup>41</sup> In fact, it is more likely that, while still being the earliest section in the extant manuscript, Joyce only wrote it afterwards based on the heavily revised manuscript he tried to incinerate. I have come to believe that Joyce wrote this section of the NLI manuscript at a later stage, probably between the summer of 1911 and 2 July 1912; it is not possible to be more precise than this. I will refer to the opening of the First Movement of Chapter V as Section A, thereby distinguishing it from the rest of the movement, which Joyce certainly recopied at a later stage.

That Chapter IV and Section A of Chapter V are a unified and earlier stage of the extant manuscript is clear from the fact that Joyce numbered the versos of these leaves consecutively so that Chapter IV is paginated from '239' to '300' and the opening of Chapter V continues from '301' to '313'.<sup>42</sup> In contrast, Chapters I through III of the NLI manuscript are comprised of 362 unnumbered leaves, indicating that he rewrote those pages subsequently.<sup>43</sup> The inclusion of words, phrases, and sentences based on entries from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' as part of the main text in this section of Chapter V allows us to further refine Gabler's fundamental discovery. This notebook evidence demonstrates that Joyce could only have recopied this earliest portion of the manuscript sometime between March 1910 and February–March 1911. No matter when he wrote it, it is not the manuscript on which Joyce entered the newer

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<sup>41</sup> Rodney Owen was also sceptical about the idea that this earliest substrata of the NLI manuscript predated the 1911 fire. He writes: 'it is difficult to imagine that the manuscript given to the typist in 1914 could have been five years old, have survived with no physical injury a fire which required recopying the previous chapters, and have received in the interim only those emendations it now contains' (Owen, *Beginnings of 'Ulysses'*, p. 45).

<sup>42</sup> As Harriet Shaw Weaver noted on the manuscript, Joyce inadvertently mis-numbered some of the manuscript pages because he had skipped the page number '242', although pages '241' to '243' are consecutive (see *JJA* 10:748). He also paginated the *Stephen Hero* manuscript on the versos, which is another indication that this is an earlier iteration of the *A Portrait* manuscript. Presumably, the fact that Joyce ended up rewriting chapters and sections as many times as he did, dissuaded him from attempting a sequential pagination again. (Joyce had similar problems maintaining the sequential pagination of the various episodes of *Ulysses* in the Rosenbach manuscript.)

<sup>43</sup> At that stage of its development, Joyce must have written Chapters I through III on the preceding 238 leaves of an earlier version of the novel. Otherwise there would be no reason for Joyce to paginate the rest of the text as he did; these pages are not known to survive. He did not number any of the other leaves of the *A Portrait* manuscript in a similar manner. Consecutive page numbers by chapter appear in pencil in the upper left margin of the entire manuscript. This pagination was presumably done either for or by the typist.

text based on entries from the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’. If it were the manuscript on which he actually made those emendations, then one would expect them to appear interlineally or in the margins as usual.

The surviving manuscript version of Chapter IV is unusual in at least two respects: it is the only portion of the manuscript that shows any significant amount of revisions,<sup>44</sup> but yet Joyce did not rely on any notes from the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ to revise it; this suggests that, even though Joyce may have recopied it, the text remained more or less similar to the version that Schmitz had read in 1909. Furthermore, that Joyce did rely on that notebook to revise the opening of Chapter V is compelling evidence that he compiled the notebook specifically to continue writing and revising the University College chapter of the novel, though as usual he went on to use it in several different ways over almost a decade.

Joyce used five entries from three differently headed lists to revise or continue to write the opening of Chapter V. It may or may not be a coincidence that the very first note in the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ also appears in one of the oldest surviving sections of the *A Portrait* manuscript. He drew this entry from the list headed ‘Byrne (John Francis)’. Joyce had already attributed aspects he associated with his friend to the character of Cranly in *Stephen Hero*,<sup>45</sup> and his depiction here is consistent with his earlier and later appearances in Joyce’s fiction. The note reads: ‘He hears confessions without giving absolution: a guilty priest’ (*WD* 92; *JJA* 7:109). In *A Portrait*, after enumerating the several ways in which Cranly’s appearance resembles that of a priest,<sup>46</sup> we are told that Stephen thinks about

how he had told Cranly of all the tumults and unrest and longings in his soul, day after day and night by night only to be answered by his friend’s listening silence, would have told himself that it was the face of **a guilty priest who**

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<sup>44</sup> For an analysis of the few revisions Joyce made in Chapter IV, see Gabler, ‘Genesis of *A Portrait*’, pp. 84–6.

<sup>45</sup> Joyce prepared an earlier list of notes under the heading ‘Byrne’ for *Stephen Hero* in the ‘Early Commonplace Book’ (NLI MS 36,639/2/A, p. [21v]); also see *WD* 89–91, but note that it contains some transcriptional errors carried over from Herbert Gorman’s transcription in his *James Joyce* (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, 1939).

<sup>46</sup> As I discuss below, Joyce also focused his description of the character named Doherty on features he attributed to Oliver St John’s Gogarty’s face.

**heard confessions of those whom he had not power to absolve** but that he felt again in memory the gaze of its dark womanish eyes. (*P* V.155–61)<sup>47</sup>

On the other hand, typical of the ways in which Joyce most often used his notes throughout his career, he assembled three separate entries almost verbatim from two other headings to construct Stephen's recollections of his early education. He used two notes under the heading 'Henry (Father William)' — the Rector of Belvedere in fact and in Joyce's fiction — to frame the scene and another note from a page headed 'Jesuits' in between them. The concentrated nature of Joyce's use of these notes is compelling evidence that he almost certainly wrote the scene, presumably as an integral addition, on an earlier, now missing manuscript. The only notes under the heading for 'Henry (Father William)' read:

In translating Ovid he spoke of porkers and potsherds ^and of chines of bacon^.  
When I listen I can still hear him reading sonorously: In tanto discrimine . . . .  
. Implere ollam denariorum . . . . India mittit ebur (*WD* 99; *JJA* 7:130).<sup>48</sup>

Joyce combined this note with another that he sorted under the heading 'Jesuits': 'I learnt Latin prosody from the rhymes of Father Alvarez' (*WD* 102; *JJA* 7:138).

Melded together, these notes are easily discernible in the following scene:

One of the first examples that he had learnt in Latin had run: ***India mittit ebur***; and he recalled the shrewd northern face of the rector who had taught him to construe the **Metamorphoses of Ovid in a courtly English, made whimsical by the mention of porkers and potsherds and chines of bacon. He had learnt what little he knew of the laws of Latin verse from a ragged book written by a Portuguese priest:**

*Contrahit orator, variant in carmine vates.*

The crises and victories and secessions in Roman history were handed on to him in the trite words ***in tanto discrimine*** and he had tried to peer into the social life of the city of cities through the words ***implere ollam denariorum*** which the rector had rendered **sonorously** as the filling of a pot with denaries. (*P* V.185–98)

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<sup>47</sup> I have used a bold font throughout the essay to call attention to relevant words and phrases.

<sup>48</sup> Throughout the essay, I signal Joyce's deletions with matched sets of angled brackets (<deleted text>), additions by matched sets of caret marks (^added text^), and emendations with a combination of matched sets of angled brackets and caret marks (^<deleted text> new text^).

The final note that appears in the opening section of this chapter is also on the page headed 'Jesuits': 'The ^nice^ terms of their philosophy are like the jargon of heraldry.' (WD 102; JJA 7:138). It appears in the following lines in *A Portrait*:

but yet it wounded him to think that he would never be but a shy guest at the feast of the world's culture and that the monkish learning, in **terms of** which he was striving to forge out an esthetic **philosophy**, was held no higher by the age he lived in than the subtle and curious **jargons of heraldry** and falconry. (*P* V.206–11)

Section A of the NLI *A Portrait* manuscript comes to an abrupt end on the next page at an unusual juncture after just one line of dialogue spoken by Davin even though there is additional space below it for Joyce to continue writing (*P* V.225–6; JJA 10:893). It is this kind of palaeographic, rather than textual evidence that indicates that Joyce rewrote the various chapters and parts of chapters in the extant manuscript sectionally as needed to provide a clean copy for the typist. Unfortunately, only the final faircopy survives. This is regrettable because it also means that we are left with very little genetic evidence to indicate how he used the entries from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' in the rest of this and the book's other chapters.

## 2. SECTION B OF THE FIRST MOVEMENT OF CHAPTER V (*P* V.227–1522)

Gabler has convincingly demonstrated that Joyce recopied Chapter IV and Section A of Chapter V first, but the textual status of the remainder of the extant final manuscript presents more complicated issues, particularly in the rest of Chapter V. The number of entries that appear as part of the main text in the entire chapter indicate that Joyce extensively mined the 'Alphabetical Notebook', presumably to write and revise one or more now lost intermediary drafts of each of the chapter's four movements as well as parts of Chapters I and II, though clearly not in that order. We can also presume that Joyce did so over a considerable amount of time, possibly several years, even though it is not possible to distinguish these various stages from one another based solely on the evidence of the extant final manuscript. Since we can presume that he had used the notebook for revisions to the text of Section A of Chapter V between March 1910, when he compiled it, and February-March 1911, when he tried to destroy the manuscript, it seems likely that he had also begun to use it for the rest of the chapter during the same period, and then continued to return to it

for further textual prompts, though these various passes through the notebook cannot be distinguished from one another from the evidence provided by the extant faircopy manuscript.

Joyce drew entries from the following seven headings to continue writing and revising the remainder of the First Movement of Chapter V: 'Byrne (John Francis)', 'Clancy (George Stephen)', 'Cosgrave (Vincent)', 'Dedalus (Stephen)', 'Esthetic', 'Jesuits', 'Ireland', and 'Skeffington (Francis Joseph Christopher)'. The fact that he used some of the notes in integrated scenes suggests (but does not prove) that he used them together, while other entries appear more sporadically throughout the rest of this movement. Therefore, it is best to proceed by examining the notes as they appear under the headings in which Joyce sorted them. Let's begin with the entries under the names of Joyce's University College friends. He used the notes that he associated with Byrne to further develop the character of Cranly, these two in conjunction with one another:

[1] His speech has neither the rare phrases of Elizabethan English nor the quaintly turned versions of Irish idioms which I have heard with Clancy. I hear in its drawl an echo of the Dublin quays, given back by the decaying seaport from which he comes, and in its energy an echo of the flat emphasis of Wicklow pulpits. [...]

[2] He has one epitaph for all dead friendships: A Sugar. (*WD* 92; *JJA* 7:109–10).

Though Joyce inverted the notes as they appear in the notebook and added several transitional sentences (as he often does), both notes are clearly evident in the following scene:

[2] —A flaming bloody **sugar**, that's what he is!

It was **his epitaph for all dead friendships** and Stephen wondered whether it would ever be spoken in the same tone over his memory. The heavy lumpish phrase sank slowly out of hearing like a stone through a quagmire. Stephen saw it sink as he had seen many another, feeling its heaviness depress his heart. [1] Cranly's **speech**, unlike that of Davin, had **neither rare phrases of Elizabethan English nor quaintly turned versions of Irish idioms. Its drawl was an echo of the quays of Dublin given back by a bleak decaying seaport, its energy an echo of the sacred eloquence of Dublin given back flatly by a Wicklow pulpit.** (*P* V.761–72)

The proximity of these entries in the notebook and in the text, as well as the fundamental role they play in its construction and elaboration, suggest that Joyce used them together to write this as an integral scene.

In a gloss to the Spanish translator of *A Portrait*, Dámaso Alonso, Joyce elaborately defined ‘sugar’ as ‘A euphemism used by Cranley [*sic*] in as much as it begins with the same letter as the product of the body the monosyllabic term for which in English is sometimes used as an exclamation and sometimes as descriptive of a person whom one does not like. In the French language it is associated with Marshal Cambronne and the French (the females at least) sometimes use a similar euphemism employing the [word] miel instead of the word used by the military commander’.<sup>49</sup> Also, Stephen’s particular focus on the ways in which other people speak is a constant preoccupation in *A Portrait* and this characteristic can be traced to several entries in the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’, as we will see again below.<sup>50</sup>

The final entry from the notes under the heading ‘Byrne’ that Joyce used in the chapter’s First Movement was ‘He calls a clock a wag-by-the-wall and Yeats a go-by-the-wall’ (*WD* 92; *JJA* 7:110), which illuminates its subtle usage in *A Portrait*: ‘Look at him! he said. Did you ever see such a go-by-the-wall?’ (*P* V.961).<sup>51</sup> Although stylized and thereby transformed, the pronouns in all of these notes demonstrate how Joyce used verbatim what we have to presume were the actual verbal characteristics of his friends to construct his fictional characters. In the note, for instance, it might very well be that Byrne was in the habit of calling W.B. Yeats ‘a go-by-the-wall’, but when that phrase appears in *A Portrait* this becomes something Cranly says of another classmate, Temple. Joyce often transferred attributes or lexical traits intended for one

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<sup>49</sup> James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce*, volume III, edited by Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1966) pp. 129–30.

<sup>50</sup> Separately, although it is not clear whether the image and precise phrasing originated in *A Portrait* or whether Joyce added them to this scene from ‘Giacomo Joyce’, but there we read: ‘My words in her mind: cold polished **stones** sinking **through a quagmire**’ (*PSW* 238). If Joyce first wrote the note for ‘Giacomo Joyce’, then this would suggest that the scene in *A Portrait* was revised relatively late. If it originated in *A Portrait*, it is not clear why he transferred it or why he so substantially altered the context between the two versions.

<sup>51</sup> According to M. Ángeles Conde-Parrilla, a ‘go-by-the-wall’ is ‘A slow, helpless person; a sly person’; ‘A Portrait of the Irish as They Speak: A Hiberno-English Grammar and Glossary in Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young*’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, Volume 55, Number 3-4, Spring-Summer 2018, pp. 313–31: (p. 322).

character to another in *Ulysses*, and in a different way followed a similar procedure in *Finnegans Wake*.<sup>52</sup>

Vincent Cosgrave was another of Joyce's University College friends who served as a model for a character in his works. Cosgrave was a model for Stephen's classmate in *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait*, and *Ulysses*. Joyce used the first notes under the heading 'Cosgrave (Vincent)' to introduce Lynch:

His laugh is like the whinny of an elephant. His trunk shakes all over and he rubs his hands delightedly over his groins. (*WD* 93; *JJA* 7:111)

This appears in *A Portrait* as:

—Look at him! he said. Did you ever see such a go-by-the-wall?

His phrase was greeted by a strange laugh from a student who lounged against the wall, his peaked cap down on his eyes. **The laugh**, pitched in a high key and coming from a so muscular frame, **seemed like the whinny of an elephant**. **The student's body shook all over** and, to ease his mirth, **he rubbed both his hands delightedly, over his groins**.

—Lynch is awake, said Cranly. (*P* V. 961–9)

In this case, the way in which Joyce constructed this integral scene with entries from different pages of the 'Alphabetical Notebook' is typical of his creative practices throughout his career. Furthermore, this sort of evidence of multiple notebook usage suggests that he either wrote or revised this extended scene in a concerted manner, though it is unclear whether he did so all in one go or in a piecemeal manner. Joyce carried over precisely these mannerisms when Lynch appears in 'Circe', specifically where 'with a mocking whinny of laughter' he mocks Stephen's theorizing in front of Bloom and Zoe Higgins (*U* 15.2123),<sup>53</sup> which I discuss more fully in [Section 8](#). Joyce is able to construct unified, seemingly distinguishable characters with precisely this sort of minimal but exact lexical patterning, not only in a single work but across them as well. He also used three more notes that he associated with Cosgrave to create this memorable aspect of Stephen's conversation with Lynch:

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<sup>52</sup> I analyse many examples of this process in my *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Character in 'Ulysses': Becoming the Blooms* (Oxford: OUP, 2015).

<sup>53</sup> All references to *Ulysses* are to James Joyce, *Ulysses*, edited by Hans Walter Gabler et al. (New York and London: Garland, 1984, 1986), also published by Random House and Bodley Head; hereafter cited parenthetically as *U* by episode and line number(s). An online version of this text is available [here](#).

[1] His hands are usually in his trousers' pockets. They were in his trousers' pockets when I was knocked down on S. Stephen's Green.

[2] <Under his headgear he brought up the image of a hooded reptile.> The long slender flattened skull under his cap brought up the image of a hooded reptile: the eyes, too, were reptilian in glint and gaze but with one human point, a tiny window of a shrivelled soul, poignant and embittered. [...]

[3] He ate dried cowdung. (WD 93; JJA 7:111)

These notes appear almost verbatim in *A Portrait*, which again indicates that Joyce either wrote or revised the scene with the 'Alphabetical Notebook' by his side:

—You say that art must not excite desire, said Lynch. I told you that one day I wrote my name in pencil on the backside of the Venus of Praxiteles in the Museum. Was that not desire?

—I speak of normal natures, said Stephen. You also told me that when you were a boy in that charming carmelite school [3] **you ate pieces of dried cowdung.**

[1] **Lynch broke again into a whinny of laughter and again rubbed both his hands over his groins but without taking them from his pockets.**

—O I did! I did! he cried.

