

EXHIBIT A

PART 2

125. J] to HSW, 11 March 1931, *Letters III*, 303.
 126. For a fuller discussion of the terms and consequences of Joyce's will, see Carol Shloss, "Joyce's Will," *Novel: a forum on fiction* 6:24 (fall 1994). Joyce left no real property to Lucia.
 127. Lidderdale, 449; Maddox, 265.
 128. Bozena Berta Delimata, autobiographical typescript, n.d., RE Papers.
 129. Maddox, 271.
 130. J] to Padraic Colum, 18 July 1931, *Letters III*, 221; Maddox, 272.
 131. G] to J], 18 August 1931, RE Papers.
 132. L] to Zdenka Podhajsky, 22 August 1931, RE Papers.
 133. J] to HSW, 27 September 1931, *Letters I*, 306.
 134. J] to HSW, 7 December 1931, *Letters I*, 308.
 135. J] to HSW, 21 November 1931, *Letters III*, 234.
 136. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
 137. *Ulysses*, by James Joyce, with an introduction by Stuart Gilbert and illustrations by Henri Matisse (New York: The Limited Editions Club, 1935). Fifteen hundred copies.
 138. The composers were E. J. Moeran, Arnold Bax, Albert Roussel, Herbert Hughes, John Ireland, Roger Sessions, Arthur Bliss, Herbert Howells, George Antheil, Eduardo Carducci, Eugene Goossens, C. W. Orr, and Bernard van Dieren.
 139. Steyn, "Retrospective View," 17.
 140. J] to HSW, 17 April 1931, *Letters III*, 217.
 141. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 73.
 142. L] to Zdenka Podhajsky, 1 December 1931, RE Papers.
 143. J] to HSW, 21 November 1931, *Letters III*, 234; J] to HSW, 7 December 1931, *Letters I*, 308.
 144. J] to HSW, 21 November 1931, *Letters III*, 234; J] to HSW, 27 November 1931, *Letters III*, 235.
 145. J] to HSW, 28 January 1932, *Letters I*, 313.
 146. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 72.
9. LASHING OUT: Paris and Feldkirch 1932
1. Ellmann, 648.
 2. Knowlson, 133.
 3. He did write it between January and July 1932.
 4. James Joyce, "Ecce Puer," 15 February 1932. Original manuscript in the possession of Robert N. Kaster.
 5. Mary Colum and Padraic Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), 136.
 6. Helen Kaster Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist by His Daughter-in-Law," unpublished typescript, HRC; Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce*, 136.
 7. James Joyce and Paul Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
 8. George S. Hellman, *The Story of the Seligmans* (New York: 1945), 173.
 9. Peggy Guggenheim, *Out of This Century: Confessions of an Art Addict* (New York: The Dial Press, 1946), 29.
 10. Hazel Guggenheim, quoted in Peggy Guggenheim and Her Friends, ed. Virginia M. Dorch (Milan: Borenic, 1994), 33.

11. *Ibid.*, 34.
12. Jacqueline Weld, *Peggy: The Wayward Guggenheim* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1986), 66.
13. Dorch, ed., *Peggy Guggenheim and Her Friends*, 72.
14. Helen Kaster Joyce, "Notes re mistakes in RE's 1959 J] biography," RE Papers.
15. Joyce and Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce."
16. Stuart Gilbert, Paris diary, 9 July 1932, SG Papers; and Ellmann, 650. Maddox disputes this date, claiming the engagement took place in May, but Lucie Léon, Stuart Gilbert, and Mary Colum's memoirs all place the engagement in March, before the Joyces returned to England. See Maddox, 428, n4.
17. Lucie Léon, interview by Richard Ellmann, 1954, RE Papers.
18. Helen Kaster Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist."
19. Giorgio Joyce, interview by Richard Ellmann, 9 August 1953, RE Papers.
20. Gilbert, Paris diary, 24 May 1932, SG Papers.
21. Lucia Joyce, "My Life," unpublished typescript, HRC.
22. See Gilbert, Paris diary, 9 July 1932, SG Papers: "She stayed with the Cs about ten days. Meanwhile she worried the maid by her curious questions. 'Have you had a lover? Do you think every girl should marry?'"
