

MONIKA FLUDERNIK

„Ulysses“ and Joyce's Change of Artistic Aims

External and Internal Evidence

Ulysses and Joyce's Change of Artistic Aims: External and Internal Evidence¹

Monika Fludernik
University of Vienna

Numerous critics distinguish between a more conventional first half of *Ulysses* and a radically different second half.² This alleged division suggests a change in Joyce's artistic aims in the latter part of the novel, as for instance the one implied by A. Walton Litz with reference to the schema:

When one reads the versions of the early episodes published between 1918 and 1920 in the *Egoist* and *Little Review* one is struck immediately by the absence of many of those elaborate "correspondences" documented by Stuart Gilbert and outlined by Joyce on a chart he circulated among his friends. The familiar *schema* of the novel – the correspondence of each episode to a particular organ, colour, symbol, and art, and the casting of each episode in a distinctive style – is absent from the earlier versions. One of Joyce's major aims in revising the earlier episodes of *Ulysses* was to impose this elaborate pattern of correspondences upon them, to transform the entire novel into an "epic" work.

By the time Joyce had reached mid-point in the drafting of *Ulysses* (c. 1919) the "correspondences" for each episode were in the foreground of his mind.³

Litz here connects the change of artistic orientation with the complexities of Joyce's schemata. In a similar mood, this time from Jackson Cope:

Ulysses changes in every respect with this chapter ["Sirens"]. Joyce thought of it as opening a second half of the novel. . . . The style ceases to be traditional, if complexly counterpointed, narrative and becomes seriously imitative of the chapter's "art."⁴

Other critics, however, argue against any major change of direction during Joyce's preoccupation with *Ulysses*. Herbert Gorman claims that "the idea was clear in his mind and so was the variegated yet unified technique through which he intended to present it."⁵ Richard Ellmann, on the other hand, seems to allow for plenty of

improvisation although he does not, I think, imply that Joyce radically changed his approach to the novel while writing it: "Joyce did not have his book all in mind at the beginning. He urged a friend later not to plan everything ahead, for, he said, 'In the writing the good things will come'" (JJI 360).

It is certainly evident that Joyce's schemata betoken a considerable complexity of the narrative (I am here referring to the Linati and Gilbert/Gorman schemata) and one can no doubt agree with Litz that these complexities are foregrounded to a larger extent in the later episodes, although it is difficult to assign a definite point at which they become apparent to the reader. If, as Litz and Cope seem to suggest, the schema became important to Joyce only late in the writing of *Ulysses*, two possible explanations can be found for this. Either Joyce had the schema ready ever since starting on the novel and only came to rely upon it more in the later stages of writing, or he did not evolve the schema until a fairly advanced stage of composition. It is this latter point which I will try to elucidate. If the schema was in fact conceived belatedly, this could imply that Joyce started writing *Ulysses* without any very clear idea about how the work was going to develop. Or else, one could also argue as Cope does, Joyce radically changed his conception of the novel midway in the book.

Joyce's revisions of the earlier episodes up to "Circe" in 1921 constitute an important piece of evidence since it is here possible to examine whether Joyce merely strengthened the elements laid out in the schemata, thus rendering them more apparent to the reader, or whether he added something to the text that had not been in it before, which would then confirm that he did in fact change his conception of *Ulysses*.

Michael Groden has undertaken to analyze the revisions,⁶ and his findings will be taken into account. There are, however, several methodological problems connected with this kind of approach which make it difficult to regard it as providing a criterion for the question of Joyce's alleged change of artistic aims. One of them is pointed out by Charles Peake, who shows conclusively, I think, that Joyce's implementation of the schema is problematic even in later episodes such as "Oxen of the Sun."⁷ In connection with this it must also be considered that there are two main schemata with differing entries, particularly in the "symbol" and "technic" columns. Furthermore, it does not always become quite clear from the schemata what Joyce's terms actually mean because some of the entries in the two lists are obviously metaphoric rather than referential. This makes it

difficult to assess whether the schema was implemented with regard to those terms. Although it is possible to discover certain tendencies in Joyce's handling of the schema in the course of the revisions of 1921, these tendencies do not constitute an unequivocal method of assessing whether Joyce actually changed his conception of the novel.