Stephen turned towards his companion and looked at him for a moment boldly in the eyes. Lynch, recovering from his laughter, answered his look from his humbled eyes. [2] **The long slender flattened skull beneath the long pointed cap brought before Stephen's mind the image of a hooded reptile. The eyes, too, were reptilelike in glint and gaze.** Yet at that instant, humbled and alert in their look, they were lit by **one tiny human point, the window of a shrivelled soul, poignant and selfembittered.** (P V.1114–32)

Again, the concentrated use of entries from the notebook suggests that Joyce specifically wrote or revised this as an integral scene, possibly at the same time as the others, though that is not provable one way or the other based solely on the faircopy manuscript. The only note under the 'Cosgrave (Vincent)' heading that Joyce did not use was 'He is a self-consumer' (WD 93; JJA 7:111). On the other hand, there is just one note under the heading named after another of Joyce's University College friends, Francis Skeffington: 'He wields a wooden sword' (WD 105; JJA 7:152), which he used to describe the character of McCann in *A Portrait*: 'Do you think you impress me, Stephen asked, when you flourish your **wooden sword**' (P V.841–2).<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Leah Levenson used the phrase as the title of her biography, *With Wooden Sword: A Portrait of Francis Sheehy-Skeffington: Militant Pacifist* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983).

Characteristics Joyce associated with 'Clancy (George)' also appear in two of his semi-autobiographical works. The character of Madden in *Stephen Hero* and that of Davin in *A Portrait* are both based in part on Clancy. There are six notes under the heading that bears his name in the 'Alphabetical Notebook', but Joyce only used the first two in *A Portrait* and he did so in the same scene:

[1] There is a stare of terror in his eyes.

[2] He sat at the feet of Michael Cusack the Gael who hailed him as Citizen. (WD 93; JJA 7:112)

Again, although much expanded and refined, Joyce used the notes almost verbatim, and, as usual, with little regard to their order in the notebook. This is a consistent pattern evident throughout Joyce's career which underscores the fact that the note repositories are primarily storehouses of disjointed lexical fragments that only acquire a sense of narrative cohesion in the writing process:

the rude Firbolg mind of his listener had drawn his mind towards it and flung it back again, drawing it by a quiet inbred courtesy of attention or by a quaint turn of old English speech or by the force of its delight in rude bodily skill (for [2] **Davin had sat at the feet of Michael Cusack, the Gael**), repelling swiftly and suddenly by a grossness of intelligence or by a bluntness of feeling or by [1] **a dull stare of terror in the eyes**, the terror of soul of a starving Irish village in which the curfew was still a nightly fear. (P V.234–42)

While Joyce presumably simply added the second note to an earlier version of the scene, he used the first to establish two matched sets of triadic constructions that are typical of the conceptual patterning of Stephen's thoughts in *A Portrait*, in part setting up a proleptic contrast with Cranly's mode of speech that we discussed above.

Joyce's Catholic education provided four more notes under the heading 'Jesuits' that he relied on to give texture to his account of Stephen's life in *A Portrait*. He used the first verbatim — 'The houses of jesuits are extraterritorial' (WD 102; JJA 7:138) — in the following line: 'Or was the jesuit house extraterritorial and was he walking among aliens?' (P V.375–6). The second note — 'They are levites' (WD 102; JJA 7:138) — was the prompt for Stephen's silent thoughts about the Dean of Studies as he watched him trying to light the fire:

Kneeling thus on the flagstone to kindle the fire and busied with the disposition of his wisps of paper and candlebutts he seemed more than ever a humble server making ready the place of sacrifice in an empty temple, **a levite** of the Lord.

Like a levite's robe of plain linen the faded worn soutane draped the kneeling figure of one whom the canonicals or the bellbordered ephod would irk and trouble. (*P V*.394–401)

Joyce combined the following two notes to render Stephen's sentiments as he watches the Dean after their interview:

[1] They flatter the wealthy but they do not love them nor their ways. They flatter the clergy, their half brothers. [...]

[2] Are they venal of speech because venality is the only point of contact between pastor and flock? (*WD* 102; *JJA* 7:138–9)

In *A Portrait* this became

He left the hearth quickly and went towards the landing to oversee the arrival of the first arts' class.

Leaning against the fireplace Stephen heard him greet briskly and impartially every student of the class and could almost see the frank smiles of the coarser students. A desolating pity began to fall like a dew upon his easily embittered heart for this faithful servingman of the knightly Loyola, for this [1] **halfbrother of the clergy**, [2] **more venal than they in speech**, more steadfast of soul than they, one whom he would never call his ghostly father: and he thought how this man and his companions had earned the name of worldlings at the hands not of the unworldly only but of the worldly also for having pleaded, during all their history, at the bar of God's justice for the souls of the lax and the lukewarm and the prudent. (*P V*.580–93)

In some ways the entries Joyce chose not to use from the list of notes headed 'Jesuits' are equally revealing both of his own views of the order and of his plans of how he would render his teachers in *A Portrait*:

They do not love the end they serve. [...]

They who live by the mob shall perish by the mob.

They judge by categories. [...]

They are erotically preoccupied. (*WD* 105; *JJA* 7:138–9)

One of Stephen Dedalus's most memorable and enigmatic pronouncements can also be traced directly to the 'Alphabetical Notebook'. Under the heading 'Ireland', Joyce simply noted without any context or comment: 'The sow that eats her young' (*WD* 100; *JJA* 7:133), which Stephen renders verbatim but more dramatically in his exchange with Davin in this way:

- [...] You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets. Davin knocked the ashes from his pipe.
- Too deep for me, Stevie, he said. But a man's country comes first. Ireland first, Stevie. You can be a poet or mystic after.
- Do you know what Ireland is? asked Stephen with cold violence. **Ireland is the old sow that eats her farrow.** (*P* V.1049–55)

It would be interesting to know when Joyce added Stephen's key pronouncement about his country to the evolving text of Chapter V of *A Portrait*. The entry under 'Esthetic' that Joyce used is similarly esoteric:

Pornographic and cinematographic images act like those stimuli which produce a reflex action of the nerves through channels which are independent of esthetic perception. (*WD* 96; *JJA* 7:121)

The gist of this complex note appears as part of the aesthetic theory that Stephen unfolds to Lynch as they walk:

- [...] Our flesh shrinks from what it dreads and responds to the stimulus of what it desires by a purely reflex action of the nervous system. Our eyelid closes before we are aware that the fly is about to enter our eye.
- Not always, said Lynch critically.
- In the same way, said Stephen, your flesh responded to the stimulus of a naked statue but it was, I say, simply **a reflex action of the nerves.** (*P* V.1140–7)

While we cannot precisely date when Joyce used the 'Alphabetical Notebook' to write these often-pivotal scenes in *A Portrait*, their consistent appearance throughout the chapter is emblematic of the various ways Joyce relied on his notebooks to write and rewrite all of his works. It seems most likely that Joyce used the notebook to write much of Chapter V from March 1910 to March 1911, but he also most likely returned to it over and over again for further inspiration before he prepared the final faircopy manuscript by mid-November 1914.

### 3. THE ABANDONED EXTENSION OF CHAPTER V

#### a. The 'Doherty Fragment' and 'Telemachus'

Since the evidence available does not show how Joyce created the finale of Chapter V as we know it in the published work, this is as appropriate a juncture as any to explore a fascinating assortment of other uses Joyce made of the 'Alphabetical Notebook' for *A Portrait*, even though he subsequently repurposed these texts for *Ulysses*. Joyce's

concentrated use of six entries from the notebook's list headed 'Gogarty (Oliver Saint John)' for a version of Chapter V that extended beyond the '27 April' diary entry that abruptly concludes the book has altered our understanding of the ending of *A Portrait* as well as of the beginnings of *Ulysses* (P V.2791–2). As I have recently discussed elsewhere,<sup>55</sup> Joyce relied on these notes to write what must have been a relatively long scene, the only surviving remnant of which is the so-called 'Doherty Fragment'. Later, having decided not to use it in *A Portrait*, he repurposed it for the opening of the 'Telemachus' episode, along with other texts that he had written, as well as still other scenes that he wrote later. We can be certain that Joyce first used these notes to write or revise versions of this scene in one or more earlier (now lost) manuscripts before he recopied it as this faircopy fragment, only four pages of which have unexpectedly survived. Subsequently, he probably made the decision to abandon this scene (along with related material that I discuss in the following subsections) at some point between February and May 1913. Then, at various stages from mid-November 1914 to June 1915, he further rewrote the scene, more than once, before it reappeared in the earliest surviving 'Telemachus' manuscript, which Joyce only wrote in September–October 1917. Therefore, at the very least, the 'Doherty Fragment' is an intriguing intermediary draft at the intersection of *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*, but it is more than that as well.

It is not known when Joyce first wrote the text that appears in the faircopy 'Doherty Fragment'.<sup>56</sup> He wrote it in some form for *Stephen Hero* in 1906, but then revised it further with entries from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' from March 1910 to March 1911 on one or more manuscripts that do not survive. Palaeographic similarities between it and the very narrow columnar writing Joyce used when he recopied Chapter I support the proposition that he recopied it as part of Chapter V in 1913.<sup>57</sup> By then Joyce had used the following entries from the 'Alphabetical

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<sup>55</sup> See my 'Stephen Dedalus from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* to *Ulysses*' in the *James Joyce Quarterly*, Volume 57, Number 1-2 (Fall 2019-Winter 2020), pp. 67–79.

<sup>56</sup> According to Stanislaus Joyce, Joyce planned to include a 'Tower episode' in *Stephen Hero* as early as 1905 (Stanislaus Joyce to Joyce; 31 July 1905; *Letters II* 103).

<sup>57</sup> Another connection between the 'Doherty Fragment' and recently rewritten copy of Chapter I is that it was sent to Weaver together with the one missing manuscript leaf of the Christmas dinner scene.

Notebook' to write a more basic version of a Martello Tower scene for *A Portrait* that readers would clearly recognise in 'Telemachus':

[1] He has a horse-like face and hair grained and hued like pale oak.

[2] He calls thought the secretion of the brain-cells and says that Ireland secretes priests.

[3] The Omphalos was to be the temple of a neo-paganism. [...]

[4] His coarseness of speech is not the blasphemy of a romantic.

[5] His coarseness is the mask of his cowardice of spirit. [...]

[6] He discovered the vanity of the world and exclaimed "The mockery of it!"  
(*WD* 97–8; *JJA* 7:124–7)<sup>58</sup>

The central scene in the 'Doherty Fragment' features several of Stephen's memories of a friend named Doherty, a character based on Oliver St John Gogarty, who is an earlier avatar of Malachi 'Buck' Mulligan in *Ulysses*.<sup>59</sup> The setting of the scene in the Dedalus family's kitchen is only established towards the end of the fragment, while its opening describes Stephen's recollections of an earlier encounter with his erstwhile friend. This is how Joyce used the notes in the first two leaves of the 'Doherty Fragment':

shed his blood for all men they have no need of other aspersion.

Doherty's gibes flashed to and fro through the torpor of his mind and he thought without mirth of his friend's [1] **face, equine and pallid, and of his pallid hair, grained and hued like oak**. He had tried to receive coldly these memories of his friend's boisterous humour, feeling that [4 & 5] **his coarseness of speech was not a blasphemy of the spirit but a coward's mask**, but in the end the troop of swinish images broke down his reserve and went trampling through his memory, followed by his laughter:

I'm the queerest young fellow that ever you heard.

My mother's a jew, my father's a bird.

With Joseph the joiner I cannot agree

So here's to disciples and Calvary!

My methods are new and are causing surprise.

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<sup>58</sup> Unlike the entries under the 'Dedalus (Stephen)' heading, most of the ones under the 'Gogarty' heading are in the present tense.

<sup>59</sup> After Joyce set aside the 'Doherty Fragment' from *A Portrait*, he broke it up into scenes that appear not only in 'Telemachus' but also in the 'Circe' and 'Eumaeus' episodes of *Ulysses*. I discuss Joyce's multi-faceted repurposing of the 'Doherty Fragment' in 'Eumaeus' in my 'Stephen Dedalus from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* to *Ulysses*', pp. 71–3.

To make the blind see I throw dust in their eyes. ...

But the echo of his laughter had been the remembrance of Doherty, standing on the steps of his house the night before, saying:  
—And on Sunday I consume the particle. Christine, semel in die. [6] **The mockery of it all!** But it's for the sake of the poor aunt. God, we must be human first. Doherty meets his afflicted aunt. I am writing a mystery-play in half an act. Scene: Heaven. Enter two bonzes from Leitrim wearing blue spectacles. From Leitrim! "What was it at all? Was it electric light or the aurora borealis?" "That was himself" "Glory be to God! It is the grandest thing I ever saw." I think that's ^a^ lovely touch. [6] **The mockery of it!** [2] **Ireland secretes priests:** that's my new phrase. I must go. A woman waits for me. God, the humanity of Whitman! I contain all. I embrace all. Farewell. Did you notice Yeats's new touch with the hand up. It's the Roman salute. Salve! Pip, pip! O, a lovely mummer! Dedalus, we must retire to the tower, you and I. Our lives are precious. I'll try to touch the aunt. We are the super-artists. Dedalus and Doherty have left Ireland for the [3] **Omphalos**— [...] (BL MS 49975, ff. 1–2)<sup>60</sup>

Joyce probably wrote and rewrote one or more scenes (or possibly sections of one or more chapters) featuring a character named Doherty for *A Portrait* before this surviving fragment achieved such a stylized form. As early as 1904, he noted 'Dr. Doherty and the Holy City' in his 'Early Commonplace Book', which he later crossed through in black ink (NLI MS 36,639/2/A, p. [17v]; see *WD* 85). This is presumably a note about a scene he planned for *Stephen Hero*, which may have been an earlier version of the 'Doherty Fragment', or else some other scene that has not survived, though it is just as likely that he never wrote such a scene at all. The 'Doherty Fragment' begins and ends with separate scenes that Joyce had previously written in 1906 for *Stephen Hero*. While some of the events, imagery, and language in the fragment can be traced directly to their earlier presentation, the appearance of a character named Doherty in this fragment of a scene was an unexpected discovery in the 1960s. As A. Walton Litz concisely put it, 'Doherty is Mulligan as he was to have appeared in the *Portrait*, before Joyce decided to make these incidents the centre of the first episode in *Ulysses*'.<sup>61</sup> As such, this solitary fragment actually stands at the intersection of three of Joyce's works that span about a decade of his creative evolution: *Stephen Hero*, *A Portrait*, and *Ulysses*.

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<sup>60</sup> See Litz, *Art of James Joyce*, Appendix B, Fragments B and A, pp. 132–5; and *WD* 107–8.

<sup>61</sup> Litz, *Art of James Joyce*, Appendix B, p. 137.

The more complete text (of which the 'Doherty Fragment' was merely a part) represents a more expansive conception of the last chapter of *A Portrait*, which Joyce most likely was writing even before he attempted to destroy the manuscript at the start of 1911. He presumably still considered employing this extended timeframe for *A Portrait* until he finally reconfigured Chapter V in 1913–14. Later, on 16 June 1915, Joyce announced to his brother that he had written the first episode of *Ulysses* (see Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce; *Selected Letters* 209). Unfortunately, the earliest extant draft we have of 'Telemachus' was written in 1917. By then Joyce had already carried over some of the precise wording from his 1910 'Alphabetical Notebook' entries via the 'Doherty Fragment'; some quite explicitly, while other notes echo more generally in the episode and the novel. The description of the character's features is directly recognisable from its conception in the note to its appearance in the earlier version for *A Portrait* to its ultimate instantiation in 'Telemachus': 'He has a horse-like face and hair grained and hued like pale oak' (*WD* 97; *JJA* 7:124). The description of 'Gogarty' in the notebook is not assigned to a speaker, but when it appears in the 'Doherty Fragment' in 1914 it has become Stephen's subjective impression of another fictional character:

Doherty's gibes flashed to and fro through the torpor of his mind and he thought without mirth of his friend's **face, equine and pallid, and of his pallid hair, grained and hued like oak**. (BL MS 49975, f. 2)<sup>62</sup>

The overt lexical marker — 'he thought' — at the centre of the sentence indicates that a narrator's voice is mediating the presentation of the character's consciousness. Then its second part flows into the unspoken thoughts of the character, so that we read Stephen's recollection of his friend's face and hair as though it were presented in the character's own words. While this fusion of narrative voices that includes the character's thought processes is a significant stylistic transformation of the rudimentary description of Gogarty in the notebook, it is still only one stage in Joyce's elaboration of this scene. In 1915, when Joyce set about repurposing the scene for the opening of the first episode of *Ulysses*, he presumably carried it over in a similar formulation. While no manuscripts survive to document the genesis of *Ulysses* from 1915 or 1916, this is how Joyce rewrote the scene for 'Telemachus' in 1917 (after which it remained unchanged):

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<sup>62</sup> See Litz, *Art of James Joyce*, Appendix B, Fragment B, p. 135; and *WD* 107.