23. Bozena Berta Delimata, interview by Richard Ellmann, n.d., RE Papers.
24. Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce*, 140.
25. Gilbert, Paris diary, 3 May 1932, SG Papers.
26. Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce*, 137.
27. Stuart Gilbert, *Reflections on James Joyce: Stuart Gilbert's Paris Journal*, ed. Thomas F. Suley and Randolph Lewis (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 46.
28. Gilbert, Paris diary, 6 May 1932, SG Papers.
29. *Ibid.*, 24 May 1932 and 18 June 1932, SG Papers.
30. Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce*, 136-39.
31. *Ibid.*, 140.
32. *Ibid.*, 140-41. "The whole scene was something to throw Lucia off her balance. Every time I think of it I am indignant. Why did my husband have to be so authoritarian?"
33. *Ibid.*, 139.
34. Of this episode, Richard Ellmann writes, "the doctor . . . could do little except to conclude that Lucia was more deranged than anyone had admitted," Ellmann, 651. Yet his source is Mary Colum.
35. *Ibid.*, 140.
36. *Ibid.*, 139.
37. *Ibid.*, 142.
38. *Ibid.*, 141.
39. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Penguin Books, 1961), 132.
40. J] to HSW, 22 September 1934, *Letters I*, 346.
41. See, for example, Martin Green's quotation from *The Birth of Tragedy in Mountain of Truth: The Counter Culture Begins, Arcana, 1900-1920* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986), 102: "The original image of the Dionysian is the bearded satyr; in him existence expresses itself more truly, really, fully than in the man of culture . . . and in the festivals of this satyrlike Dionysiac man, Nature

- mourns her dismembering into individuals. . . . He is no longer artist but artwork. It is clear from photographs of the dancers in Monie Verità that Laban cast himself as that bearded Dionysiac satyr, with the troupe of bacchantes around him." See Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1928) for her discussion of the importance of Nietzsche's philosophy in her development as a dancer. See also Dominique Maroger's description of a Margaret Morris dance performance in 1931: "Margaret Morris danced with delight, near a circle of similarly clad children. Their frolicking . . . achieved the spontaneity of some bacchanal figured on a Grecian vase. Presently a thickset faun himself began to bound, legs and body flexing, soon he darted forth, defiantly taking leave of gravity." "Lucia et la danse," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Herne, 1985), 68. See also the dances of Lucia's own repertoire with *Les Six de rythme et couleur: Faunisque, Les Vignes sauteuses, and Panthère verte*.
42. Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Birth of Tragedy*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1967), 59.
43. *Ibid.*, 97.
44. *Ibid.*, 51.
45. *Ibid.*, 56.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*, 109.
48. *Ibid.*, 110.
49. *Ibid.*, 130, 140, 126, 139.
50. *Ibid.*, 109.
51. *Ibid.*, 124.
52. *P.*, 197.
53. *Ibid.*, 246.
54. *Ibid.*, 139.
55. Green, *Mountain of Truth*, 102.
56. Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, 24.
57. *P.*, 169.
58. Louis A. Sass, *Madness and Modernism: Insanity in the Light of Modern Art, Literature, and Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 40.
59. Maddox, 310.
60. Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*, 34.
61. *Ibid.*, 108.
62. *Ibid.*, 144, 23.
63. See J to HSW, 17 April 1932, BL; Maddox, 287.
64. Eugen Bleuler, *Textbook of Psychiatry*, trans. A. A. Brill (New York: Macmillan, 1924), 277.
65. Eugen Bleuler, "On the Psychogenesis of Mental Disease," in *Textbook of Psychiatry*, 237.
66. "Aufenthalts-Bewilligung für Ausländer Fräulein Lucia Joyce. Wohnhaft im Sanatorium Dr. Brunner. I Reisepass dat. v. 5 Feb. 1932 gültig bis 5 Feb. 1937 für Aufenthalt in der Gemeinde Küsnacht bewilligt bis 31 März 1935." PL Papers.
67. See discussion of Theodor Brunner's sanatorium on pages 276-77.
68. Martha Noel Evans, *Fits and Starts: A Genealogy of Hysteria in Modern France* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 41.