I will therefore try a different approach, concentrating on external evidence for the schemata. I shall attempt to ascertain whether Joyce evolved the schema at a late stage of composition, adducing evidence mostly from his letters. This will then be supplemented by a comparison of the entries in the technic column with the text of *Ulysses* to provide some further internal evidence with regard to an alleged change of artistic aims.⁸

There are at least three different versions of Joyce's schema for *Ulysses*, and several further indications of Joyce's artistic intentions can be discovered in his letters. In the following I shall draw largely on Claude Jacquet's "Les Plans de Joyce pour *Ulysse*" which provides most of the basic facts laid out below.

The first schema was sent to John Quinn in a letter dated 3 September 1920 (*Letters I* 145), at which time Joyce was working on "Circe," and "Nausicaa" had just been published in the *Little Review*. The schema names the episodes by their Homeric parallels and divides them into three books with a line drawn between "Scylla & Charybdis" and "Wandering Rocks" to denote the end of the first half of the novel.

The second schema, also known as the Linati schema, was sent to Carlo Linati in a letter dated 21 September 1920 (*Letters I* 146), and this lists references to the time, organ, color, art, symbol, and technic of each episode plus providing a clue to its meaning ("senso (significato)").

In its structure it is therefore similar to the third schema, the so-called Gilbert/Gorman schema, which also provides detailed information on the various arts, symbols, techniques and the respective time of day, organ and color for each episode.¹⁰ This third schema was written in connection with Valéry Larbaud's *conférence* on 7 December 1921 (*JIII* 519) and given to Jacques Benoist-Méchin,¹¹ the translator of the "Penelope" chapter into French. The schema later passed into the hands of Sylvia Beach and was subsequently handed round among Joyce's friends until Stuart Gilbert finally published it in 1931. Larbaud himself received another copy of the same schema in early November (*JIII* 519) to help him prepare his

conférence, but was asked to return it (*Letters III* 53) so that Joyce could revise his map.

Gorman's schema was originally given to Sylvia Beach on 22 February 1922,¹² and Gorman received it from her. Gorman's schema contains an additional list of the Homeric correspondences of individual characters in the novel.

No detailed schemas are known for the earlier stages of Joyce's work on *Ulysses*, but there are nevertheless some further indications of Joyce's plans. As Herbert Gorman tells us, Joyce made sketches of the final episodes as early as 1914.¹³ These drafts presumably refer to the *Nostos*, if we are to believe Joyce's statement in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver of 12 July 1920 (*Letters I* 143):

I hope also that I shall be able to finish the twelfth adventure ["Circe"] at my ease. Like its fellows it presents for me great technical difficulties and for the reader something worse. A great part of the *Nostos* or close was written several years ago and the style is quite plain. The whole book, I hope (if I can return to Trieste provisionally or temporarily in October) will be finished about December after which I shall sleep for six months.

This letter indicates that Joyce must have drafted the *Nostos* some three or more years before 1920, possibly before he left Trieste in 1915. This is at least what one might infer from a letter to Svevo (*Letters I* 154-55) in which Joyce asks for the notes he left behind in Trieste on the grounds that he needed them for the completion of the novel. This letter is dated 5 January 1921.

Joyce's letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver from 1920 also suggests that Joyce did not yet envisage the difficulties with which the remaining episodes would confront him, just as, in October 1921, he thought he had already finished the book (cf. *JIII* 519 and *Letters I* 175 and *III* 51), then found he had no alternative but to make an extensive revision of the final episodes.

All this does not necessarily imply that Joyce had no definite plans for the novel, although it does prove that improvisation and re-working were important factors in the genesis of the book.

A much more staggering piece of evidence comes from another letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver (18 May 1918, *Letters I* 113):¹⁴

The second part, the *Odyssey*, contains eleven episodes. The third part, *Nostos*, contains three episodes. In all seventeen episodes of which, including that which is now being typed and will be sent in a day or two, *Hades*, I have delivered six.