Stephen Dedalus, displeased and sleepy, leaned his arms on the top of the staircase and looked coldly at the shaking gurgling **face** that blessed him, **equine** in its length, and at the light untoursured **hair, grained and hued like pale oak**. (*U* 1.13–16)<sup>63</sup>

Here Joyce has retained some of the exact language that he had used three years earlier when he still planned to include the scene in *A Portrait*, but he also reverted to some of the same wording and detailed imagery that he had recorded about his real-life friend Gogarty four years before in the 1910 ‘Alphabetical Notebook’. Joyce moved away from the highly stylized verbal repetition that he had relied on to formulate Stephen’s aesthetic sensibility in *A Portrait* and instead relied on the simpler, more straightforward description in the notebook to make this text fit its new context in *Ulysses*.

The residue of other 1910 notes also echoes in one of Mulligan’s first actions in ‘Telemachus’ when he calls ‘out **coarsely**’ for Stephen to join him upstairs and later when he addresses him with ‘**coarse** vigour’ (*U* 1.6–7, 1.495). Joyce subsumed the explanatory context that had previously accounted for the character’s mannerisms in the earlier notes and correspondingly in the ‘Doherty Fragment’:

[4] His **coarseness of speech** is not the blasphemy of a romantic. [...]

[5] His **coarseness** is the mask of his cowardice of spirit. (*WD* 98; *JJA* 7:125)

It is a hallmark of the minimalist realism of *Ulysses* that much of the seemingly basic contextual background about his characters is left unsaid, but a familiarity with the genesis of a character or a scene can often enrich a reader’s appreciation of some of the reasons why Joyce may have chosen a particular adverb to help define a character in his works. Furthermore, while he chose not to carry over what we are led to presume was Gogarty’s pronouncement that ‘He calls thought the secretion of the brain-cells and says that Ireland secretes priests’ in the later work, the other notes — ‘The Omphalos was to be the temple of a neo-paganism’ and ‘He discovered the vanity of the world and exclaimed “The mockery of it!”’ (*WD* 97–8; *JJA* 7:125–7) —

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<sup>63</sup> See ‘*Ulysses*’: *A Facsimile of the Manuscript*, intro. Harry Levin with a preface by Clive Driver, vols. 1–3 (New York: Faber and Faber, with the Philip H. and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation, 1974), ‘Telemachus’ MS, f. 1; hereafter cited as Rosenbach MS, by episode and folio number.

are central to Mulligan's characterization in 'Telemachus' and elsewhere in the book.<sup>64</sup>

Joyce also repurposed the verse that follows Doherty's laughter and is familiar to readers from Mulligan's rendition of it in 'Telemachus' as well. This too can be traced to Gogarty, but in this case the recollection was not mediated by notebook entries. Instead, Joyce must have remembered that Vincent Cosgrave had sent him Gogarty's most recent composition at the end of October 1905, a full year after Joyce's short stay with Gogarty in the Martello Tower in Sandycove and his unannounced departure from Dublin with Nora Barnacle. According to Cosgrave, Gogarty titled the poem 'The Song of the Cheerful (but slightly sarcastic) Jaysus' (Vincent Cosgrave to Joyce; about 29 October 1905; *Letters II* 126–7). Joyce incorporated its first full stanza plus the first couplet of the third stanza verbatim in the 'Doherty Fragment' with the intention that it would appear in *A Portrait*. Two full stanzas of the verse appear in the earliest manuscript version of 'Telemachus' and they remained unchanged in *Ulysses* (Rosenbach 'Telemachus' MS, f. 24; *U* 1.584–92). On the other hand, the first couplet of the third stanza made a circuitous journey from Cosgrave's letter to the 'Doherty Fragment' and from there to the earliest extant draft of 'Circe' where Joyce has 'Edward the Seventh' recite Gogarty's lyric, which appears almost unchanged in *Ulysses*:

^(a white jujube in his mouth)^  
 My methods are new & are causing surprise  
 To make the blind see I throw dust in their eyes. (Buffalo MS V.A.19, p. [25r];<sup>65</sup> *JJA* 14:243; see *U* 15.4476–9)

More importantly, the appearance of five more entries under two headings in the 'Alphabetical Notebook' in 'Telemachus' indicates that by 1913 Joyce had probably already written more of the expanded Chapter V as it was then planned than we had previously thought. Furthermore, he also returned to the notebook in the first half of 1915 to write or revise other texts specifically for *Ulysses*. Ezra Pound received Chapters IV and V of *A Portrait* on 11 November 1914 and they appeared serially in

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<sup>64</sup> I discuss the reappearance of some of these notes in 'Circe' in Section 8.

<sup>65</sup> See Phillip Herring's *Joyce's Notes and Early Drafts for 'Ulysses': Selections from the Buffalo Collection* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1977), p. 238; hereafter cited parenthetically, and I will use abbreviated forms of citations for the Buffalo manuscripts; for further information about these citations, see the introduction to my '[Joyce at Work on Ulysses: 1917–22](#)', *GJS* 13 (2013).

the *Egoist* between 7 December and 1 September 1915. Meanwhile, on 16 June 1915 — an auspicious date in hindsight, though Joyce was still only writing ‘Stephensday’ at this stage, not ‘Bloomsday’ just yet — he informed Stanislaus Joyce: ‘I have written something. The first episode of my new novel *Ulysses* is written’ (*Selected Letters* 209, n. 4). Since two of the notes appear in a coordinated scene towards the opening of the episode, while Stephen and Mulligan are still standing atop the Tower, I presume that Joyce wrote this scene along with the ‘Doherty Fragment’. The first note below is appropriately enough from the list headed ‘Gogarty (Oliver Saint John)’, while the other, unsurprisingly, is from the one headed ‘Ireland’:

[1] He fears the lancet of my art as I fear that of his. (*WD* 97; *JJA* 7:124)

[2] Irish art is the cracked looking-glass of a servant. (*WD* 100; *JJA* 7:134)

Together, they first appear in the Rosenbach ‘Telemachus’ manuscript in September–October 1917, though Joyce probably wrote one or more earlier versions of the scene for *A Portrait* before the autumn of 1914:

Laughing again, he brought the mirror away from Stephen’s peering eyes.  
—The rage of Caliban at not seeing his face in a mirror, he said. If Wilde were only alive to see you!

Drawing back and pointing, Stephen said with bitterness:

—[2] **It is a symbol of Irish art. The cracked lookingglass of a servant.**

Buck Mulligan suddenly linked his arm in Stephen’s and walked with him round the tower, his razor and mirror clacking in the pocket where he had thrust them.

—It’s not fair to tease you like that, Kinch, is it? he said kindly. God knows you have more spirit than any of them.

Parried again. [1] **He fears the lancet of my art as I fear that of his.**

—The cracked lookingglass of a servant! Tell that to the oxy chap downstairs and touch him for a guinea. (ff. 6–7; simplified transcription; see *U* 1.141–55)

These are fundamental motifs that Joyce noted down in 1910, presumably incorporated in the text by 1915, and that reverberate throughout the first episode of *Ulysses*. Since the other entries are more scattered, we cannot be sure when or how he used the notebook to write the text, so it is best to look at them from the perspective of the notebook, rather than the text. Joyce took two more entries from the list headed ‘Gogarty’:

[1] The plump shaven face and the sullen oval jowl recall some prelate, patron of arts in the middle ages. [...]

[2] Dubliners who slighted me esteemed him as peasants esteem a bone-setter or the redskins their medicine-man. (*WD* 97–8; *JJA* 7:124–5)

These iconic phrases are easily recognisable by readers who are familiar with 'Telemachus'. In fact, the entries appear almost verbatim in the order in which Joyce noted them (though quite far apart) in the earliest 'Telemachus' Rosenbach manuscript, and then virtually unchanged in *Ulysses*:

He skipped off the gunrest and looked gravely at his watcher, gathering about his legs the loose folds of his gown. [1] **The plump shadowed face and sullen oval jowl recalled a prelate, patron of arts in the middle ages.** A pleasant smile broke quietly over his lips. (f. 2; *U* 1.30–3)

Stephen listened in scornful silence. [2] **She bows her old head to a voice that speaks to her loudly, her bonesetter, her medicineman: me she slights.** (f. 17; *U* 1.418–19)

Joyce took one final entry from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' that appears in 'Telemachus', this time again from the list headed 'Ireland': 'The Irish are washed by the Gulf Stream' (*WD* 101; *JJA* 7:134), which appears in *Ulysses* as 'All **Ireland is washed by the gulfstream**, Stephen said as he let honey trickle over a slice of the loaf' (*U* 1.476–7). Again, it is impossible to know for certain whether Joyce relied on the note to write or revise the scene for *A Portrait* or whether he wrote it later specifically for the first episode of *Ulysses*, nor whether he used it in conjunction with the other notes that appear in the episode from the 'Gogarty' list or else with notes from the list headed 'Mother' that I discuss next. Nonetheless, readers of *Ulysses* should be aware of the fact that so many of Stephen's emblematic statements have a prehistory that date back to at least 1910, and in some cases even earlier.

### **b. Missing Drafts Featuring May Dedalus and 'Telemachus'**

I have written in more detail about Joyce's use of the notes under the heading 'Mother' in my recent *James Joyce Quarterly* essay.<sup>66</sup> Rather than rehearse that argument, I will just outline the basic facts to illustrate the consistency of Joyce's creative practices and what they tell us about the interface of *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*. No manuscript evidence survives of his initial draft usage of these notes before 1917.

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<sup>66</sup> See my 'Stephen Dedalus from *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* to *Ulysses*', pp. 73–7.

Nonetheless, the fact that they all appear seamlessly integrated in the Rosenbach ‘Telemachus’ manuscript clearly indicates that Joyce had already written earlier versions of these scenes (maybe even as early as 1910–11), possibly in coordination with the ‘Doherty Fragment’, for another scene he planned to include in *A Portrait*, or else he may have done so in 1915 (or possibly later still) as part of the newer material specifically for ‘Telemachus’, though I believe the earlier dating is more likely.

Joyce compiled a cluster of notes in the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ that subsequently formed the entire range of Stephen’s memories of his mother in *Ulysses*:

Mother

[1] The drawer in her deadroom contained perfumed programmes and old feathers. When she was a girl a birdcage hung in the sunny window of her house. When she was a girl she went to the theatre ^to see the pantomime of Turko the Terrible^ and laughed when ^Old Royce^ the actor sang:

I am the boy  
That can enjoy  
Invisibility

[2] She came to me silently in a dream after her death: and her wasted body within its loose brown habit gave out a faint odour of wax and rosewood and her breath a faint odour of wetted ashes.

[3] Every first Friday she approached the altar and when she came home drank a glass of water before eating.

[4] Her nails were reddened with the blood of lice. [...]

[5] Sometimes she roasted an apple for herself on the hob. [...] (*WD* 102–3; *JJA* 7:141–2)

If they are based on autobiographical experiences (and I presume they are), these notes, and therefore the scenes based on them, would be the most moving traces Joyce ever recorded about his life during the difficult period when his own mother was dying. He combined these previously distinct notes in the following scene, which first appears in the Rosenbach ‘Telemachus’ manuscript:

[1] Her secrets: **old feather**fans, tasselled dancecards, powdered with musk, a gaud of amber beads in her locked **drawer**. **A birdcage hung in the sunny window of her house when she was a girl**. **She heard old Royce sing in the pantomime of Turko the Terrible and laughed** ^with others^ **when he sang:**

I am the boy  
That can enjoy  
Invisibility.

Phantasmal mirth, folded away: musk**perfumed**.

And no more turn aside and brood.

Folded away in the memory of nature with her toys. Memories <sup>^</sup><crowded> beset<sup>^</sup> his brooding brain. [3] **Her glass of water from the kitchen tap when she had approached the sacrament.** [5] **A cored apple, filled with brown sugar, roasting for her at the hob on a dark autumn evening.** [4] **Her shapely fingernails reddened by the blood of squashed lice** from the children's shirts.

[2] **In a dream, silently**, she had come to him, **her wasted body within its loose graveclothes giving off an odour of wax and rosewood, her breath, bent over him with mute secret words, a faint odour of wetted ashes** (ff. 11–12; simplified transcription; see *U* 1.255–72).

### c. Missing Drafts of Stephen's 'Hamlet' Discussion

Joyce relied on the 'Alphabetical Notebook' to write more than just the drafts of the 'Tower' scene (and maybe other scenes that describe the life and death of Stephen's mother), which he subsequently repurposed for 'Telemachus'. The notebook provides the only material evidence available that he also wrote one or more scenes that featured Stephen presenting his theory about 'Hamlet' in the National Library, which he may have planned to incorporate in *A Portrait*, but then could not once he had reconfigured Chapter V with its foreshortened closure. If this was the case, then, as usual, Joyce would have been unwilling to abandon those texts, and ultimately made them the centrepiece of the climactic ninth episode of *Ulysses*, 'Scylla and Charybdis'.

Three years ago, I speculated that 'in 1914 [Joyce] may have written some version of a scene in which Stephen Dedalus propounds his "Shakespeare theory" in the National Library that he may have intended to include as part of the abandoned extended version of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*'.<sup>67</sup> His use of the 'Alphabetical Notebook' contains the most concrete evidence available that this might indeed be the case. It is highly unlikely that any sort of presentation of Stephen's 'Hamlet' theory was part of the manuscript version of *A Portrait* that Ettore Schmitz read in 1909. In fact, it seems much more probable that Joyce only wrote the earliest versions of the scene after he had presented his 'Hamlet' lectures in Trieste in 1912–

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<sup>67</sup> Crispi, '[A Ulysses Manuscripts Workbook: Appendix: A New Census of Ulysses Holograph Manuscripts](#)', *GJS* 17 (2017).

13, though whether he wrote it out in any substantial way as part of Chapter V of *A Portrait* is not known.<sup>68</sup> Then, from May 1916 to March 1917, with some of the ‘Telemachiad’ written (and we don’t know how much more of other parts of *Ulysses*),<sup>69</sup> Joyce certainly wrote one or more proto-drafts of what would become ‘Scylla and Charybdis’, though none of these drafts currently survive.<sup>70</sup> This is the only scenario that accounts for the fact that Joyce offered some version of the episode to Pound on 9 April 1917: ‘As regards excerpts from *Ulysses*, the only thing I could send would be the Hamlet chapter, or part of it—which, however, would suffer by excision’ (*Letters I* 101).

A previously unknown later draft of ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ was acquired by the NLI as part of its treasure trove of newly discovered manuscripts in 2002, many of which have fundamentally altered our understanding of the genesis of *Ulysses*.<sup>71</sup> Joyce wrote this draft in the Summer of 1918 in Zurich, while the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ remained in Trieste bundled up with everything else that he had left behind after his hasty departure from the city. Tellingly, all of the entries we can trace from

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<sup>68</sup> See Owen, *Beginnings of ‘Ulysses’*, pp. 17 and 26. Contemporaneously with my work on this notebook, Gabler has put forward a new theory on this subject. Based on the temporal discontinuity at the start of the Villanelle movement (V.2), he argues that Joyce may have intended to have Stephen Dedalus present his theory about Shakespeare to an audience at the National Library in *A Portrait*, but then decided to exclude it from that book only to include it many years later in ‘Scylla and Charybdis’. See Hans Walter Gabler, ‘James Joyce’s Hamlet Chapter’ (forthcoming; *JSA* 2020).

<sup>69</sup> On 10 October 1916 Joyce claimed to Harriet Shaw Weaver that he had written some version of the ‘Nostos’ episodes at least four years before he arrived in Paris: ‘I have almost finished the first part and have written out part of the middle and end’ (*Letters II* 387). Joyce made a similar claim to John Quinn before he left Trieste for the second time in July 1920: ‘The close of the book or *Nostos* proper is, like the *Telemachia*, in three parts, but simpler, and is in part written’ (11 March 1920; *Letters II* 459). For further details about what Joyce may have written of the ‘Nostos’ before 1920, see my [‘New Census of \*Ulysses\* Holograph Manuscripts’](#), *GJS* 2017 (2017).

<sup>70</sup> A ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ manuscript was included in the La Hune ‘James Joyce’ Exhibition and auction in Paris in 1948. It was therefore part of the collection acquired by the Poetry Collection, University at Buffalo (as it is now called), but it did not arrive there with the other La Hune Joyce material in 1950 (see Peter Spielberg, *James Joyce’s Manuscripts & Letters at the University of Buffalo: A Catalogue*. Buffalo [Buffalo: University of Buffalo, 1962], p. vii). What became of that manuscript is not known.

<sup>71</sup> I discuss this ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ manuscript in greater detail in my [‘A First Foray into the National Library of Ireland’s Joyce Manuscripts: Bloomsday 2011’](#) *GJS* 11 (2011).

the notebook appear in the main text of the first copybook of the NLI 'Scylla and Charybdis' manuscript. This is all further evidence that he had already written these scenes in Trieste and recopied them, presumably several times, before they appear in the episode's first extant draft.