69. J to GJ, 13 August 1935, *Letters III*, 372n; also Maddox, 293.
70. Evans, *Fits and Starts*, 23.
71. Robert Castel, *The Regulation of Madness: The Origin of Incarceration in France*, trans. W. D. Hall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 246. Article 14 of the Law of 1838 Concerning the Insane spelled it out: "Even before the doctors have declared a cure to have been effected, every person placed in an institution for the insane shall likewise cease to be detained therein as soon as his discharge shall have been requested by one of the persons designated hereafter. . . . Nevertheless, if the institution doctor is of the opinion that the mental state of the patient might compromise public order or the safety of persons, notice of this shall be given to the mayor, who may immediately order a temporary postponement of the discharge. . . . With respect to persons whose placement is voluntary and in the case where their mental state might compromise public order and the safety of persons, the prefect may . . . grant a special order, so as to prevent such persons being discharged from the institution without his authorization, unless it is in order to be placed in another institution."
72. *Ibid.*, 208.
73. Ellmann, 664. Hebeptrenia, named after the Greek goddess of youth, Hebe, is a disorder characterized by regressive behavior. Maillard had only one publication to his credit: *Les Merveilles de l'auto suggestion: Conférences d'enseignement faites à l'Institut Caut de Paris* (Paris: Editions Oliven, 1924).
74. J to HSW, 11 November 1932, BL.
75. Henri Codet, *Psychiatrie* (Paris: Librairie Octave Doin, 1926), 50.
76. He is most remembered for his work with hysteria, but even in 1935 it was clear that he diluted Freudian ideas by amalgamating them with French clinical practices and by continuing to ignore etiological questions. In "Le Probleme actuel de l'hysteric" ("The Current Problem of Hysteria"), Codet identified hysteria as the disorder "one dares not name," giving us some understanding of the reason Lucia, despite the theatrical nature of her temper, was never diagnosed as hysterical. It was a tainted category that threatened to damage the reputations of those who dealt with it. In the years between the two world wars, French psychiatrists were faced with military casualties of battle who called into question the supposedly sexual and effeminate domain of the disease. Shell-shocked soldiers exhibiting the same symptoms as unruly women patients shook the theoretical base of the diagnosis, as did the symptoms of the epidemics of influenza and encephalitis lethargica that raged in Europe between 1917 and 1927. If delirium, hallucinations, agitation, and abnormal movements of the body could be characteristic of male responses to trauma or of viral damage to the nervous system, then the neat distinction between genders and between physical and mental diseases previously insisted on by psychiatrists became suspect. Increasingly French neurologists claimed mental illness as long as the scientific credentials of those who practiced psychiatry without a thorough grounding in physiology.
77. Codet, *Psychiatrie*, 3-7.
78. Ellmann, 691.
79. Codet, *Psychiatrie*, 6.
80. *Ibid.*, 9.

81. *Ibid.*, 112.
82. *Ibid.*, 113.
83. J1 to HSW, 6 August 1932, *Letters III*, 254.
84. J1 to SB, 26 September 1932, in Noel Riley Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation: A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties and Thirties* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983).
85. Gilbert, Paris diary, 28 July 1932, SG Papers.
86. Gilbert, Paris diary, 20 July 1932, SG Papers.
87. Codet, *Psychiatrie*, 118.
88. Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
89. L1 to Zdenka Podhaisky, 21 July 1932, RE Papers.
90. L1 to Mathilde Wönecke, 8 August 1932, HSW Papers, BL; my translation from the original French.
91. P, 169.
92. "figures, grimaces, des masques agrandis de personnes étrangères." L1 to Wönecke, 8 August 1932.
93. In the Joyce's time, the type of printing needed could be done only in Paris and in Paris by only two or three firms. See J1 to Frank Vigors Morley at Faber and Faber, 10 November 1932, *Letters III*, 266. This book and *A Chaucer A.B.C.* were printed by Editions Vendôme/Imprimerie Vendôme Lecram-Servant. See PL Papers.