The implications to be drawn from these lines are almost unbelievable in view of Joyce's concern for the structure of his works. Yet it is

undeniable that Joyce did not know the eventual number of episodes for his book at a time when he had already written out six episodes in their more or less final version and—as one would suppose from the *Nostos* drafts of 1914—must have been in possession of a definite plan for the novel. This raises the question of which episode he added and when.

Jacquet argues that Joyce appended "Penelope."¹⁵ This is highly unlikely. According to Joyce's letter there are three episodes to the *Nostos*, and it is hard to imagine "Circe," which so obviously deals with the figure of Ulysses, being transferred to the *Nostos*. It is of course true that the actual form of "Penelope" as a monologue by Molly may have been a fairly late invention,¹⁶ but the three episodes for the *Nostos*, in parallel to the three episodes of the *Telemachia*, seem to have been planned very early, certainly by 1914.

It is therefore among the twelve chapters of the second book that one will have to find the inserted episode, and the most probable candidate is "Wandering Rocks," an episode less deeply grounded in Homeric parallel. Groden has in fact suggested this solution, without producing any evidence for his conjecture: "this [i.e. the fact that Joyce only planned seventeen episodes] means that he had not yet thought of 'Wandering Rocks,' a crucial episode in terms of the change in *Ulysses*' techniques."¹⁷ Since "Wandering Rocks" was written in early 1919, Joyce must have decided to add this episode between May 1918 and the following spring. With the evidence as sparse as it is, however, this must remain mere conjecture.

So far the external evidence. In the above it has been established that Joyce wrote drafts for the *Nostos*, presumably inclusive of "Penelope," at an early date (in 1914 according to Gorman). Only eleven chapters had originally been planned for the second book and a twelfth was added in 1918 or early 1919. Furthermore, the actual (complicated) schema of the novel does not make its appearance until 1921. This certainly proves that Joyce did not "have it all in mind" when starting on *Ulysses*, but it does not furnish any conclusive evidence for an actual change in Joyce's attitude towards the book, in particular because no definite point in time for such a change can be suggested. From the above evidence it is, however, possible to argue that it was at some stage between the Quinn schema and the Linati schema that Joyce changed his conceptions, if he did change them.

In the following a comparison between the Linati and the Gilbert/Gorman schemata will supply some further clues. In both plans the titles of the episodes and the organs are identical, and the arts and

colors largely equivalent. (The two latter columns show minor differences but these are of no great consequence. Thus the Linati schema gives "mitologia" for "Calypso," whereas it is "Economics" in the Gilbert/Gorman schema. Both arts are little grounded in the text.)

In general it appears that the arts, colors, and symbols for the individual episodes are rather badly integrated in the text of the novel while there is no such difficulty with the organs. From this Peake concludes that the schema served Joyce as a general means of coordination rather than as a plan which had to be adhered to closely.¹⁸ As Peake points out, the terms used in the symbol column are particularly obscure. Incidentally, these are completely different in the two schemata, raising questions with regard to their validity for the text. For Peake only the symbols for "Ithaca" and "Penelope" make sense in relation to the book, and this is due to the existence of lengthy explications by Joyce in letters to his friends. (Cf. *Letters I* 159-60 and *I* 164 for "Ithaca," and *Letters I* 169-70 for "Penelope.")

It is worth noting that the Gilbert/Gorman schema, which seems to come closer to the text, was issued at a time when Joyce was finishing the *Nostos* and giving final touches to earlier chapters. This might suggest that this schema was modeled on the text and made to suit it. On the other hand, one could also argue that the Gilbert/Gorman schema is in fact Joyce's final version of a schema which he continually elaborated and systematized. This would explain the difference between the symbols and techniques in the two schemata. While, at the time of the Linati schema, these seem to be partly descriptions of the extant text, they have been rearranged systematically in the Gorman schema. Groden, though, notes that in other respects the Linati schema, too, does not agree with the book at all: "The Linati schema contains much information not in the book; these ideas must have been only plans in Joyce's mind."¹⁹

For many critics the revisions undertaken in 1921 seem to indicate a change in Joyce's conception of the novel. Litz, in particular, is struck by

the absence of MANY of those elaborate "correspondences". . . . The FAMILIAR schema of the novel—the correspondence of each episode to a particular organ, colour, symbol, and art, and the casting of each episode in a distinctive style—is absent from the earlier versions. One of Joyce's major aims in revising the earlier episodes of *Ulysses* was to impose this elaborate pattern of correspondences upon them (my capitals).²⁰