Multiple notebook draft usage indicates that Joyce probably wrote the opening of 'Scylla and Charybdis' as one of the initial fragments of the episode. He relied on at least two entries from his earliest extant notebook, the NLI's 'Early Commonplace Book' to frame the scene, thereby linking it with the texts about Doherty as some of the earliest components of what would become *Ulysses*. The first note is a copy of the French comic song 'Monsieur de la Palice', and the second appears under the heading 'S.D.' (obviously 'Stephen Dedalus') at the end of the notebook: 'Six brave medicals under my dictation will write Paradise Lost except 100 lines' (NLI MS 36,639/2/A, p. [18v], p. [24r]). At some stage Joyce combined these notes to create the following repartee between Stephen and Eglinton. This is how it appears in its earliest extant form, though Joyce must have written it more than once before 1918:

— And **Monsieur de la Palice**, Stephen ^<said> sneered^, was alive fifteen minutes before his death.

— **Have you <your> ^found those brave^ six ^<medical students> medicals^, John Eglinton's <carping voice> asked ^with elder's gall^, to write Paradise Lost at your dictation.** I feel you would want one more for Hamlet. (NLI MS 36,639/8/A, p. [1r]; see *U* 9.16–20)

To which Joyce added 'Smile. Smile Cranly's smile' by the time he wrote the next extant manuscript (Rosenbach 'Scylla and Charybdis' MS, f. 1; *U* 9.21), thereby calling attention to its connection with *A Portrait* for which this scene was possibly originally intended. Although the scene is heavily revised and expanded on its first extant draft, it is quite likely that Joyce had also already written the core of Stephen's Shakespearean 'ghoststory' that begins 'What is a ghost? Stephen said with tingling energy' (*U* 9.147). This is clear from the fact that Joyce drew a central motif in it from the 'Alphabetical Notebook'. Unsurprisingly, both of the entries that appear in 'Scylla and Charybdis' come from the list headed 'Dedalus (Stephen)' in the notebook. The first is 'He was a dispossessed son' (*WD* 95; *JJA* 7:115). Fundamental as it is to the plot and themes of 'Hamlet', it is also an early figuration of the father/son motif of *Ulysses*, and its appearance in the notebook indicates that Joyce

had at least planned to include the motif in *A Portrait*. This is how the note appears fully integrated in Stephen's disputation in *Ulysses*:

Is it possible that that actor, a ghost by absence, in the vesture of the elder Hamlet, a ghost by death, speaking his own words to his own son, (for had Hamlet Shakespeare lived he would have been then a young man of twenty) is it possible ^I ask,^ that he did not draw ^or foresee^ the logical conclusion of those premises? I am the murdered father: **you are the dispossessed son**: your mother is the guilty queen ^Anne^ Shakespeare, born Hathaway. (NLI MS 36,639/8/A, pp. [6r]–[7r]; see Rosenbach 'Scylla and Charybdis' MS, f. 5; and *U* 9.174–80)

The second entry he drew from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' is something that Joyce himself may have done: 'He pawned a Pali book' (*WD* 95; *JJA* 7:117). This phrase appears fully integrated in the main text of the earliest extant draft, suggesting that it was a part of the scene from early on even though Joyce was still revising the text around it in 1918:

^<Their room> bogeybox^ in Dawson chambers. Isis unveiled. Their Pali book we tried to pawn. (NLI MS 36,639/8/A, p. [9r]; simplified transcription; see *U* 9.279–80)

Scant as they are, the draft usage of these various entries from two notebooks suggests that Joyce may have planned to include scenes that resemble the ones we know from *Ulysses* in *Stephen Hero*, but also that he may have written some form of these scenes for *A Portrait* before 1914, which he subsequently revised more than once before they appeared in the earliest known draft of 'Scylla and Charybdis' in 1918, which is how most readers would know them.

#### **d. Missing Drafts Repurposed for 'Sirens'**

Building on Rodney Owen's perceptive insights,<sup>72</sup> I postulated that Joyce had written fragments or proto-drafts of 'Sirens' between 1914 and 1916.<sup>73</sup> The 'Alphabetical Notebook' provides further (though not decisive) evidence that Joyce had indeed written some version of Simon Dedalus's visit to the barroom in the Ormond Hotel before the 1917 proto-draft version of the episode that came to light in 2002 (NLI MS 36,639/7/B, pp. [5v]–[10r]). The manner in which Joyce wrote the text is sufficient to

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<sup>72</sup> Owen, *Beginnings of 'Ulysses'*, pp. 65–8.

<sup>73</sup> See my '[New Census of Ulysses Holograph Manuscripts](#)', *GJS* 2017 (2017).

establish that he was copying it from an earlier manuscript, and the appearance of two entries from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' raises the possibility that he had written one or more versions of at least some of these scenes at some stage between 1910 and 1914, specifically for *A Portrait*, though he subsequently did not use the text in that book. Unfortunately, there is not sufficient evidence to prove the case one way or the other, because Joyce could simply have remembered these distinctive phrases he associated with his father and his friends and so with Simon Dedalus.

The first entry from the notebook that appears in 'Sirens' is in a list headed 'Devin' (that is, Tom Devin, whom Joyce used as model for Tom Power in *Dubliners* and *Ulysses*). The note reads: 'He drank with me in Mooney's-sur-Mer' (*WD* 96; *JJA* 7:120). Readers of *Ulysses* will recognise this as part of Lenehan's quip about having been with Stephen Dedalus earlier in the day:

- 'Twas ever thus. ^<And how is your famous son, Mr Dedalus?> Greetings from the famous son of a famous father.^
- ^<Whose son is that?> Who is he?^ Mr Dedalus asked
- Lenehan opened his arms genially. cigarette chewed
- Can you ask? he said. Stephen, <son> of the tribe of Dedalus.
- O, I see, Mr Dedalus said, laying down his ^filled^ pipe. I didn't recognise him for the moment. I believe he is keeping very select company <lately>. I haven't had the pleasure of seeing him ^<for some time> lately^. Are you a friend of his?
- I <have> quaffed the winecup ^of friendship^ with him, Lenehan said ^laughing^ to Miss Kennedy's waiting eyes, <today> this very day^. In **Mooney's sur Mer**. [...] (NLI MS 36,639/7B, p. [8r]; simplified transcription; see *U* 11.54–64)

The direct evidence linking the notebook entry to the draft usage is slight. It could simply be that Joyce had been planning for many years that Stephen would have a drink at this Liffey-side pub at 5 Lower Eden Quay and then remembered it when he wrote whatever draft preceded this one. The other notebook reference in 'Sirens' is even clearer, but once again it is impossible to know for certain how it developed before it found its ultimate destination in *Ulysses*. Under the heading 'Pappie', Joyce noted: 'He cannot keep his pipe alight as the buccinator muscle is weak' (*WD* 103; *JJA* 7:145), which is the same affliction that Simon Dedalus suffers from in 'Sirens'. Oddly, this phrase is not in the episode's earlier proto-draft, instead it appears fully integrated on the next draft as follows:

- Daughter of the regiment.

- Yes, begad. I remember ^the^ old ^drum^ major <Tweedy>.  
Mr Dedalus lit and puffed savoury puff after.  
— Irish? I don't know, faith. Is she Simon?  
Puff after stiff puff, a strong, savoury ^crackling^.  
— <The> ^buccinator> Buccinator^ **muscle is.** ^What?^ Bit rusty. <What?>  
O, she is. ^My Irish Molly, O.^  
(NLI MS 36,639/9A, p. [8r]; simplified transcription; see *U* 11.508–13)

If Joyce had already written this scene before, in whatever rudimentary form, then it is not clear why it is not in the earlier draft. Furthermore, since it appears fully integrated in the subsequent draft, it is also not clear at what point it first entered the draft history of 'Sirens'. Nonetheless, the 'Alphabetical Notebook' entries do make it clear that Joyce had planned these highly recognisable elements of 'Sirens' at least seven years before, and possibly for another book.

#### 4. CHAPTERS I AND II

As I discussed above, Gabler has shown that Chapter IV and Section A of the First Movement of Chapter V are the earliest extant substrata of the NLI *A Portrait* manuscript. Therefore, the only way to account for its continuous pagination is to posit that Joyce either recopied all of Chapters I through at least the opening of V from March 1910 to March 1911, after he had first used the notebook; or else that he did so after he tried to destroy the manuscript in early 1911 to 12 July 1912, when the Joyce family travelled to Ireland for the last time. Based on the amount of work Joyce would have had to accomplish not simply writing and revising an extended version of Chapter V but also recopying Chapters I through V, I maintain that it is more likely that he did all this work in the later period.

As early as 1975 Gabler presented a fascinating analysis of nuanced traces of the textual information — that ranges from the surviving notes and text of *Stephen Hero* to changes in extant faircopy manuscript of *A Portrait* — that demonstrate conclusively that at an earlier stage in its genesis the pivotal Christmas dinner scene was a constituent part of what we now have as Chapter II. Later, and it is difficult to ascertain precisely when, Joyce made the significant decision to move it to Chapter I.<sup>74</sup> Finally, Gabler has also shown that Joyce's recopied the extant manuscript of

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<sup>74</sup> Hans Walter Gabler, 'The Christmas Dinner Scene, Parnell's Death, and the Genesis of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*', *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Fall, 1975), pp. 27–38.

Chapter II before that of Chapter I,<sup>75</sup> which indicates that he may have further revised Chapter I before he sent it to Pound, having already restructured Chapter II, which he sent to Pound in April 1914.

My concern here is primarily with Joyce's reliance on the 'Alphabetical Notebook' to revise the texts in which they appear, so I will not rehearse Gabler's meticulous and convincing marshalling of evidence of the chapters' several formal, symbolic, and thematic alterations. It is difficult to determine when Joyce used the notebook entries because they are part of the dialogue that most likely structured both chapters before Joyce decided to move the Christmas dinner scene. Nonetheless, he could only have used the notebook in what are now Chapters I and II:

- either right away between March 1910 and February–March 1911, while he as making other additions and revisions to Chapter V on the manuscript he was working on before he threw it in the fire;
- or in the middle period from the spring of 1911 to 12 July 1912, when he began to reassemble the charred manuscript and rewrite it, but before he travelled to Ireland;
- or else between February 1913 and 7 January 1914, by which time he had sent Chapter I to Pound for publication in the *Egoist*.

Although there is no textual evidence to help us determine when he used the notebook, I believe that Joyce did so between March 1910 and March 1911 to revise what was then a different Chapter II. But that still leaves open the question of when Joyce transposed the Christmas dinner scene from Chapter II to Chapter I. I presume that his intensive work on the 'Shade of Parnell' in 1912 prompted him to reconsider the importance of the Parnell motif in *A Portrait* more generally and that it was after his work on it that Joyce transferred the Christmas dinner scene to its central position in Chapter I as we now have it. I also believe that he only prepared the final manuscript of Chapter I at the end of 1913 in response to Pound's request for new work, after he had already written Chapter II in its final form.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Gabler, 'Genesis of *A Portrait*', p. 89.

<sup>76</sup> Joyce was also busy taking notes for *Exiles* in November 1913.

Under the heading ‘Pappie’, Joyce took twenty notes, three of which are clearly recognizable in Simon Dedalus’s tirade during the Christmas dinner scene:

[1] He calls a prince of the church a tub of guts [...]

[2] He offers the pope’s nose at table [...]

[3] He calls Canon Keon frosty face and Cardinal Logue a tub of guts. Had they been laymen he would condone their rancid fat (*WD* 104; *JJA* 7:145–6)

And this is how they appear in Chapter I of *A Portrait*:

He heaped up the food on Stephen’s plate and served uncle Charles and Mr Casey to large pieces of turkey and splashes of sauce. Mrs Dedalus was eating little and Dante sat with her hands in her lap. She was red in the face. Mr Dedalus rooted with the carvers at the end of the dish and said:  
—There’s a tasty bit here we call the [2] **pope’s nose**. If any lady or gentleman .

. . . . .

He held a piece of fowl up on the prong of the carvingfork. Nobody spoke. He put it on his own plate, saying:

—Well, you can’t say but you were asked. I think I had better eat it myself because I’m not well in my health lately.

He winked at Stephen and, replacing the dishcover, began to eat again.

There was a silence while he ate. Then he said:

—Well now, the day kept up fine after all. There were plenty of strangers down too.

Nobody spoke. He said again:

—I think there were more strangers down than last Christmas.

He looked round at the others whose faces were bent towards their plates and, receiving no reply, waited for a moment and said bitterly:

—Well, my Christmas dinner has been spoiled anyhow.

—There could be neither luck nor grace, Dante said, in a house where there is no respect for the pastors of the church.

Mr Dedalus threw his knife and fork noisily on his plate.

—Respect! he said. Is it for Billy with the lip or for the [1] **tub of guts up in Armagh?** Respect!

—**Princes of the church**, said Mr Casey with slow scorn.

—Lord Leitrim’s coachman, yes, said Mr Dedalus.

—They are the Lord’s anointed, Dante said. They are an honour to their country.

— [1] **Tub of guts**, said Mr Dedalus coarsely. He has a handsome face, mind you, in repose. [3] **You should see that fellow lapping up his bacon and cabbage of a cold winter’s day**. O Johnny! (*P* I.898–931)

Although it is not possible to precisely date when Joyce wrote or revised this scene from the spring 1910 to December 1913, it is clear that he did so by relying on this notebook. These entries capture iconic phrases that he attributed to his father, again underscoring the biographical and autobiographical nature of the fictionalised scene

in *A Portrait*, mediated as it was by his notebooks. It would be intriguing to know whether these were comments that Joyce attributed to his father around the time of Parnell's death, or else before Joyce left Dublin in 1904, or whether they are something that the son heard him utter in Christmas 1909 on his return trip to Dublin.

Another entry from under this heading in the 'Alphabetical Notebook' also appears in Chapter II: 'His college friends were: Tom O'Grady, Harry Peard, Mick Lacey, Maurice Moriarty, Jack Mountain, Joey Corbet, Bob Dyas and Keevers of the Tantiles' (*WD* 104; *JJA* 7:145), which in *A Portrait* becomes:

—Ay, bedad! And there's the Groceries sure enough! cried Mr Dedalus. You often heard me speak of the Groceries, didn't you, Stephen. Many's the time we went down there when our names had been marked, a crowd of us, **Harry Peard** and little **Jack Mountain** and **Bob** Dyas and Maurice Moriarty, the Frenchman, and Tom O'Grady and Mick **Lacy** that I told you of this morning and **Joey Corbet** and poor little good hearted Johnny **Keevers of the Tantiles**. (*P* II.1074–81)

It is quite likely that Joyce added all the notebook references at the same time (presumably between March 1910 and February-March 1911) in what was then a differently configured Chapter II, but then, after he transplanted the Christmas dinner scene, they now appear separately in the midpoints of Chapters I and II.

### **5. SECTION B OF THE THIRD MOVEMENT OF CHAPTER V (*P* V.1860–2608)**

As Gabler was the first to ascertain, palaeographical evidence indicates that Joyce wrote Chapter III of the NLI *A Portrait* manuscript in at least two distinct sections.<sup>77</sup> Both postdate the sequentially numbered manuscript that Joyce most likely prepared between the summer of 1911 and July 1912 (when he returned to Ireland for the last time), of which only Chapter IV and the opening of Chapter V survive. He probably wrote what I will refer to as Section A of Chapter III as it currently survives from summer 1911 through June 1912 (*P* III.1–523; *JJA* 10:479–555). On the other hand, Joyce only wrote Section B of Chapter III later, from February to May 1913 (*P* III.524–1584; *JJA* 10:555–677, particularly the intermediary section III.524–1201; *JJA* 10:677–735).

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<sup>77</sup> Gabler, 'Genesis of *A Portrait*', p. 94.

According to some notes that survive, Joyce planned to include a series of sermons in *Stephen Hero* as early as February–March 1904, though at that stage there were to be ‘six lectures’ over the four-day retreat.<sup>78</sup> Ettore Schmitz (Italo Svevo) commented on the sermons in the manuscript he read of *A Portrait* in January–February 1909,<sup>79</sup> though their number and mode of presentation in that version is unknown. In *A Portrait*, following the priest’s introduction, there are only three sermons over four evening lectures, all of which focus on hell, while the promised sermon on heaven is not presented in the book. Gabler has also argued that the finale of Chapter III (*P* III.1203–1584; *JJA* 10.677–735) is a much later addition to the manuscript, though Joyce had probably also written some sort of rudimentary version of Chapter IV that Schmitz had read in 1909.<sup>80</sup> Whatever the state of Chapter III may have been when Joyce threw the manuscript into the fire in February–March 1911, it underwent one or more significant transformations afterwards. The modification of the chapter probably included not only a restructuring but also a different focalization or re-presentation of the central sermon scenes (*P* III.538–1170). Nonetheless, Joyce had finished Chapter III by 15 July 1914 when he sent it to Ezra Pound for publication in the *Egoist*, where it started to appear serially from August.

Gabler has also noted that Joyce’s handwriting in Section A of the Third Movement of Chapter V (*JJA* 10:1089–1105) closely resembles the larger, broader, and darker handwriting that he used in Section B of Chapter III; specifically the hand in its central sermon scenes (*P* III.524–1170; *JJA* 10.555–673).<sup>81</sup> Based on palaeographic evidence in the NLI *A Portrait* manuscript, he was able to conclude that Joyce ‘proceeded directly from the third chapter to faircopying the nine-page opening of the fifth chapter’s third movement’.<sup>82</sup> Accordingly, Joyce must have written these texts quite late in the genesis of *A Portrait*, presumably towards the end of the summer of 1914. The sections of the two chapters are also similar in that Joyce did not rely on the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ to write or revise either of them.