94. In October 1932, when ten copies of the books were shipped to England, the silk castings allowed New Haven customs officials to seize the books and ask for a high luxury tax (£4) on each one. See J1 to SG, 17 October 1932, quoted in Gilbert, *Reflections on James Joyce*, 79.
95. J1 to PL, 12 July 1932, PL Papers.
96. J1 to HSW, 6 August 1932, *Letters III*, 254.
97. J1 to HSW, 25 November 1932, RE Papers.
98. J1 to Robert McAlmon, August 1932?, *Letters III*, 252.
99. J1 to SJ, 22 September 1932, *Letters III*, 260.
100. PL Papers.
101. J1 to Padraic Colum, 2 October 1932, in Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce*, 142.
102. J1 to HSW, 6 August 1932, *Letters III*, 254, n1.
103. Codet, *Psychiatrie*, 118.
104. *Ibid.*, 119.
105. J1 to John Sullivan, 25 August 1932, *Letters III*, 256.
106. J1 to HSW, 18 January 1933, *Letters I*, 332.
107. Louis Gillet, "The Living Joyce," in *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 165.
108. Quoted in J1 to Frank Budgen, 17 June 1932, *Letters I*, 319; my translation.
109. J1 to HSW, 11 November 1932, *Letters III*, 326-27.
110. See Fritz Vanderpyl, *Exposition les jeunes graveurs contemporains: Galerie Marcel Gaiot du 12-29 June 1929* (Paris: La Galerie, 1929).
111. PL to Carolus Verhulst, 17 February 1933, PL Papers, Fritz Vanderpyl's publications included *De Gaiotto à Puvion de Chavannes* (1913), *Mon chant de guerre* (1917),

109. *Voyages* (1920), *Exposition les jeunes graveurs contemporains* (1929), *Peintres de mon époque* (1931), *L'Art sans patrie* (1942).
112. Carolus Verhulst to J1, 28 December 1932, PL Papers.
113. PL to John Holroyd-Reece, 28 December 1932, PL Papers.
114. Gilbert, Paris diary, 5 November 1932, PL Papers.
115. *Paris midi*, n.d.; *Herald Paris Sunday*, 31 July 1932; *Daily Telegraph*, 27 September 1932; *New York Herald*, 19 September 1932, Rondelle.
116. J1 to HSW, 25 November 1932, RE Papers.
117. Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, ed. Clive Hart (Dublin: Millington, 1974), 31; PL to Frank Budgen, 7 May 1933, *Letters III*, 280.
118. PL to B. W. Hubsch, 18 February 1933, PL Papers.
119. PL to Ralph Pinker, 20 March 1933, PL Papers.
120. Ellmann mistakenly reported that the first edition was in 1934.
121. Nino Frank, "The Shadow That Had Lost Its Man," in Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, 90.
122. 8 January 1934, PL Papers.
123. John Holroyd-Reece to J1, 12 July 1934, PL Papers.
124. J1 to John Holroyd-Reece, 4 August 1934, PL Papers.
125. The letterines were not returned until 8 September 1934. See J1 to Frank Budgen, 8 September 1934, *Letters III*, 325.
126. The colophon of *A Chaucer A.B.C.* reads: "Of this, the original edition . . . 300 copies have been printed . . . numbered 1-300." Paperbound in light blue-gray; printed in deep blue; light blue paper over boards folder; silver paper shellback; printed silver paper label on spine; light blue and silver paper over boards slipcase; Year 1936.
127. Ellmann, 663.
128. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 280.
129. *Ibid.*, 290.
130. *Ibid.*
131. Jack Kahane to PL, 13 December 1932, PL Papers.
132. J1 to HSW, 9 June 1936, *Letters III*, 385.
133. The colophon reads: "This book comprises the opening and closing pages of part II, section II of *Work in Progress*. The illuminated capital letter at the beginning is the work of Lucia Joyce, the author's daughter. Edition limited to 176 numbered copies."
134. "Wildering of the night" (*FW* 244.33); Jacques Mercanton, "The Hours of James Joyce," in Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, 214.