Although this looks like a summary statement, Litz has unobtrusively modified the first part; I have printed these modifying

terms in capitals. Not *all* the correspondences have been added but only a large number of them, he claims, and it is the *familiar* (i.e., the elaborate) schema that he misses. He does not claim that Joyce did not have any schema for the book when failing to adhere to the complex version of it. In fact he even concedes that "Many of Joyce's late additions to the *Lotus-eaters* simply strengthen the episode's *leitmotifs*."²¹ Nevertheless he concludes that it was Joyce's "major" aim in the revisions to "impose the correspondences" on the text.

Joyce's own account of the revisions does not confirm this conclusion. In a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver dated 7 October 1921 he writes: "*Eolus* is recast. *Hades* and the *Lotus-eaters* much amplified and the other episodes retouched a good deal. Not much change has been made in the *Telemachia*" (*Letters I* 172). Joyce's letter shows that he did not change the first three episodes very much, which is borne out by even a cursory examination of the revisions. He certainly did not "impose" any schema on them. Hence it cannot have been Joyce's major aim to clot the novel with additional correspondences. On the other hand, Joyce himself admits to significant changes in other episodes, particularly "*Lotus-Eaters*" and "*Aeolus*." The introduction of the headlines to "*Aeolus*" and the numerous flower and plant metaphors added to "*Lotus-Eaters*" seem to confirm this. However, the earlier versions of these episodes already accorded with the schema to a considerable extent: "*Aeolus*" contained enough blowy rhetoric to symbolize "*Rettorica*," and "*Lotus-Eaters*" did already include references to plants even if they were not as prominent as in the later version. Besides, all the earlier versions of the chapters up to "*Circe*," including the *Telemachia*, incorporated correspondences to organs, arts, and Homeric parallels so that one must conclude that Joyce did actually have a schema for the novel before he sent one to Linati and that this earlier schema was less elaborate or perhaps even undefined in certain parts. Presumably Joyce retouched this private schema before sending a version of it to Linati in 1920. Quinn's schema was thus only a very abbreviated, basic version of the schema already implemented in the novel.

The technic column, radically restructured in the Gilbert/Gorman schema, shows how Joyce shifted his emphasis between 1920 and 1921 and what relation the schemata bear to the actual text. The list drawn up below is taken from Jacquet; the English translations for the Linati schema are Ellmann's.²²

A comparison between the two technic columns first of all shows that the techniques Joyce listed for each episode are conceived in a distinctly different way than those conventionally employed by

	<i>Gilbert/Gorman</i>	<i>Linati</i>
Telemachus	narrative (young)	Dialogo a 3 & 4, narrazione, soliloquio
Nestor	catechism (personal)	Dialogo a 2, narrazione, soliloquio
Proteus	monologue (male)	soliloquio
Calypso	narrative (mature)	dialogo a 2, soliloquio
Lotus-Eaters	narcissism	dialogo, soliloquio, preghiera (prayer)
Hades	incubism	narrazione, dialoghi
Eolus	enthymemic	simbouleutike, Dikanike, Epidiktika, Tropi (deliberative, forensic and public oratory, tropes)
Lestrygonians	peristaltic	Prosa peristaltica
Scylla & Charybdis	dialectic	gorghi (whirlpools)
Wandering Rocks	labyrinth	labirinto mobile fra due sponde (labyrinth moving between two banks)
Sirens	fuga per canonem	fuga per canonem
Cyclops	gigantism	asimetria alternata
Nausicaa	tumescence, detumescence	progressione retro- gressiva