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<sup>78</sup> Joyce made a list of these sermon scenes for *Stephen Hero* at the end of the ‘Portrait’ essay copybook, which subsequently became Chapter III of *A Portrait* (Buffalo MS II.A, p. [16]: *JJA* 7:86; *WD* 69).

<sup>79</sup> See Ettore Schmitz to Joyce; *Letters II* 226–7.

<sup>80</sup> Gabler, ‘Genesis of *A Portrait*’, p. 87.

<sup>81</sup> Gabler, ‘Genesis of *A Portrait*’, p. 88.

<sup>82</sup> Gabler, ‘Genesis of *A Portrait*’, p. 94.

Furthermore, Gabler has noted that 'It is movements one and three in Chapter V that reuse the largest quantity of *Stephen Hero* materials; and of the two, the first takes the greater share'.<sup>83</sup> They are also the movements that have the greatest share of entries from the 'Alphabetical Notebook', which indicates that Joyce revised earlier versions of these movements in tandem. Similarly, Gabler has noted that 'the orchestration of the novel's imagery and symbolism in the opening pages of the chapter's third movement ... have early roots in the chapter's conceptual genesis. The narrative framework which structurally supports these poetically highly imaginative passages is anchored in the sequences of conversations in the first and third movements and their relation to one another'.<sup>84</sup> All of this supports the contention that the First and Third Movements were more obviously coordinated for a considerable amount of time, and that Joyce added the Second Movement as we now have it in between them at a later stage, which is something I discuss in the [next section](#).

He must have rewritten Section B of the Third Movement of Chapter V more than once (*P V*.1865–2608; *JJA* 10.1105–95) since it contains five notebook entries as part of the main text. He took four from the list headed 'Byrne (John Francis)', and the other from the list headed 'Jesus'—and all of them appear virtually verbatim in the text. This shows not only the continuity between Joyce's notetaking strategies and his writing practices that is sometimes evident in his work, but in the case of this particular notebook it also in part demonstrates the stylized continuity between the events and experiences in Joyce's life and those he created for Stephen Dedalus in *A Portrait*. Since the entries appear scattered throughout the section, it is not possible to discern any pattern of use in the writing and revision process. Here are the notes, followed by how Joyce reworked them in the published work:

[1] On the steps of the National Library he dislodged an old figseed from a rotten tooth. (*WD* 92; *JJA* 7:110)

Cranly **dislodged a figseed from his teeth** on the point of his rude toothpick and gazed at it intently. (*P V*.1971–3)

[2] He spoke to me as: my dear man. (*WD* 92; *JJA* 7:110)

—**My dear man**, said Cranly urbanely, you are incapable, do you know, absolutely incapable of thinking. (*P V*.2027–8)

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<sup>83</sup> Gabler, 'Genesis of *A Portrait*', p. 96.

<sup>84</sup> Gabler, 'Genesis of *A Portrait*', p. 96.

[3] He said that I was reared in the lap of luxury. (*WD* 93; *JJA* 7:110)

So then, Cranly went on musingly, **you were born in the lap of luxury**. (*P* V.2383–4)

[4] He asked me if I would deflower a virgin. (*WD* 92; *JJA* 7:109)

—**Tell me**, for example, **would you deflower a virgin?** (*P* V.2566)

[5] He was discourteous to his mother in public but Suarez, a Jesuit theologian and Spanish gentleman, has apologised for him. (*WD* 101; *JJA* 7:136)

—**Jesus**, too, seems to have treated **his mother with scant courtesy in public but Suarez, a jesuit theologian and Spanish gentleman, has apologised for him**. (*P* V.2417–19)

Without further documentary evidence, it is not possible to ascertain whether Joyce used the notebook during that initial period from March 1910 to February–March 1911, or during the productive period from the summer of 1911 to July 1912, or whether he did so sometime from February 1913 to late 1914, though I presume it is more likely that he did so earlier rather than later.

## **6. THE SECOND MOVEMENT OF CHAPTER V: THE VILLANELLE (P V.1523–767)**

For many readers the Villanelle Movement of Chapter V is an outlier, and the manuscript evidence indicates that it was for the writer as well. According to Owen, ‘The inspiration and writing of Stephen’s poem was the most difficult part of *Portrait*. This is clearly reflected in the concentrated use of earlier sources, epiphanies, passages from *Stephen Hero*, ‘Giacomo Joyce’, and entries from the “Alphabetical Notebook.” Nowhere else in *Portrait* is there such a clustering of source materials’.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, a confluence of evidence prompted Gabler to argue convincingly that (except for its final leaf) the Villanelle Movement of Chapter V is ‘clearly set off as an insert’ in between the manuscript material on either side of it in the NLI manuscript (*JJA* 10:1055–85). He writes: ‘Its sixteen manuscript pages are (but for the last one) inscribed with a different ink and a different slope of the hand on different paper’. He also notes that the last page of the Chapter’s First Movement ‘is smudged and has yellowed’ (*JJA* 10:1055), while the first page of its Third

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<sup>85</sup> Owen, *Beginnings of ‘Ulysses’*, p. 58.

Movement 'shows traces of having been outer- and uppermost in a bundle. From this evidence it would appear that, for an appreciable time, sections one and three of the chapter existed separately and apart, and that the villanelle movement was later inserted between them' (*JJA* 10:1055). Gabler has also determined that that the movement's last leaf (*JJA* 10:1087), which merely contains its final two lines of prose as well as the complete text of the villanelle itself,<sup>86</sup> is the only surviving remnant of an earlier instantiation of the Third Movement as we now have it (how much earlier is not known). This conclusion is supported by the fact that the recopied version of the main part of the movement concludes with a line of just three widely spaced words that serve as the segue to the older version of text on the last leaf (*JJA* 10.1085), which starts with a short article — 'the' — that Joyce could easily have fit onto the preceding page if that had been his goal. Furthermore, Gabler notes that the final leaf 'is also heavily smudged on its verso and bears the mark of a huge paper clip', indicating that it was the movement's outermost leaf for a considerable amount of time.<sup>87</sup> As I discuss at the end of this section, more recently he has extended the range of evidence on narrative and textual grounds to support the proposition that what we now have as the Second Movement was a late interpolation between the earlier and more fluid transition between the chapter's First and Third Movements.

Since I have argued above that Joyce presumably only rewrote the opening of the Third Movement of Chapter V after mid-July 1914, he must have recopied the Second Movement even later, presumably in the autumn, but there is insufficient evidence to determine precisely when Joyce radically restructured Chapter V in this way. Nonetheless, the heavy concentration of entries from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' that are scattered throughout the movement make it clear that Joyce wrote more than one earlier version of it from March 1910 through October 1914, drawing from the notebook presumably more than once during that period. Given the lack of any definitive evidence on the matter, my working assumption is that he used the notebook earlier rather than later. Unsurprisingly given the subject of the movement, Joyce drew all of these notes from two related headings: 'Esthetic' and 'Dedalus

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<sup>86</sup> Stanislaus Joyce has told us that the villanelle is actually a poem that Joyce himself wrote 'a few years before the supposed date of the chapter, his first departure from Dublin, and belonged to one or other of the earlier collections', *My Brother's Keeper: James Joyce's Early Years*, edited by Richard Ellmann (New York: Faber and Faber, 1958), p. 151.

<sup>87</sup> Gabler, 'Genesis of *A Portrait*', 95.

(Stephen)’. He combined the following two notes (one short and one quite long) from his ‘Esthetic’ list to create the movement’s evocative opening scene:

[1] An enchantment of the heart. [...]

[2] The instant of inspiration is a spark so brief as to be invisible. The reflection of it on many sides at once from a multitude of cloudy circumstances with no one of which it is united save by the bond of merest possibility veils its afterglow in an instant in a first confusion of form. This is the instant in which the word is made flesh. (*WD* 96–7; *JJA* 7:121–2)

[1] **An enchantment of the heart!** The night had been enchanted. In a dream or vision he had known the ecstasy of seraphic life. Was it an instant of enchantment only or long hours and days and years and ages?

[2] The **instant of inspiration** seemed now to be **reflected** from all **sides at once from a multitude of cloudy circumstance of what had happened or of what might have happened. The instant** flashed forth like a point of light and now from **cloud on cloud** of vague **circumstance confused form** was **veiling** softly **its afterglow**. (*P* V.1538–43)

As usual, all of the notes in this movement are seamlessly integrated into the main text, indicating that Joyce incorporated them in one or more previous drafts of this text before he prepared this late faircopy version. The first note is an echo of a phrase Stephen thinks of at the end of the previous movement:

The instant wherein that supreme quality of beauty, the clear radiance of the esthetic image, is apprehended luminously by the mind which has been arrested by its wholeness and fascinated by its harmony is the luminous silent stasis of esthetic pleasure, a spiritual state very like to that cardiac condition which the Italian physiologist Luigi Galvani, using a phrase almost as beautiful as Shelley’s, called the **enchantment of the heart**. (*P* V.1398–1405)

Nonetheless, the genetic evidence appears to suggest that Joyce wrote the occurrence of the phrase that appears later in the text before the former one, and in this way constructed the reader’s experience of analepsis in this chapter. He relied on the substance of the second note but significantly reworked it to reflect Stephen’s florid rhetorical mood.

Joyce also used these three notes from the list headed ‘Dedalus (Stephen)’ to create one of the character’s powerful recollections:

[1] Girls laughing when he stumbled in the street were unchaste. [...]

[2] Flowergirls and beggarboys came after him in the street for handsel, saying: Will you, gentleman?

[3] The gratings in the path often caught the broken soles of his boots. [...]

[4] Girls called after him: Hey, young fellow . . . or . . . . Straight hair and curly eyebrows. (WD 94–5; JJA 7.115–17)

Which he moulded and transformed into the young poet's imagistic series of memories:

On all sides distorted reflections of her image started from his memory: the [2] **flower-girl** in the ragged dress with damp coarse hair and a hoyden's face who had called herself his own girl and begged his **handsel**, the kitchengirl in the next house who sang over the clatter of her plates with the drawl of a country singer the first bars of *By Killarney's Lakes and Fells*, a [1] **girl** who had **laughed** gaily to see **him stumble** when the iron **grating in the** footpath near Cork Hill had [3] **caught the broken sole of his shoe**, a girl he had glanced at, attracted by her small ripe mouth, as she passed out of Jacob's biscuit factory, who had cried to him over her shoulder:

—Do you like what you seen of me, [4] **straight hair and curly eyebrows?** (P V.1647–60)

Like many other entries in this unique notebook, these appear to have a particularly autobiographical aspect to them. Could they be highly stylized versions of experiences that may have happened to James Joyce in Dublin, either around 1904 or on one of his return trips to his native city? Even if they were, Joyce transformed them as material, lexical fodder for his creative writings by capturing them in his notebook. The unity of this cluster of notes is evident from the way Joyce used the second note to create the scene in the First Movement, of which this is a clear echo:

—Ah, gentleman, your own girl, sir! The first **handsel** today, gentleman. Buy that lovely bunch. **Will you, gentleman?** (P V.336–7)

This is one of innumerable examples of how Joyce used specific verbal repetition to create a web of associative meanings in *A Portrait*. He also relied on two other, quite conceptual notes to enrich other parts of the Villanelle Movement:

His heart was moved to a deep compassionate love by the frail pallor and humble eyes of girls, humbled and saddened by the dark shame of womanhood. (WD 95; JJA 7:116)

Joyce used this entry almost verbatim in the text:

Then first her soul had begun to live as his soul had when he had first sinned: and a tender **compassion** filled **his heart** as he remembered her **frail pallor** and

her eyes, humbled and saddened by the dark shame of womanhood' (*P* V.1731–5).

The several, though scattered, uses of entries in the 'Alphabetical Notebook' in the Second Movement of Chapter V are obvious but do not help us date when he wrote these scenes or offer any indication of what form these texts may have had before he reconfigured them, presumably in late 1914.

The question of why Joyce had to recopy the main part of this movement has suggested a tantalising prospect which might illuminate the complex and radical manner in which he reconceived the ending of *A Portrait* as published. In a forthcoming piece, Gabler offers an ingenuous solution to account for the temporal and narrative discontinuity between the chapter's First and Second Movements. The First Movement ends with Stephen under a mist of 'fine rain' as he and Lynch 'turned into duke's lawn to reach the national library before the showers came' (*P* V.1471–3). They meet a group of other students under the arcade, one of whom informs Stephen that his 'beloved is here' (*P* V.1484). Seeing her with her female companions, 'His mind, emptied of theory and courage, lapsed back into a listless peace' (*P* V.1490–1). Then, as his classmates ponder their future careers at home or abroad, the movement ends inconclusively with Stephen wondering 'if he had judged her harshly' (*P* V.1519).

The temporal frame of the Second Movement is purposely undetermined. We are told that it is early morning — 'Towards dawn he awoke' (*P* V.1523) — but the new scene's connection with the very precisely timed narrative that just preceded it is suspended. Stephen realises that he has had a wet dream as 'His mind was waking slowly to a tremulous morning knowledge, a morning inspiration' (*P* V.1526–7), and he goes on to compose his villanelle verse by verse, the full version of which concludes the movement. Furthermore, tellingly, the Third Movement opens with Stephen still where he was at the end of the First Movement: 'He stood on the steps of the library to look at them [the birds], leaning wearily on his ashplant' (*P* V.1769–70).

On narrative grounds, Gabler wonders what might have happened after the rain disperses some of the students from the steps of the National Library: could Joyce have planned that this would have been followed with Stephen regaling some of the staff and readers in the library with his 'Hamlet' theory, which (as was discussed in [Section 3c](#)) Joyce may have planned at least initially to include as part of his extended

conception of Chapter V of *A Portrait*; that is, in a version of the book that presumably included scenes at the Martello Tower as well as of Stephen confronting the painful ordeal of his mother's final days (and who knows what else). Evidence from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' supports Gabler's supposition and I would add that this was still Joyce's plan into the autumn of 1914. It was presumably only then that Joyce fully realized his reconception of the structure of Chapter V to mirror the structure of Chapter I, with the journal entries in the Fourth Movement reflecting the book's Prologue.

If this is when and the way it happened, the reasons why Joyce may have decided to exclude Stephen's discourse on Shakespeare (whatever form it may have had in 1914) were manifold and were only in some ways related to the corresponding decision to also abandon the scenes about Doherty and May Dedalus. His more recent aesthetic theorizing based as it was on his extensive reading from mid-September 1912 through January 1913 about Shakespeare's works and life may have been incongruous with Stephen's elaborate Aristotelian-Thomistic theorizing in the First Movement that has its origin in Joyce's aesthetic ruminations in 1904 for *Stephen Hero*. Also, Joyce's reasons for excluding Stephen's discussion of 'Hamlet' could have been primarily structural (that is, issues of length, balance, and rhythm with the other four chapters). Ultimately, whatever Joyce may have written of this scene for *A Portrait* (if anything), this material only appears in the 'Scylla and Charybdis' episode of *Ulysses*.

## **7. THE FOURTH MOVEMENT OF CHAPTER V (P V.2609–794)**

Once Joyce had determined that Chapter V of *A Portrait* would conclude on the eve of Stephen's departure from Dublin (and thereby decided — at the very least — not to include one or more scenes related to the Doherty character), he was compelled to fundamentally reconceive how to end the whole book. Although it is not clear precisely when or in what manner this process came about, the Fourth Movement of Chapter V must have undergone the most profound structural transformation of any part of the book — and it did so quite late, possibly as late as September–October 1914. Not only did Joyce choose to end the narrative line of the story sooner and more abruptly than he had previously planned, but the formal and aesthetic decision to have

the book trail off in a series of fragmentary first-person diary entries was fundamental in establishing the radical nature of *A Portrait* as a high Modernist masterpiece.

The final movement of Chapter V (and so of the book) begins with an entry for ‘20 March’ in which Stephen recalls a recent conversation with Cranly, presumably the one that we read about in the First Movement, which probably took place that same day. Their discussion about the ‘love for one’s mother’ prompts Stephen to think of Cranly’s family, specifically his parents, a topic that he returns to in the next day’s entry:

Tried to imagine his mother: cannot. Told me once, in a moment of thoughtlessness, his father was sixtyone when he was born. Can see him. Strong farmer type. Pepper and salt suit. Square feet. Unkempt grizzled beard. Probably attends coursing matches. Pays his dues regularly but not plentifully to Father Dwyer of Larras. Sometimes talks to girls after nightfall. But his mother? Very young or very old? Hardly the first. If so, Cranly would not have spoken as he did. Old then. Probably, and neglected. Hence Cranly’s despair of soul: the child of **exhausted** loins.