135. J1 to HSW, 25 November 1932, *Letters I*, 327.
136. Arthur Power was of the opinion that "if Joyce had listened to Nora instead of Brenda Maddox, 19 January 1984, Maddox concurs: "The ulcer had gone untreated for seven years as Joyce, in other ways so resistant to Freudian theories, had accepted the reassurances of Maria Jolas and Dr. Fontane that his pains were psychosomatic, caused by 'nerves'" (343).
137. J1 to HSW, 18 January 1933, *Letters I*, 232.
138. Gilbert, Paris diary, 5 November 1932, SG Papers.

139. Herbert R. Lottman, "One of the Quiet Ones [Maria Jola], " *New York Times Book Review*, 22 March 1970, 5.
 140. *Ibid.*, 6.
 141. Gilbert, Paris diary, 19 August 1932, SG Papers.
 142. Maria Jolas, interview by Richard Ellmann, 22 July 1953, RE Papers.
 143. JJ to Padraic Colum, 2 November 1932, in Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce*, 144.
 144. *Ibid.*
 145. P, 171-72.
 146. P, 238.
 147. PL to HSW, 23 March 1933, PL Papers.
 148. PL to HSW, 18 January 1933, *Letters III*, 275.
 149. PL to HSW, 23 September 1933, *Letters III*, 287.
 150. PL to HSW, 24 April 1933, *Letters III*, 278.
 151. Joyce took out a lease on 7 rue Edmond Valentin in July 1934 but didn't move into it until February 1935, JJ to CC, 29 July 1934, *Letters III*, 345; and JJ to GJ, 5 February 1935, *Letters III*, 357.
 152. JJ to SJ, 8 December 1933, *Letters III*, 293.
 153. *Ibid.*, 294.
 154. Ellmann, 667.
 155. Financial records, PL Papers.
 156. Dominique Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," in Aubert and Senn, eds., *James Joyce*, 67.
 157. Dominique Maroger, "Derrière rencontre avec Lucia," in Aubert and Senn, eds., *James Joyce*, 77.
 158. A letter from George Borach, who lived in Zurich to Paul Léon, 29 June 1932, had already recommended Dr. Hans W. Maier for Lucia. In the same letter Borach advised Léon that he knew of no sanatorium where the sisters did not wear uniforms. PL Papers.
10. PLAYING WITH FIRE: Zurich and Geneva 1933-35
1. When Ellmann annotated Joyce's letters about the decision to send Lucia to the Burghölzli, he claimed, "Apparently Professor Maier, of Burghölzli, had a private clinic adjacent to the public asylum," *Letters III*, 325n. But this was not correct. As director of the Burghölzli, Maier had spent the years 1929-34 overseeing a major renovation of the clinic buildings. He had increased the number of beds for patients by five hundred and the number of rooms for personnel by two hundred. The kitchen, washhouse, laboratories, and lecture halls had been rebuilt, and the entire interior of the main structure, including gardens and courtyards, had been made "friendly and modern." See Christian Arnold, *Der Psychiater Hans Wolfgang Maier* (Zurich: Juns Druck und Verlag Dietko, 1992), 30; my translation.
 2. Ellmann, 677.
 3. Oscar Forel, Raymond Mallet, Otto Naegeli, C. G. Jung, and Theodor Brunner had all been trained by Bleuler.
 4. Arnold, *Der Psychiater Hans Wolfgang Maier*, 15.
 5. *Ibid.*, 12-13.
 6. Eugen Bleuler, *Dementia Praecox or the Group of Schizophrenias*, trans. J. Zinkin (New York: International Universities Press, 1950), 297.
7. John G. Howells, ed., *The Concept of Schizophrenia: Historical Perspectives* (Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Press, 1991), 77.
 8. Bleuler, *Dementia Praecox*, 288.
 9. *Ibid.*, 272-73.
 10. JJ to HSW, 9 June 1936, *Letters III*, 386.
 11. Bleuler, *Dementia Praecox*, 277.
 12. In Howells, ed., *Concepts of Schizophrenia*, 64.
 13. Bleuler, *Dementia Praecox*, 63.
 14. *Ibid.*, 296.
 15. *Ibid.*
 16. *Ibid.*, 298-302.
 17. *Ibid.*, 327.
 18. *Ibid.*, 331-32.
 19. *Ibid.*, 328-29.