	<i>Gilbert/Gorman</i>	<i>Linati</i>
Oxen of the Sun	embryonic development	prosa (embrione-Feto-Parto) (Embryo, foetus, birth)
Circe	hallucination	Visione animata fino allo scoppio (vision animated to bursting-point)
Eumaeus	narrative (old)	prosa rilassata
Ithaca	catechism (impersonal)	Dialogo Stile pacato Fusione
Penelope	monologue (female)	Monologo Stile rassegnato

literary critics. It also reflects the great difference between Joyce's idea of technique in the Linati schema and his much more symbolic understanding of this term in the Gilbert/Gorman schema. In the Linati plan the descriptions used up to "Aeolus," and perhaps including "Lestrygonians," and for the *Nostos* are of linguistic terminology and they are more or less apt definitions of these episodes in terms of basic narrative constituents (dialogue, narrative, interior monologue) or general literary concepts (tropes, prose, etc.). When Joyce sent the schema to Linati in autumn 1920, he was working on "Circe" and "Eumaeus" and could look back on a number of episodes modeled in distinctive styles (from "Aeolus" onwards). So he was left to classify the initial six episodes in basic linguistic terms.

This description fits them very well. In "Telemachus" and "Nestor" dialogue plays a very important role in the structuring of these episodes.²³ "Proteus," on the other hand, is dominated by interior monologue, which the term "soliloquio" renders appropriately. With regard to the three Bloom episodes this kind of terminology is perhaps less precise. "Calypso" does have a narrative, but again the structural determinants of the episode can be said to lie in the dialogue and the interior monologue. As for "Lotus-Eaters," where the narrative is quite prominent, the term "preghiera" does not seem to refer to the narrative, and I therefore believe that it must be

interpreted symbolically, referring to Bloom's state of mind. The characterization of "Hades" as narrative and dialogue is appropriate because of the structural significance of these two constituents of the text, but there is Bloom's interior monologue as well, though structurally perhaps less important.

Joyce's terms can therefore be considered as a more or less appropriate description of the narrative constituents though they are not quite precise, concentrating on the structurally more significant elements.

Not so for the *Nostos*, where the apparently linguistic terminology is used in a metaphorical way. This is why I do not agree with Groden's remark that

in the schema for the book that he sent to Carlo Linati in late 1920, long after he had written drafts or rough versions of the last three episodes but before he had done any work on them, he described them in terms appropriate to the initial style.²⁴

"Prosa rilassata" ("relaxed" prose) describes the general effect of "Eumaeus" very well, the never-ending, self-conceitedly bubbling stream of clichés with its suggestion of tiredness and fatigue. But this is a matter open to argument. The terms used for "Ithaca" and "Penelope" are even harder to judge on this score; both describe the final versions well enough. The term "fusione" perhaps refers to the fact that in "Ithaca" Joyce no longer distinguishes between Bloom's language and Stephen's language, so there is a formal (a "technic"-al) fusion as well. On the other hand, we have Joyce's letters about the actual techniques he is going to use in "Ithaca" and "Penelope," and these are from late 1920 and 1921.²⁵ The general impression one derives from these letters is that Joyce has just had a brilliant idea about how to write the episode on which he was starting work: "I am going to leave the last word with Molly Bloom—the final episode *Penelope* being written through her thoughts and body Poldy being then asleep" (*Letters I* 152). A similar letter exists for "Oxen of the Sun" (*Letters I* 139-40).

If we now compare these "linguistic" descriptions for episodes one through seven and for the *Nostos* with those in the Gilbert/Gorman schema, the systematized symbolization of the technic column is at once apparent. The *Nostos* and the *Telemachia* are arranged to have the same structure (narrative followed by catechism and monologue), and "Calypso" is pressed into this schema as well, having now "narrative (mature)." All the other episodes are described by

metaphorical expressions similar to those in the Linati schema for episodes eight through fifteen. In a very general fashion they provide a symbol for the way in which these episodes are told or for the subject of these chapters. So narcissism and incubism can be seen to refer to Bloom's state of mind in "Lotus-Eaters" and to the general awe spread by the idea of death in "Hades" (the allusion is to *incubus*, "nightmare, evil spirit"). Terms like these are of the same kind as "gigantism" for "Cyclops" or "labyrinth" for "Wandering Rocks." "Enthymemic" for "Aeolus," on the other hand, is obscure and less appropriate than the version given in the Linati schema. Peake's suggestion that this term refers to a "pseudo-logical statement"²⁶ would fit in well with the rhetoric used by people throughout that episode. "Peristaltic," referring to the movements of the alimentary organs, is alluded to only rarely in the episode. But of course the chapter is all about eating and food, so that the ubiquitous food metaphors and the distorted syntax (presumably picturing Bloom's successive gustatory stages and, possibly, the motion of the alimentary organs) have at least some relation to this description of the technique for the episode.