*21 March, morning:* Thought this in bed last night but was too lazy and free to add it. Free, yes. The **exhausted** loins are those of Elisabeth and Zachary. Then he is the precursor. Item: he eats chiefly belly bacon and dried figs. Read locusts and wild honey. (*P* V.2611–25)

The impetus for both of these diary entries can be traced to another entry under the heading ‘Byrne’ in the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’, the seemingly simple statement: ‘He is exhausted’ (*WD* 93; *JJA* 7:110). The note itself is so general and vague that it is hard to know what Joyce may have intended when he recorded it, but he developed a complex chain of associations based on that lexical link that connects the diary entries both linguistically and thematically. In fact, throughout the book — and quite notably in the final movement — Joyce used the repetition of specific words and phrases to formally and symbolically connect the varied diary entries, thereby providing a sense of inherent coherence to these purposely fragmentary units. While most of Stephen’s description of Cranly’s parents is rendered imaginatively, there are some realistic elements as well. Byrne’s father was indeed a farmer in County Wicklow. Although I was not able to determine how old Mathew Byrne was when his son was born, he died in 1883, a full decade before his wife. Bridget Byrne passed away when her son was only thirteen, two years before he entered University College in 1895, a year ahead of

Joyce.<sup>88</sup> He would certainly have known that Byrne's parents were both deceased when he has Cranly and Stephen discuss the 'love for one's mother' (*P* V.2611), but such biographical facts would not have constrained the life-story of a character loosely based on him in Joyce's fiction.

On the other hand, in *A Portrait* Stephen symbolically associates Byrne's parents with those of John the Baptist, 'the precursor' (*P* V.2623), thereby reinforcing Stephen's Christ-like figuration throughout the novel. One of the more substantial changes Joyce made on the surviving manuscript was to specify the names of John the Baptist's parents: 'Elizabeth and Zachary'. Previously the names Joyce has Stephen associate with Cranly's parents were 'Anna and Joachim' (*JJA* 10:1197), the parents of Mary, grandparents of Jesus. This emendation is indicative of Joyce's drive to achieve a high level of accurate textual detail in the book. Although given the imprecise nature of familial lineages in the Bible, it is not clear how much difference the specificity adds to the allusions Stephen conjures up.

This is the last entry under the heading 'Byrne' that Joyce used in *A Portrait*, and while the notes under this heading were particularly productive, the ones he decided not use reveal other biographical facts he attributed to Byrne. They also shed light on his plans for elaborating the character of Cranly in *A Portrait* (or possibly, later, in *Ulysses*), even though he decided against it. There are two unused notes under this heading: 'His silence means that he has an answer to what puzzles me' and then 'He did not think that Nicholas Nickleby was true to life' (*WD* 92–3; *JJA* 7:109–10).<sup>89</sup>

Joyce continued to build up the chain of lexical associations from one diary entry to another by having Stephen focus on the word 'Free' (*P* V.2622) from his entry that morning as the prompt for the entry he records later that evening:

*21 March, night:* Free. Soulfree and fancyfree. Let the dead bury the dead. Ay. And let the dead marry the dead. (*P* V.2630–1)

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<sup>88</sup> Lawrence William White and Lindsey Earner-Byrne, 'Byrne, John Francis', *Dictionary of Irish Biography*; see link [here](#).

<sup>89</sup> In *Stephen Hero* we read that Cranly's 'acquaintance with English prose seemed to be limited to a hazy acquaintance with the beginning of *Nicholas Nickleby* and of English verse he had certainly read Wordsworth's poem which is called *Advice to a Father*'. James Joyce, *Stephen Hero: Part of the First Draft of 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'*, edited by Theodore Spencer, revised edition with additional material (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), p.128. Hereafter cited parenthetically as *SH* and page number.

Joyce further associates that day's entries by relying on and transforming allusions to the Book of Luke from which he had recalled the names of John the Baptist's parents (Luke 1:5–25) and Jesus's saying in Luke 9:60: 'Let the dead bury their dead'. It is precisely in these ways that Joyce built up the networks of lexical and associative patterning that open up further levels of meaning or interpretation in *A Portrait*.

Two journal entries follow in which Stephen explores his feelings concerning women in pejorative or at the very least immature ways. In their directness and simplicity many of the journal entries resemble Joyce's notebook entries. The ones about women serve as a bridge to the next journal entry in which Stephen records a conversation with his mother — the most significant female character in the book — about religion. Although altered in its focus and presentation in *A Portrait*, Stephen's confrontation with his mother about his reading habits has a long and convoluted textual history that provides indications about how Joyce reconfigured older textual material to recompose at least some of the diary entries at a very late stage of the book's genesis. His mother's criticism of Stephen's reading is part of a scene that can be traced back to *Stephen Hero*, which Joyce rewrote, probably more than once, before it achieved the form it has in the 'Doherty Fragment', but then he did not reuse the scene directly in *A Portrait*.

As published, the start of the diary entry in *A Portrait* echoes a scene at the end of Chapter XIX in *Stephen Hero* that Joyce had written about nine years earlier in spring 1905. It next appears in an altered form as part of the conclusion of the 'Doherty Fragment' that Joyce wrote in 1913, which indicates that he still planned on including it *A Portrait* at that stage. Furthermore, the first paragraph of the diary entry concludes with a sentence that Joyce drew from the 'Alphabetical Notebook', and it too most likely was refashioned several times before it became part of *A Portrait* as we know it. This is the opening of the entry in *A Portrait*:

*24 March:* Began with a discussion with my mother. Subject: B. V. M. Handicapped by my sex and youth. To escape held up relations between Jesus and Papa against those between Mary and her son. Said religion was not a lying-in hospital. Mother indulgent. **Said I have a queer mind and have read too much.** Not true. Have read little and understood less. Then she said I would come back to faith because I had a restless mind. **This means to leave church by backdoor of sin and reenter through the skylight of repentance.** Cannot repent. Told her so and asked for sixpence. Got threepence. (P V.2638–47)

Joyce decided to elide from *A Portrait* the actual details of the 'discussion with my mother' that troubles Stephen, even though he had already written two extended versions of the scene. In *Stephen Hero* the discussion descends into an unsympathetic, derisive, and even blasphemous confrontation between Stephen and his mother about his recent loss of faith. The drawn out and increasingly emotional argument comes to a climax six manuscript pages later:

— Wherever you've learnt it I will not allow you to use such language to me when you speak of holy things. Keep that for the street-corners at night.

— Very well, mother, said Stephen. But you began the conversation.

— I never thought I would see the day when a child of mine would lose the faith. God knows I didn't. I did my best for you to keep you in the right way.

Mrs Daedalus began to cry. Stephen, having eaten and drunk all within his province, rose and went towards the door:

— **It's all the fault of those books** and the company you keep. Out at all hours of the night instead of in your home, the proper place for you. I'll burn every one of them. I won't have them in the house to corrupt anyone else.

Stephen halted at the door and turned towards his mother who had now broken out into tears:

— If you were a genuine Roman Catholic, mother, you would burn me as well as the books.

— **I knew no good would come of your going to that place.** You are ruining yourself body and soul. **Now your faith is gone!**

— Mother, said Stephen from the threshold, I don't see what you're crying for. I'm young, healthy, happy. What is the crying for? ... It's too silly ... (*SH* 140)

About eight years later Joyce condensed this long scene from *Stephen Hero* into just one intense and figurative paragraph and two lines of dialogue at the end of the 'Doherty Fragment':

His mother, flushed and red-eyed sat by the range. Stephen, weary of the strife of tongues, leaned against the jappaned wall of the fireplace. Noises and cries and laughter echoed in the narrow yard: and from time to time a nose was flattened against the window pane, fingers tapped mockingly and a young voice, faint and high in the dim evening, asked if the genius had finished his phrenology.

—**It is all over those books you read. I knew you would lose your faith.** I'll burn every one of them—

—If you had not lost ^<the> your^ faith—said Stephen—you would burn me along with the books— ('Doherty Fragment', ff. 4–5; simplified transcription)<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> This is the conclusion of Litz's mis-identified Fragment A, which actually follows Fragment B, p. 134–5.

Finally, the first paragraph of the diary entry in *A Portrait* for '24 March' ends with a sentence based on an entry under the heading 'Dedalus (Stephen)' in the 'Alphabetical Notebook' that reads: 'Having left the city of the church by the gate of sin he might enter it again by the wicket of repentance if repentance were possible' (*WD* 96; *JJA* 7:118).

Then, in the second paragraph of the diary entry in *A Portrait*, Stephen records that he 'went to college' and spoke with his Italian professor, after which he 'Went to the library'. 24 March 1903 was a Sunday, which obviously means that both the college and the National Library would have been closed. This is one of several cruxes that make establishing a coherent chronology of the events in Stephen's life in *A Portrait* so difficult.<sup>91</sup>

In the following diary entry Stephen records his 'troubled night of dreams' which begins with a textual fragment that Joyce drew from one of the 'Epiphanies' that he had written as early as 1902–4. He incorporated it virtually verbatim, except for some minor alterations in the punctuation:

A long curving gallery. From the floor ascend pillars of dark vapours. It is peopled by the images of fabulous kings, set in stone. Their hands are folded upon their knees in token of weariness and their eyes are darkened for the errors of men go up before them for ever as dark vapours. (*P* V.2674–8)

A long curving gallery: from the floor arise pillars of dark vapours. It is peopled by the images of fabulous kings, set in stone. Their hands are folded upon their knees, in token of weariness, and their eyes are darkened for the errors of men go up before them for ever as dark vapours. ('Epiphany' 29: *PSW* 189)

This is the first of three 'Epiphanies' that Joyce recycled in the Fourth Movement of Chapter V, all of which appear virtually verbatim. Another chronological issue arises with the entry for '3 April' in which Stephen records:

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<sup>91</sup> Rodney Owen, Hugh Kenner, and Hans Walter Gabler all presume that Chapter V must take place in 1903, even though there is no explicit textual evidence to confirm this, and there are several facts that explicitly contradict any sort of clear determination of the year in which this chapter takes place. See Owen, *Beginnings*, 135 n. 56; Hugh Kenner, *Ulysses*, Appendix 1, 'The Date of Stephen's Flight', revised edition (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 162; and Hans Walter Gabler, 'Stephen in Paris', *James Joyce Quarterly*, Volume 17, Number 3 (Spring 1980), pp. 306–11. For a more detailed discussion of the issues involved in trying to establish any sort of reliable dates in the book, see my 'Flying by the Nets of Time in *A Portrait*' (forthcoming).

Met Davin at the cigar shop opposite Findlater's church. He was in a black sweater and had a hurleystick. Asked me was it true I was going away and why. **Told him the shortest way to Tara was via Holyhead.** Just then my father came up. Introduction. Father, polite and observant. Asked Davin if he might offer him some refreshment. Davin could not, was going to a meeting. (*P* V.2700–6)

3 April 1903 was a Wednesday, an unlikely day for Davin to be 'going to a meeting' of the Gaelic Athletic Association. More pertinently, this diary entry contains the penultimate note Joyce drew from the 'Alphabetical Notebook'. Under the heading 'Ireland', he wrote the memorable aphorism: 'The shortest way from Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn is to sail away from it. The shortest route to Tara is via Holyhead' (*WD* 101; *JJA* 7:134). There are fifteen entries under this heading, of which Joyce only used four; two in *A Portrait* and the other two in *Ulysses*. Given the importance of this subject in all of Joyce's works, the other entries provide an unparalleled perspective on his attitude towards his own country:

Its learning is in the hands of the monks and their clerks and its art in the hands of blacklegs who still serve those ideas which their fellow artists in Europe have rebelled against.

One effect of the resurgence of the Irish nation would be the entry into the field of Europe of the Irish artist and thinker, a being without sexual education. [...]

Her state is like that of France after the Napoleonic wars or of Egypt after the slaughter of the first-born.

The first maxim in Irish morals is: omertà (the Sicilian law of silence)

Irish wits follow in the footsteps of King James the Second who struck off base money for Ireland which the hoofs of cattle have trampled into her soil.

The curfew is still a nightly fear in her starving villages. [...]

The Irish provinces not England and her tradition stand between me and Edward VII.

The cable of Catholicism that links Ireland to Latin Europe is eaten by two seas. [...]

Her rebellions are servile wars. [...]

Duns Scotis [*sic*] has won a poorer fame than S. Fiacre, whose legend sown in French soil, has grown up in a harvest of hackneycabs.

If he and Columbanus the fiery, whose fingertips God illumined, and Fridolinus Viator can see as far as earth from their creepy-stools in heaven they know that Aquinas, the lucid sensual Latin, has won the day. (*WD* 100–1; *JJA* 7:133–5)

The entry for '10 April' contains the second 'Epiphany' Joyce repurposed in *A Portrait*:

Faintly, under the heavy night, through the silence of the city which has turned from dreams to dreamless sleep as a weary lover whom no caresses move, the sound of hoofs upon the road. Not so faintly now as they come near the bridge: and in a moment as they pass the darkened windows the silence is cloven by alarm as by an arrow. They are heard now far away, hoofs that shine amid the heavy night as gems, hurrying beyond the sleeping fields to what journey's end—what heart?—bearing what tidings? (*P V.2728–36*)

Faintly, under the heavy summer night, through the silence of the town which has turned from dreams to dreamless sleep as a weary lover whom no caresses move, the sound of hoofs upon the Dublin road. Not so faintly now as they come near the bridge; and in a moment as they pass the dark windows the silence is cloven by alarm as by an arrow. They are heard now far away – hoofs that shine amid heavy night as diamonds, hurrying beyond the grey, still marshes to what journey's end – what heart – bearing what tidings? ('Epiphany' 27: *PSW* 187)

Besides several alterations in the punctuation, the two texts are virtually identical, even though Joyce had written the earlier version about a decade before it appeared in *A Portrait*. But there are some notable diversions between them that show how carefully Joyce reworked even the shortest textual fragment, often many times. Since the dream takes place in March, it is not surprising that Joyce dropped the temporal marker 'summer'; 'town' became 'city', when the specific reference to 'Dublin' was also elided; the 'dark windows' become the more evocative 'darkened windows'; while the more specific 'diamonds' simply become 'gems', and the 'still marshes' become the 'sleeping fields' of Stephen's dream.

The final 'Epiphany' can be found in one of the last diary entries:

*16 April: Away! Away!*

The spell of arms and voices: the white arms of roads, their promise of close embraces and the black arms of tall ships that stand against the moon, their tale of distant nations. They are held out to say: We are alone. Come. And the voices say with them: We are your kinsmen. And the air is thick with their company as they call to me, their kinsman, making ready to go, shaking the wings of their exultant and terrible youth. (*P V.2777–84*)

All told there are at least ten extant 'Epiphanyes' in *A Portrait*, and this is the third one that we can trace directly to its previous instantiation in *Stephen Hero*.<sup>92</sup> Joyce

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<sup>92</sup> See the helpful chart on *PSW* 273 for further details.

employed this highly dense and significant 'Epiphany' to mark a similar, pivotal transition in both works, though more dramatically in *A Portrait*:

The spell of arms and voices – the white arms of roads, their promise of close embraces and the black arms of tall ships that stand against the moon, their tale of distant nations. They are held out to say: We are alone, – come. And the voices say with them: We are your people. And the air is thick with their company as they call to me their kinsman, making ready to go, shaking the wings of their exultant and terrible youth. ('Epiphany' 30: *PSW* 190)

He had already employed this 'Epiphany' to mark a similar milestone in *Stephen Hero*. Although only a fragment of this scene survives, it is unmistakable:

nations. They are held out to say: We are alone – come; and the voices say with them: We are your people; and the air grew thick with their company as they call to him, their kinsman, making ready to go, shaking the wings of their exultant and terrible youth. (*SH* 240)

We can be quite certain about what Joyce intended this 'Epiphany' to mark because in a letter to Stanislaus Joyce on 7 February 1905 he specifically commented on its role in the narrative arc of *Stephen Hero*:

The effect of the prose piece 'The spells of arms' is to mark the precise point between boyhood (pueritia) and adolescence (adulescentia)—17 years. (*Letters II* 79)

Later, presumably at an early stage in his transposition of the *Stephen Hero* material into Chapter V of *A Portrait*, Joyce noted in blue crayon: 'Departure for Paris' (*SH* 240; *Stephen Hero* MS, f. 1; *JJA* 8:01). Clearly he had planned that his early 'prose piece' would mark the coming of age of his central character on the eve of his taking flight from Ireland first in *Stephen Hero* and then in *A Portrait* as well.