"Dialectic" (and the whirlpools) as well as "gigantism" (or "asimetria alternata") need no explanation. They are symbolic descriptions of these episodes. The problem is different for "Nausicaa," because neither of the terms used is easy to explain. "Progressione retrogressiva" may perhaps refer to the resuscitation of the interior monologue, whereas "tumescence, detumescence" could be a sexual metaphor or possibly a hint at the sentimental exaggerations of the episode's style, which are continually being deflated by vulgar speech and disenchanting reality. The embryonic development allegedly portrayed in "Oxen of the Sun" is a matter of dispute.²⁷ For "Circe" the terms "hallucination" and "visione animata" are again quite appropriate general descriptions of the episode.

All these metaphorical terms, we can conclude, on the whole fit the chapters in question. The Gilbert/Gorman schema has an obvious predilection for formalization and for formal sounding terms. One cannot prove from this, however, that Joyce changed his conception of the novel between the Linati and the Gilbert/Gorman schemata, though it must be pointed out that he certainly became more interested in the formal elements of the chart. The one really important change in the Gilbert/Gorman schema is the new interpretation of the techniques of "Lotus-Eaters" and "Hades" on symbolic lines, which suggests that Joyce acknowledged the distancing from the "initial style" starting in these episodes. This distancing in

the main coincides with what Hayman has called minor manifestations of the Arranger in the early chapters of *Ulysses*.²⁸

If we reexamine the above material with regard to possible implications of a change in Joyce's aims and technique, there is little evidence for such a turning point. However, it can be deduced that neither "Wandering Rocks" nor "Sirens" could have been the starting point for such a reversal of intentions since they are both treated in the same way as their preceding chapters. (All episodes after "Aeolus" are described in symbolic terms.) If we take the evidence exclusively from the two schemata, such a turning point is only possible either with "Lotus-Eaters," where the Gilbert/Gorman schema for the first time resorts to a symbolic definition, or with "Aeolus," which is the first episode in the Linati schema to deviate from the initial terminology.

Was there an abrupt change in Joyce's approach to the writing of *Ulysses*? I think that we can argue from the above that this is not likely. Joyce seems to have evolved his schema for the novel gradually. He transformed the book little by little, rather than conceiving a completely new work. In 1914, when he drafted the *Nostos*, he must already have had a clear idea about the Homeric parallels and the structure of the novel. It is true that the number of episodes changed as late as 1918 or even 1919, but this need not necessarily imply a major change of direction. However, it is certainly striking that Joyce decided to add a further chapter, arguably "Wandering Rocks," after he had finished "Hades," perhaps while he was at work on "Aeolus," though it may have been later. This would fit in well with the Linati schema of 1920 in which "Aeolus" marks a change of technique.

Since Joyce gave away the Linati schema only a few days after having sent to Quinn the much simpler and basic model for *Ulysses*, it is probable that he had had a working schema at hand to aid him in composition for some time and that this plan included the time and Homeric parallels (very early correspondences) as well as the organs, arts, colors, and possibly symbols for the individual episodes, though perhaps not the techniques. It could be argued that Joyce made up the latter quickly before sending his impressive schema on to Linati, which would also explain why he found it necessary to change them later. We would then have an original working model of a schema which Joyce continually elaborated and which presumably started from the plot and the Homeric parallels with the body metaphor as an early addition. Out of this basic constellation a different "art" for each chapter was not difficult to devise, and Joyce kept on extending the complex correspondences.

Decisions about the actual presentation of these parallels and about the whole narrative structure was arguably left to the stages of actual writing, which is why Joyce wrote enthusiastic letters to his friends about the technique of "Oxen of the Sun" or "Ithaca," and why he reworked the technic column to make it look more impressive.