Joyce relied on one final entry from the 'Alphabetical Notebook', this one appropriately enough under the heading 'Dedalus (Stephen)', to set out Stephen's personal, artistic, and political mission as he records it in the emblematic penultimate diary entry. In the notebook, Joyce captured its basic sense, but it obviously lacks the highly charged emotive content and well-wrought literary style of the finale of *A Portrait*:

He hoped that by sinning whole-heartedly his race might come in him to the knowledge of herself. (*WD* 95; *JJA* 7:116)

26 April: Mother is putting my new secondhand clothes in order. She prays now, she says, that I may learn in my own life and away from home and friends what the heart is and what it feels. Amen. So be it. Welcome, O life! **I go to encounter for the millionth time the reality of experience and to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race.** (V.2786–90)

Unsurprisingly, the list of notes under the heading ‘Dedalus (Stephen)’ is the longest in the notebook: five pages, with twenty-nine entries. They frame the book from start to finish. In fact, its first entry serves as the epigraph to the book as a whole: “‘Et ignotas animum dimittit in artes’: Ovid: *Metamorphoses* VII.188’ (WD 94; *JJA* 7:115), which shows Joyce had a clear sense of the book’s thematic trajectory at least four years before *A Portrait* was published, but possibly much earlier. He used a total of nine notes from this list in *A Portrait*. As I discuss in the [next section](#), he then transferred five of them to a *Ulysses* notesheet in 1919. Two of the notes appear in the ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ episode of *Ulysses* without having been mediated through another note repository,<sup>93</sup> but he did not use the majority of entries (thirteen of them) at all. Given what they reveal about plans to develop his main character, and also what they can potentially reveal about Joyce himself, they merit further examination, so I simply list them here:

He made duck in cricket. [...]

He had an inborn distaste for fermented foods. [...]

At times as he walked through the streets of Dublin he felt that he was really invisible. [...]

He gave what he got.

He devoured snowcake. [...]

He shrank from limning the features of his soul for he feared that no everlasting image of beauty could shine through an immature being. [...]

It annoyed him to hear a girl begin suddenly the first bars of a song and stop.

The applause following the fall of the curtain fired his blood more than the scene on the stage.

He felt the quaking of the earth.

He felt himself alone in the theatre. [...]

He desired to be not a man of letters but a spirit expressing  
itself through language because shut off from the visible arts by an

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<sup>93</sup> I discuss these notes in [Section 3c](#).

inheritance of servitude and from music by vigour of the mind. (*WD* 94–6; *JJA* 7:115–19)

These notes about Stephen Dedalus range from 'the sublime to the ridiculous' (*U* 15.2401–2), which is appropriate since the final entries Joyce used from this list appear in 'Circe'.

## **8. THE BRITISH LIBRARY 'CIRCE' NOTESHEET 6**

The final stage in the afterlives of the 'Alphabetical Notebook' began when Joyce returned from Zurich to Trieste in mid-October 1919 and it continued after he left the city for Paris at the start of July 1920. Once he was reunited with this notebook and other note repositories and manuscripts that he had left behind, Joyce began to sort his notes for the later episodes of *Ulysses*. Sometimes this took the form of transferring words and phrases from earlier draft material; for example, from 'Giacomo Joyce' for 'Oxen of the Sun' or from his notes for *Exiles* for 'Penelope'.<sup>94</sup> More often this work took the form of transferring entries from his older note repositories to newer ones, at times more than once. In this case, Joyce transferred over a dozen entries from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' to what Phillip Herring has designated as the British Library's 'Circe' Notesheet 6 (BL ADD MS 49475, f. 17v; see *JJA* 12:48).<sup>95</sup>

Unlike the bulky, bound, and sparsely filled notebook from which he drew these notes, the twenty-four loose, so-called 'notesheets' are large folios, which Joyce folded in half. He usually filled both sides of each half sheet with long, densely filled columns of tightly spaced, overcrowded, newer listings of notes for the last seven episodes of *Ulysses*. All but one of them is a double sheet, some of which had become

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<sup>94</sup> For a fascinating study of this transferral process, see Shinjini Chattopadhyay, 'Giacomonic Oxen: Avant-texte or Intertext?', *James Joyce and Genetic Criticism: Genesis Fields: European Joyce Studies*, 28, edited by Genevieve Sartor (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 82–94; and my 'Molly, Mr. Stanhope, and Hester: A Genetic Reading of a Love Triangle in *Ulysses*', *James Joyce Quarterly*, Volume 51, number 1 (Fall 2013), pp. 97–117.

<sup>95</sup> Joyce compiled six listings of notes for the 'Circe' episode, five on double sheets (BL ADD MS 49475, ff. 16–19 and 21) and one on a single sheet (BL ADD MS 49475, f. 20). References to this manuscript are to Phillip F. Herring, *Joyce's 'Ulysses' Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: Published for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia by the University Press of Virginia, 1972), pp. 297–300, which will be cited parenthetically as BL 'Circe' NS 6, and Herring's entry number(s).

separated but have since been reunited. Sometimes Joyce used the sheets horizontally, and other times vertically. Whereas Joyce’s handwriting is exceptionally clear and legible in the 1910 notebook, it is often difficult to decipher his hand in the notesheets, especially after he meticulously crossed through the entries he had used with relatively thick, variously coloured crayons. Although it is difficult to date when Joyce compiled most of the individual notesheets and it is even more difficult to date the various clusters of notes on any particular sheet, we can be confident that he transferred the notes from the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ to this notesheet before he arrived in Paris because he left the notebook yet again in Trieste. Fortunately, Stanislaus Joyce preserved the notebook and it is now part of the Cornell Joyce Collection, Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.

The disposition of the transferred notes indicates that at least in part Joyce made his way through the notebook sequentially, page-by-page harvesting these relatively few notes out of the more than a hundred that are on this notesheet:

| Heading and Entry:          | Notebook Entry:   | Citations:         |
|-----------------------------|---|--------------------|
| ‘Cosgrave (Vincent):’       | ‘His laugh is like the <b>whinny</b> of an elephant. His trunk shakes all over and he rubs his hands delightedly over his groins.’  | WD 92; JJA 7:111   |
| ‘Dedalus (Stephen):’        | ‘He <b>disliked</b> to be <b>seen</b> in the company of <b>any woman.</b> ’   | WD 95; JJA 7:115   |
|                             | ‘He looked in vain for some poet of the people among his generation to be his <b>whetstone.</b> ’   | WD 95; JJA 7:116   |
|                             | ‘He disliked bottles.’  | WD 95; JJA 7:117   |
|                             | ‘He strove to <b>shut</b> his <b>eyes</b> against the <b>disloyalty</b> of others to himself.’  | WD 95; JJA 7:117   |
|                             | ‘He felt the <b>growing pains</b> of his soul in the painful process of life.’  | WD 95; JJA 7:117   |
| ‘Esthetic:’                 | ‘The rite is the poet’s rest’   | WD 97; JJA 7:122   |
|                             | ‘Pornography fails because <b>whores</b> are <b>bad conductors</b> of emotion.’   | WD 97; JJA 7:122   |
| ‘Gogarty (Oliver St John):’ | ‘He calls <b>thought the secretion of the brain-cells</b> and says that Ireland secretes priests.’  | WD 97; JJA 7:125   |
|                             | ‘A butler served in his house. When his old fellow died this butler was stationed outside Clery’s (anciently Mac Swiney, Delaney and Co’s) emporium to help ladies to alight from their carriages. Gogarty spoke of him as the exposed butler and often told him in <b>a pig’s whisper</b> that he had put up a dozen of stout for him round the corner.’ | WD 98; JJA 7:125–6 |
|                             | ‘He called himself a patriot of the solar system.’  | WD 98; JJA 7:127   |
|                             | ‘He discovered the vanity of the world and exclaimed “The <b>mockery of it!</b> ”’  | WD 98; JJA 7:127   |

The Afterlives of Joyce's 'Alphabetical Notebook'

Luca Crispi

| Heading and Entry: | Notebook Entry:   | Citations:          |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|
| 'Lust':            | 'A desire to embrace all women.'  | WD 102; JJA 7:140   |
| 'Pappie':          | 'The verses he quotes most are: <b>Conservio lies captured!</b> He lies in the lowest dungeons / With manacles and chains around his limbs / Weighing upwards of three tons.' | WD 104; JJA 7:145–6 |

Below is another table that shows how these transferred notebook entries are arranged on the notesheet page. It is a horizontally oriented sheet on which there are three main columns of words and phrases, with another distinct, much smaller grouping of notes that Joyce squeezed midway between the left and centre columns. Joyce copied the largest, almost sequential grouping of notes from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' towards the top of the right column on the page. Herring's numeration of the blocks of entries is misleading in that, while four lines of notes separate the upper grouping from the lower, they are clearly sequential in the same right column of notes in the order set out below. But yet the other two notes appear seemingly unconnected either to one another or to the larger grouping among seemingly disparate notes in the left and centre columns. These factors make it difficult to be sure of the order in which Joyce drew the entries from the notebook.

| NB Entry Number:                        | Notesheet Entry:                          | Herring Number: | Crayon Colour:     | Draft Usage level:      | Ulysses:     |
|---|---|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| BL ADD MS 49475, f. 17v (right column)  |   |                 |                    |                         |              |
| 1                                       | 'Lynch whinny'                            | 6:112           | Red                | Buffalo MS 19, [9v]     | 15.2123      |
| 2                                       | 'dislike seen by women'                   | 6:113           | Blue               | NA                      | NA           |
| 3                                       | 'whetstone'                               | 6:114           | Red                | Buffalo MS 19, [9v]     | 15.2101      |
| 4                                       | 'dislike bottles'                         | 6:115           | Blue               | NLI Quinn MS, f. [17]   | 15.3562      |
| 5                                       | 'shut eye to disloyalty'                  | 6:116           | Green              | NLI MS 12, p. [12v]     | 15.2101      |
| 6                                       | 'growing pains'                           | 6:117           | Not Crossed        | NA                      | NA           |
| 14                                      | 'Conservio lies captured'                 | 6:118           | Red                | Buffalo MS 19, p. [13r] | 15.2664      |
| BL ADD MS 49475, f. 17v (left column)   |   |                 |                    |                         |              |
| 7                                       | 'Rite poet's rest'                        | 6:72b           | Red                | Buffalo MS 19, p. [10v] | 15.2088      |
| 8                                       | 'whores bad conductors'                   | 6:73b           | Blue               | NLI Quinn MS, f. [9r]   | NA           |
| 10                                      | 'a pig's whisper'                         | 6:74b           | Red                | NLI MS 12, p. [15v]     | 15.2412      |
| 11 & 12                                 | 'mockery of it – patriot of solar system' | 6:74b & 75b     | Blue & Not Crossed | NLI Quinn MS, f. [22]   | 15.4178 & NA |
| BL ADD MS 49475, f. 17v (centre column) |   |                 |                    |                         |              |
| 9                                       | 'consciousness secreted by brain'         | 6:31            | Not Crossed        | NA                      | NA           |
| BL ADD MS 49475, f. 17v (centre column) |   |                 |                    |                         |              |
| 13                                      | 'embrace all women'                       | 6:79            | Red                | Buffalo MS 19, p. [14r] | NA           |

It is difficult in some instances to ascertain why Joyce selected these particular notes and why he passed over the others,<sup>96</sup> but his subsequent draft usage of some of the notes can shed light on his decisions. The number of drafts of ‘Circe’ we know about has increased from one to three since Herring transcribed what is still the earliest surviving draft: Buffalo MS 19,<sup>97</sup> which Joyce began writing in Trieste in June 1920 shortly after he finished revising the typescript of ‘Oxen of the Sun’ for its partial appearance in the *Little Review*. The manuscript is made up of two parts:

- 1) an early draft of the episode that Joyce presumably started in Trieste and then continued to write and revise in Paris (pp. [1r]–[15r]), and
- 2) a collection of proto-drafts and fragments (pp. [16r]–[16v] and [20v]–[33r]).

The clear disposition of the writing in the first half of the manuscript indicates that Joyce was copying this continuous text from a previous, now missing draft, and who can say whether it was not preceded by one or more even earlier, now missing, further drafts or proto-draft fragments. It is not clear if Joyce is referring to the first half of this manuscript or not when he wrote to Frank Budgen in late July 1920: ‘Try to arrange to stop a few days in Paris. [...] I want to hear you on the *Oxen* episode and want to bore the life out of you about *Circe* which is half written. [...] Trieste was a very bad mark but I did two big chapters in it all the same. *Circe* is the last adventure, thank God’ (27 July 1920; *SL* 266).

Unsurprisingly, since Joyce had yet to conceive of the characters of Leopold and Molly Bloom when he compiled the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’, all of the scenes in which its entries appear in *Ulysses* revolve around Stephen and Simon Dedalus. He used five notes from BL ‘Circe’ Notesheet 6 in the earliest extant draft, all of them in the first continuous-text portion of the manuscript. One note appears in the main text, while the rest are all additions to the draft, and he crossed through all of them with a red crayon to indicate to himself that he had used the notes. The first note that appears in the genetic record of ‘Circe’ that we can trace to the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ is

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<sup>96</sup> Joyce could have simply transferred all of the unused notes, but he did not select some of the entries in the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’, thereby precluding the possibility that they would become part of *Ulysses*.

<sup>97</sup> Phillip F. Herring, *Notes and Early Drafts for ‘Ulysses’: Selections from the Buffalo Collection* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1977), pp. 191–249.

from the list headed 'Pappie' (note number 14 in the tables above). As is the case with almost all of these transferred notes, Joyce only needed to write the first line as a prompt for him to recall the full verse his father seems to have been so fond of, and it appears virtually verbatim in the main text of Buffalo MS 19. This indicates that he most likely wrote the section of the draft containing the note on an earlier, now lost draft or proto-draft fragment. As he often does with the earlier *Ulysses* drafts that are still in the process of development, Joyce wrote it primarily on the recto pages, leaving the versos and an expanding left margin on the rectos for further additions. The text on this early draft grew significantly with layers of additions that often intersect and crowd most of its pages, as it does in virtually every stage of the episode's genesis.

In its earliest iteration, the scene is triggered when Lynch tells Zoe that Stephen 'is a cardinal's son', after which '^His Eminence^ Cardinal Simon Dedalus appears in the doorway', and then 'struggling to suppress his merriment, proclaims with bloated pomp':

Conservio lies captured  
He lies in the lowest dungeon,  
With manacles and chains around his limbs,  
Weighing upwards of three tons

After which, the apparition just as quickly 'retires, his face twisted to one side' (p. [13r]; *JJA* 14:227; see *U* 15.2651–69). It could be that Joyce simply recalled the 'verses [John Stanislaus Joyce] quotes most' (as Joyce had it in the earlier note) and has Simon Dedalus's ghost recite them here without direct recourse to the notesheet, but the fact that he cancelled it in red (as he did all the other notesheet entries he used in this draft) is strong evidence that he did in fact rely on the decade's old reminder on the notesheet.

John Stanislaus Joyce and his world loom large in all of Joyce's works, therefore the notes Joyce recorded related to his father but did not use can shed some further light both on the man and the son's ideas about how he may make use of his father's sayings and actions:

He is an Irish suicide.  
He read medicine. [...]

One morning he played the fiddle, sitting up in bed. [...]

When he is satirical he calls me sonny and bids me think of my Maker and give up the ghost. [...]

He was proud of his hop step and jump. [...]

When something is mislaid he asks softly: Have you tried the ash pit? [...]

He inquires: Who said?

He read Modern Society and the Licensed Victuallers' Gazette.

He threatened to make me smell hell.

He called Eileen a confirmed bloody idiot.

He quarrelled with my friends.

When drunk he composes verses containing the word perchance. (*WD* 103–4; *JJA* 7:145–7)

At least four other notes appear as parts of the various additions on this earliest extant draft, two of which appear on the same verso page.<sup>98</sup> Since there is not sufficient evidence to know the order in which Joyce incorporated the notes in the additions, I will follow them as they appear in the draft. The first is just the word ‘whetstone’, which is all that Joyce took from the more expansive notebook entry: ‘He looked in vain for some poet of the people among his generation to be his **whetstone**’ (note 3). It appears as part of an expanding additional block of text describing the following fantasy dialogue:

#### Lynch’s Cap

It is because it is. Jewgreek Greekjew. Extremes meet. Death is the highest form of life.

#### Stephen

^Bah!^ You remember quite accurately all my little errors, boasts, mistakes, faults: **Whetstone!** ^Bah!^ (Buffalo MS 19, p. [9v]; *JJA* 14:220; see *U* 15.2096–101)

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<sup>98</sup> Interestingly, we can read a direct echo of another entry in a third addition on the same page. Joyce added ‘the rustle of her slip in which lurks the **leonine reek** of all the males that have possessed her’ on Buffalo MS 19, p. [9v] (see *U* 15.2016–17), which is very similar to a note that appears under the heading ‘Lust’ in the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’: ‘reek of lions’. If this was the textual prompt for the addition, then it was not mediated by the BL notesheet.

Another one of the transferred notes appears on the same page as part of a different addition. Here too, all Joyce took from the more complete notebook entry was the tag 'Lynch whinny' (note 1), which is one of the character's defining characteristics that he first introduced in *A Portrait* directly from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' before 1914:

^<The Cap> Lynch^

(^whinnies with laughter^ [note 1] grinning at Florrie Talbot) What a learned speech, eh? (Buffalo MS 19, p. [9v]; *JJA* 14:220; see *U* 15.2096–101)

The note helps to explain why Joyce changed the speaker of the line from 'The Cap' to 'Lynch', since he is the character directly associated with Vincent Cograve's mode of laughter in the 'Alphabetical Notebook'. Joyce often relied on just this kind of precise lexical repetition to consolidate a character's attributes for the reader in and across his works.<sup>99</sup> He used another entry as an addition to an addition on the following verso page. It became part of the opening segue to the dialogue between Stephen and Lynch's cap that Joyce wrote on the previous verso page:

Stephen

As a matter of fact it is of no importance whether Benedetto Marcello found it or made it. ^**The rite is the poet's rest.**^ It may be an ancient Greek song to Demeter or it may illustrate the eighteenth psalm Cœli enarrant gloriam Domini. (Buffalo MS 19, p. [10v]; *JJA* 14:222; see *U* 15.2087–9)

Once again, the notesheet entry was simply a shorthand prompt for Joyce to recall the exact wording of the much older notebook entry, which is identical to how it appears in the draft and ultimately in *Ulysses*. The foundation of the scene was an adjacent note in the same notesheet, though it was not in the 'Alphabetical Notebook': 'Marcello cœli enarrant gloriam Domini' (BL 'Circe' NS 6:119). It is sandwiched between 'Rite poet's rest' (note 7) and 'Conservio lies conquered' (note 14).