It is certainly true that the revisions strengthened many of the correspondences and made them more obvious to the reader. This goes hand in hand with the reduced emphasis on Homeric parallel, as is shown by Joyce's elimination of the chapter headings and the renewed interest in encyclopedic completeness—renewed interest, for the conception of the novel as the human body bears the seed for all the encyclopedic aspirations in it, and the addition of arts and colors must have encouraged these aspirations and allowed them to become almost an obsession in the final episodes. Although Groden argues for a considerable shift of emphasis after "Sirens" (when the interior monologue had to be discarded) and for a second shift during Joyce's work on "Circe," when Joyce allegedly started to incorporate and play with material from earlier episodes (this, however, already happens in "Sirens"), he nevertheless admits that the correspondences were in the text from the start and merely became emphasized later:

Although Joyce emphasized the story of *Ulysses* much more during the early writing than during the late revisions, he meticulously built elaborate parallels and correspondences into the early versions. The "scaffolding" existed from the start, although the correspondences were neither so noticeable nor so necessary for an understanding of the book as they were after the late revisions. . . . Given Joyce's detailed reading. . . it is amazing that his use of [this material] in the first version of "Aeolus" remains buried so far under a realistic surface. Clearly research of this kind was an essential part of his initial preparation for the episodes of *Ulysses*, but it is equally clear that at the beginning he did not want such "scaffolding" to show.²⁹

Groden does, however, maintain that the schema was a late innovation, the Linati version an evidence of Joyce's plans after "Oxen of the Sun" had been finished, and the Gorman version the final product of wrestling with the schema while composing "Circe" and "Ithaca." Adherence to the schema in the early episodes, for Groden, does not contradict his claim that

in some cases he took elements already in the book and found symbolic and schematic values for them. For example, Stuart Gilbert gives fourteen examples of architectural and "alimentary allusions" in "Lestrygonians" (Gilbert, 209). Half of them existed in the fair copy of the episode, three others first

appear as handwritten additions to the typescript after the *Little Review* publication, and the other four were late revisions. Joyce did not have the details of his elaborate schema in mind in 1918 when he first wrote "Lestrygonians," but he later found many appropriate symbols already in the episode, and he added many others.³⁰

Shifting the emphasis slightly, I would say, rather, that Joyce intuitively put many symbols into the text, not having a strict schema in mind but surely, at least subconsciously, evolving symbols appropriate for each episode while writing it. When he worked out the schema—that is, consciously thought about these correspondences and came to systematize them—he imposed further symbols on the text and elaborated those already in it.

This view is shared by Robert Adams, who is propounding it in connection with the God-dog relation:

In this whole matter of dogs and their function in the novel, it seems best to assume that Joyce started with certain "given" properties of his story and actors, and worked them into the fiction wherever they seemed to fit on one level or another. He did not start with a categorical Dog-God relation or equation, and deliberately exploit it by working gods and dogs into all the significant juxtapositions he could discover. If anything, it seems probable that he started with the figure of Ulysses. . . . The processes of patchwork and mosaic, though they played an important part in the novel's composition, generally date from the late stages of its preparation. . . . Frequently, it would seem, the materials were allowed to proliferate and the structural emphases were, after a time, imposed on them.³¹

It therefore seems to me that Joyce did not abruptly change his intentions at any point during the writing of *Ulysses*, but that he gradually elaborated a plan, which had existed from the start, to the extent that the schema later necessitated readjustments in earlier episodes. At no point did Joyce "impose" the schema on the text. In most instances it seems to have served as a guide for composition or rearrangement. So Joyce did in fact carefully plan his novel, even if some of the less obvious correspondences were added later and decisions about actual presentation (namely technique) postponed.

NOTES

¹ In writing the original version of this article I was inspired by the suggestions of Richard Ellmann, whom I wish to thank most heartily for his kindness during my stay at Oxford in 1980-81.

² Cf. Stuart Gilbert, *James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (New York: Vintage, 1955); S.L. Goldberg, *The Classical Temper: A Study of James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1963); or Jackson I. Cope, "Sirens," in *James Joyce's "Ulysses": Critical Essays*, ed. Clive Hart and David Hayman (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1974), pp. 217-42.

³ A. Walton Litz, *The Art of James Joyce: Method and Design in "Ulysses" and "Finnegans Wake"* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1962), p. 34.

⁴ Cope, "Sirens," p. 241.

⁵ Herbert Gorman, *James Joyce: A Definitive Biography* (London: John Lane, 1941; rpt. 1949), p. 225.

⁶ Michael Groden, *"Ulysses" in Progress* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1977).

⁷ Charles H. Peake, *James Joyce: The Citizen and the Artist* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), pp. 249-63.

⁸ Supplementary, exclusively internal evidence from the standpoint of narrative theory is provided in my article, "Narrative and its Development in *Ulysses*," forthcoming in the *Journal of Narrative Technique*. Since the subtleties of this development require ample illustration, it has seemed impracticable to me to integrate this further aspect into the present essay.

⁹ Claude Jacquet, *"Ulysses" Cinquante ans après: Témoignages franco-anglais sur le chef-d'œuvre de James Joyce*, ed. Louis Bonnerot (Paris: Didier, 1974), pp. 45-82.

¹⁰ The schemata are printed out in Jacquet, pp. 70-79.

¹¹ The exact date of this is not provided by Ellmann. Joyce originally revealed only little bits of information on the chart to Benoist-Méchin and only later gave in to his persistent demands (cf. *JIII* 521).

¹² Cf. Marvin Magalaner, *A James Joyce Miscellany: Second Series* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1959), pp. 48-49. Apparently Gorman got the schema for "what was intended to be a corrected edition of 'James Joyce: His First Forty Years,'" p. 12.

¹³ Gorman, p. 222.

¹⁴ See also Shaw Weaver's letter to Huebsch (*Letters II* 418).

¹⁵ "Une lettre du 7 octobre 1921, à Harriet Shaw Weaver, confirme que le dernier épisode d'*Ulysse* fut conçu tardivement: 'The Ithaca Episode... is in reality the end as *Penelope* has no beginning, middle or end'" (Jacquet, p. 55).

¹⁶ "I am going to leave the last word with Molly Bloom—the final episode *Penelope* being written through her thoughts and body Poldy being then asleep" (*Letters I* 152, 10 December 1920, to Budgen).

¹⁷ Groden, p. 33.

¹⁸ Peake, pp. 147-64.

¹⁹ Groden, p. 176.

²⁰ Litz, p. 34; cf. the extensive quotation at the beginning of this article.

²¹ Litz, p. 47.

²² Richard Ellmann, *Ulysses on the Liffey* (London: Faber & Faber, 1974), appendix.

²³ Cf. my article, "The Dialogic Imagination of Joyce," forthcoming in *Style*, 19.4.

²⁴ Groden, p. 33.

²⁵ Cf. *Letters I* 159-60 (end of February 1921) and *I* 164 (n.d., Spring 1921) for "Ithaca," and for "Penelope" *Letters I* 151-52 (10 December 1920) and *I* 169-70 (16 August 1921).

²⁶ Peake, pp. 164-70.

²⁷ Cf. S.J. Atherton, "Oxen of the Sun," in Hart/Hayman, pp. 313-39; Peake, pp. 250-52, and Gilbert, p. 298, n. 1.

²⁸ My own interpretation of this distancing is very different from Hayman's concept of the Arranger. My argument is based on F.K. Stanzel's narrative theory (A

Theory of Narrative [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1984]). Hayman remains relatively vague about his concept of the Arranger, whom he located "between the narrator and the implied author" (*The Mechanics of Meaning* [Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982], p. 122). My own approach, owing to an extensive linguistic analysis of the narrative and to the availability of a rich fund of applicable terminology, can be more precise. I take exception with Hayman first for his distinction between the narrator and the Arranger, which I believe makes one lose sight of the intricacies of the narrative, and secondly for personalizing the Arranger as a source of control outside as well as inside the text. Since the scope of this article does not allow me to present my own argument in full, I should like to refer the reader again to "Narrative and its Development in *Ulysses*," forthcoming in the *Journal of Narrative Technique*.

²⁹ Groden, pp. 75-76, 94.

³⁰ Groden, p. 197.

³¹ Robert Martin Adams, *Surface and Symbol: The Consistency of James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 112-13, 151.