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<sup>99</sup> For other reasons, Joyce also decided to have his respondent change from 'Florrie' to 'Zoe' as well. I discuss the many ways in which he constructs his characters as well as the fluidity of characters' names and attributes in my *Joyce's Creative Process and the Construction of Characters in 'Ulysses': Becoming the Blooms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Joyce drew the final note that appears on the earlier draft from the centre column of the notesheet, though it is just beside the grouping in the right column: ‘embrace all women’, which he had transferred from the list headed appropriately enough ‘Lust’ in the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’: ‘A desire to **embrace all women**’. This appears as an addition in the left margin in the manuscript page as part of Bloom’s encomium upon Bella Cohen’s arrival:

Queen, marvellous ^commanding^ woman, restore to me my youth. ^O,  
**Embrace of universal woman!** Abundantly^ I will eat from your hands.  
(Buffalo MS 19, p. [14r]; *JJA* 14:229)

Unusually, Joyce recopied this text in the next draft in this further revised form as ‘O embrace ^allround^ everywhere of universal woman!’ (NLI MS 12, p. [21v]), and then again as ‘O embrace allround everywhere of universal womanlihood!’ in the next draft (NLI Quinn MS, f. [13r]), but he finally did not recopy it yet again into the significantly rearranged version of this scene in Rosenbach ‘Circe’ manuscript. Therefore, it does not appear in *Ulysses*.

Joyce also used two more notesheet entries in the next extant draft that can be traced back to the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’.<sup>100</sup> He rewrote the first half of ‘Circe’ from Buffalo MS 19 in NLI MS 12 while he was in Paris from July to December 1920, and added the first note to the text right beside another entry that he had previously used from the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ via BL ‘Circe’ Notesheet 6:

The Cap

Bah! It is because it is. Jewgreek is Greekjew. Extremes meet. Death is the highest form of life. Absence is presence. Bah!

Stephen

You remember quite accurately all my little errors, boasts, mistakes, faults.

^Stephen

How long more must I **close my eyes to** your **disloyalty** and to his.^ Whetstone!  
(Buffalo MS 19, p. [9v]; *JJA* 14:220; see *U* 15.2096–101)

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<sup>100</sup> To be more precise NLI MS 36,639/12 is the episode’s later intermediary draft.

The notesheet entry that suggested this addition is simple enough — ‘shut eye to disloyalty’ (note 5)<sup>101</sup> — whereas the entry under the ‘Dedalus (Stephen)’ heading in the ‘Alphabetical Notebook’ is more elaborate: ‘He strove to **shut his eyes** against the **disloyalty** of others to himself’. This note is an exemplary instance of how Joyce used the note transferal process. The consistent pattern of condensing an earlier notebook entry in its notesheet iteration shows how the later entries functioned more as mnemonic triggers for lexical material with which Joyce was already quite familiar. Joyce used most of other notesheets entries verbatim from note to text. Furthermore, with hindsight we too might be able to see how the two different notes derived from the same list in the notebook could be brought together in a single line of dialogue in ‘Circe’, but the manuscripts show how Joyce himself only discovered this possibility in a piecemeal manner over several months. Maybe he saw the note he had already used and crossed through just two entries above this note and realised the connection, but it is more likely that he only established the conceptual link between the two entries ten years after he first noted them. Joyce purposely used the process of decontextualizing and recombining his earlier notes in new constellations to inspire just this kind of connections.

The next entry seems predestined for ‘Circe’ even though Joyce first noted it for *A Portrait*. Under the heading ‘Gogarty (Oliver St John)’ Joyce wrote:

A butler served in his house. When his old fellow died this butler was stationed outside Clery’s (anciently Mac Swiney, Delaney and Co’s) emporium to help ladies to alight from their carriages. Gogarty spoke of him as the exposed butler and often told him in **a pig’s whisper** that he had put up a dozen of stout for him round the corner. (note 10).

All Joyce took from this very particular (and we can suppose biographically accurate note) was the interesting phrase ‘a pig’s whisper’, which he decided would be the most appropriate way to describe Virag’s behaviour with his son in the following scene:

Virag (whispers in his ear), turning the pages of his volumes^, prompts into Bloom’s ear in **a pig’s whisper**.^ Bloom nods, repeats) (NLI MS 12, p. [15v])

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<sup>101</sup> There is no discernible reason why this is the only note of the group that Joyce crossed through in green crayon (rather than the red crayon he used for the entries he had already incorporated in the earlier and intermediary drafts, or the blue one he used for the entries he used on the still later draft).

Although it underwent various revisions on the next manuscript level, it is clearly discernible in *Ulysses* (see *U* 15.2412).

The remaining notes Joyce used that went from the notebook to the notesheet were on the episode's third extant manuscript (MS 36,958), which was acquired by the NLI in 2000 from the family of John Quinn; all of which he crossed in blue crayon, clearly signalling a distinct (and in this case later) pass through the notesheet as he looked for inspiration. One of the more revealing notes Joyce took from his own life for possible use in *A Portrait* but then reworked for *Ulysses* was 'Pornography fails because **whores are bad conductors** of emotion' (note 8), which he listed under the heading 'Esthetic' in the 'Alphabetical Notebook'. Joyce abandoned the explanatory context that helps to account for why he thought it belonged under this heading rather than another, and simply noted 'whores bad conductors' in BL 'Circe' NS 6. Then he found a suitable place for the phrase as an addition to an addition in the following exchange:

Florrie

But what does it all mean? Everything. What is it?

Stephen

It is the system of Antisthenes the embittered and Saint Thomas Porcupine (delighted with his own politeness) He asked himself that very question. ^You are a person for me not necessarily a neuter substantive ^though you are a **bad conductor of emotions**.^^

Florrie

(to her sister whores) They say the end of the world will be this summer. (NLI Quinn MS, f. 9r)

Yet again we see how the notesheet entry is merely an abbreviated tag, which prompted Joyce to recall more of the original context of the earlier note. It is no wonder that he was able to remember this notable phrase so well. In fact, Stanislaus recounts an amusing anecdote about the young James Joyce and his fondness for it:

With women his contacts remained on a disappointingly low level, and he was already growing tired of what he called after Swedenborg 'scortatory love'. He concealed his disappointment by saying, in the semi-scientific jargon he

sometimes affected, that **whores were bad conductors of emotion**, and moreover that he longed to copulate with a soul. If such was his longing, he should have taken proper precautions to be born in some other country.<sup>102</sup>

After its long journey, Joyce decided to drop this entire line as he rearranged this scene for the Rosenbach 'Circe' manuscript (see *U* 15.2125–9). He used another note much later in the episode, when Bella Cohen tries to settle the accounts:

Bella, Zoe <and,> Kitty, Bloom, Lynch

^(chattering ^squabbling round the table)^ The gentleman ... ten shillings .... Paying for the three ... Allow me a moment ... This gentleman pays separate .... Who's touching it? ... We can arrange that ... Ten for you ... Mind who you're pinching! ... Are you staying the night? ... Who did? ... You're a liar, excuse me ... The gentleman paid like a gentleman ... Drink ... it's after eleven.

Stephen

(turns, laughing) ^No bottles!^ A riddle. (NLI Quinn MS, f. [17r]; see *U* 15.3555–63)

This particular addition was most likely drawn from the simplistic notesheet entry 'dislike bottle', which in turn was drawn from the entry 'He disliked bottles' in the 'Dedalus (Stephen)' list in the 'Alphabetical Notebook', and thereby the original note might help some reader to solve Stephen's riddle. The final entry in *Ulysses* that we can trace back to the 'Alphabetical Notebook' comes as one of a series of additions in the climactic scene in which Stephen confronts his dead mother's ghost. Mulligan makes an appearance and repeats some of his performance at the start of the day:

Buck Mulligan

Kinch killed her. ^The mockery of it.^ ^She kicked the bucket.^ (tears of molten butter fall from his eyes ^on to the scone^) ^Our great sweet mother! Epi oinopa ponton!^ (NLI Quinn MS, f. [22r]; see *U* 15.4178–80)

As far as we know, Joyce did not use the other four more notes that he had carried over from the 'Alphabetical Notebook' to BL 'Circe' NS 6 and so their odyssey ended here.

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<sup>102</sup> Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper: James Joyce's Early Years*, pp. 152–3.

## CONCLUSION

The 'Alphabetical Notebook' is unique in the Joyce archive for its concentrated biographical and autobiographical content and also for the writer's intensive and extended reliance on it (both directly and indirectly) for over a decade for two quite different works: *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*. So much of Joyce's art is anchored in his life in Dublin that it is unsurprising that a notebook for *A Portrait* would have some entries based on his thoughts and experiences before he left the city in 1904, and he noted the others at various times over the next five years. The notebook is also an exemplary case study that shows how Joyce almost always relied on the decontextualized lexical material he stored in his notebooks to write and revise all of his works.

The genetic dossier for *A Portrait* is minimal and nothing survives to document the early development of *Ulysses* before 1917. There is very little actual textual evidence of Joyce's creative work from at least 1910 to the start of 1917, therefore much of what I have proposed above is speculative and will remain tentative until further evidence is discovered, or different perspectives are put forward on what we think we know now. Joyce's 1910 'Alphabetical Notebook' is one of the richest sources of information about how he continued to write *A Portrait* between 1910 and 1914. Furthermore, since he relied on some of the entries in it to write scenes that he ultimately incorporated in *Ulysses*, the notebook is a pivotal document in the interface between these two works as well. It indicates that Joyce wrote much more of what became *Ulysses* earlier than we had previously thought.

Hans Walter Gabler's palaeographic and textual analyses in the 1970s have shaped our understanding of the genesis of *A Portrait*, but a study of the ways in which Joyce relied on the 'Alphabetical Notebook' to write and revise the book (as well as other texts that were intended for it but that he decided to set aside) alters what we thought we knew about when and how Joyce wrote *A Portrait*, as well as about how Joyce transformed the book before it was published. Several of the notebook's entries provide a definitive *terminus post quem*: Joyce could not have compiled this notebook before he returned from his 1909 penultimate sojourn in Dublin, but it is more difficult to determine when he used the notebook because, beside the complete faircopy, only one intermediary, late, fragmentary draft of the book survives, and it is of a scene that Joyce decided not to include in *A Portrait*. Instead, parts of it feature in 'Telemachus'.

The concentration of entries that appear in Chapter V indicates that Joyce compiled the notebook specifically to continue writing and revising the University College chapter of the book, though, as usual, he also used it in unexpected ways. The fact that entries from the notebook appear fully integrated in the base text of the opening of Chapter V in the NLI *A Portrait* faircopy means that March 1910 was the earliest Joyce could have written any part of the extant manuscript. Therefore, he wrote it after he had compiled the notebook, but before he threw an earlier manuscript version of *A Portrait* in the family stove. Nonetheless, I have argued that it is more likely that, based on the remnants of that previous (no longer extant) manuscript, Joyce most likely rewrote the entire book as it then stood in the summer of 1911, paginating it continuously at least through the start of Chapter V. Only Chapter IV and the opening of Chapter V survive of this manuscript version. This fact substantially alters the previous dating of the faircopy manuscript that survives, which thereby also transforms our understanding of how much of *A Portrait* as published Joyce only wrote between the summer of 1911 and November 1914, when he submitted the final chapters for publication in *The Egoist*. Obviously, pushing forward the date of the earliest strata of the extant manuscript means that Joyce must have written the other chapters (and sections of chapters) later than we had thought as well.

Contrary to the currently accepted view of Joyce's engagement with the novel, he was most likely quite busy rewriting *A Portrait* in 1912, so much so that in March 1913 he could claim that he would finish the book by the end of the year. Therefore, the view that Joyce was not actively working on *A Portrait* in 1911 and 1912 is no longer credible. Entries from the notebook can also be found in what are now Chapters I and II, which makes it clear that he only rewrote those chapter in 1912 or 1913. It seems likely that Joyce used the 'Alphabetical Notebook' to revise Chapter II, which at the time included the crucial Christmas dinner scene, after he had completed his 'L'ombra di Parnell' ('The Shade of Parnell') article that was published in *Il Piccolo della Sera* in mid-May 1912, but then only repositioned it in Chapter I afterwards, possibly in 1913.

As Gabler has shown, Joyce rewrote Section B of Chapter III quite late, presumably from February to May 1913, after which he moved on directly to rewrite Section B of the Third Movement of Chapter V. Material and textual evidence indicates that the Second Movement of Chapter V was an even later and distinct interpolation between the Chapter's First and Third Movements, which Joyce

probably only wrote in the summer of 1914. Although there is not enough evidence to confirm what Joyce actually wrote of Chapter V in 1914, it seems likely that the Fourth Movement underwent the most radical restructuring of any part of *A Portrait*, and may have only achieved its final form in September–October 1914. The book's last movement is composed of a series of diary entries that Joyce drew from a variety of earlier texts that he had written from his early 'Epiphanies' and *Stephen Hero* to the 'Alphabetical Notebook' and the 'Doherty Fragment'. It is even possible that the fragmentary nature of the texts Joyce relied on to compose it suggested the final movement's radical aesthetic presentation as isolated diary entries.<sup>103</sup>

Joyce used by far the greatest number of the entries in the notebook to write and revise Chapter V, which until 1913 included an abandoned 'Tower scene' that features a Gogarty-like character named Doherty that extended the temporal frame of the book beyond its final '27 April' diary entry as published. A surviving faircopy fragment that Joyce must have written in 1912 — or more likely in 1913 — makes it clear that ending the book abruptly and earlier than planned was a late decision. Other entries in the notebook indicate that Joyce planned to write one or more other scenes for *A Portrait* that were focused on the life and untimely death of Stephen's mother. It is not possible to determine whether Joyce actually wrote those scenes before 1914. Instead, they appear fully integrated in the earliest surviving version of the 'Telemachus' episode, which Joyce wrote in 1917. If Joyce did not write these scenes before 1914, he may have written them before 16 June 1915, when he boasted to his brother that he had completed the first episode of *Ulysses*. Other entries from the notebook appear in the 'Scylla and Charybdis' and 'Sirens' episodes, though there is not enough evidence to ascertain when he first wrote the earliest versions of those scenes. It is impossible to know whether Joyce actually wrote a version of Stephen's theories about 'Hamlet' (based on his Shakespearean research for the lectures he presented in late 1912 and early 1913) for inclusion in *A Portrait*, but the nucleus of what became the opening of 'Scylla and Charybdis' can be found in the 'Alphabetical Notebook' and also in even earlier plans and notes that Joyce made for *Stephen Hero*.

It was only sometime in 1913 that Joyce made the fundamental decision to have *A Portrait* end abruptly on the eve of Stephen's departure, at which point he set aside at the very least the 'Doherty Fragment', thereby providing the groundwork for a bridge

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<sup>103</sup> A similar confluence of content and form may account for the stylistic innovation of 'Wandering Rocks' in *Ulysses*.

between *A Portrait* and the opening of his next book. It is likely that Joyce's rewriting and restructuring of Chapter V lasted into 1914, even as the book's earlier chapters had already appeared in *The Egoist*. It is even possible that Joyce was still reworking the diary-entry format of the Fourth Movement of Chapter V as late as September–October 1914. Finally, after Joyce returned to Trieste in 1919, he took up the notebook again and harvested over a dozen notes from it, some of which he used in at least three different drafts of 'Circe'.

One of the thrills of genetic textual criticism—yes, fortunately, there are some thrills involved that make up for all the hard labour—is the way that the exploration of the writing process allows us to look differently at texts that we think we know so well. No other document tells us as much about the evolution of Joyce's aesthetic strategies from *A Portrait* to *Ulysses* than the Cornell 'Alphabetical Notebook'. Let's hope that further manuscripts and notebooks come to light to help us better to understand this crucial period in the development of these seminal Modernist works.\*

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\* I started writing this article in March 2020, the week that the COVID-19 lockdown came into force in Ireland and many other countries. While the world beyond my office became more restricted, this work brought me closer to my colleagues in Antwerp, Munich, Paris, and Dublin. I would like to thank Daniel Ferrer, Hans Walter Gabler, Geert Lernout, Sam Slote, and Dirk Van Hulle for their willingness to engage with me on this ever-expanding study, often reading multiple drafts of this work in progress; for their encouragement and constructive criticisms; and for their friendship over many years.