 20. Lucia Joyce, "My Dreams," unpublished manuscript, HRC.
 21. August Forel, *Die Sexuelle Frage* (Zurich: Rascher Verlag, 1942).
 22. Financial records, with dates, PL Papers.
 23. Ellmann, 665.
 24. *Ibid.*, 679.
 25. Financial records, PL Papers.
 26. PL to HSW, 2 October 1934, RE Papers.
 27. By 1932, 717 men and women had taken the qualifying examination. With a retention rate of 80 percent they could claim that by then almost one quarter of the employees were holders of a diploma. Les Rives de Prangins fared particularly well, perhaps because Dr. Forel trained his own personnel on the premises. Prangins was eighth out of twenty-nine Swiss establishments in number of professional staff. It had hired between thirty and thirty-nine staff members from this pool of workers and could point with satisfaction to the fact that sixty-seven percent of its staff had professional training.
 28. Oscar Forel and Walter Morgenthaler, *Die Pflege der Gemüts- und Geisteskranken* (Bern: Hans Huber, 1926), 201.
 29. *Ibid.*, 203.
 30. *Ibid.*
 31. Ellmann, 691.
 32. Forel and Morgenthaler, *Pflege*, 242.
 33. PL to HSW, 23 September 1933, *Letters III*, 287.
 34. Maddox, 300.
 35. Ellmann, 679.
 36. *Ibid.* One of Lucia's contemporaries, Emily Coleman, wrote a memoir, *The Shutter of Snow* (New York: Virago Press, 1981), about her stay in an American asylum in the mid-1920s. Like Lucia, her first and most powerful impulse was to escape: "She tore from her tender skin the rough nightgown. She jumped out from the bed into the warm and heavy hall. She stampered the big door that led outside. I will go out of here, why am I here? She pounded with her fists on the door. It has come, the hour has come. We are to be free. A voice shouted break it down, break it down. All the beds in the back began to shout. Godwin rushed to hold her wrists to twist them. She shook her off like autumn leaves. Godwin rattled and fell away. She struck Godwin in the face and looked savagely about for more resistance. The door

- broke from the other side and she was surrounded. They twisted both her wrists and she was calm. It was the first pain she had had. She had thought pain, was gone with the rest. My husband, she cried to Miss Sheehan, why can't I see him? She was being wound up like a French doll. She could not move. If she moved a finger two of them began to twist her wrists. The others wound the strips of cloth together. Miss Sheehan, how can you betray me like this? When it was done they carried her like a stone Pharaoh to her bed. She was put into bed with the blankets and over that the canvas sheet was pulled. It was very strong and thick with a hole for the head. But I can't sleep on my back" (7).
37. "Aus dem Bericht der Anstalt Les Rives de Prangins," RE Papers.
38. PL to HSW, 11 March 1934, PL Papers.
39. *Ibid.*
40. JJ to LJ, 15 June 1934, *Letters I*, 342.
41. JJ to CG-W, 2 September 1934, *Letters III*, 323.
42. JJ to CG-W, 2 September 1934, *Letters III*, 323; see also JJ to GJ, 9 September 1934, RE Papers.
43. "Aus dem Bericht der Anstalt Les Rives de Prangins," RE Papers.
44. James Joyce and Paul Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
45. "Beobachtungen im Burghölzli vom 28 bis 29 September 1934," RE Papers.
46. Otto Naegeli, *Unfallneurosen* (Leipzig: Verlag von Georg Thieme, 1923), 57.
47. Financial records, PL Papers.
48. JJ to GJ, 9 September 1934, RE Papers.
49. Cary F. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia Joyce in Zurich, 1934," 12 November 1934, RE Papers.
50. *Ibid.*
51. See Kathleen Ferris, *James Joyce and the Burden of Disease* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995).
52. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 9 November 1934.
53. "As a matter of fact she has had blood taken from her of course in the tests that Naegeli made," Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 12 November 1934.
54. In a letter to Harriet Weaver on 21 October 1934, Joyce mentioned that Dr. Brunner did not show Dr. Naegeli's opinion of the case to Lucia "as it would upset her." In another letter to Giorgio and Helen on 15 January 1935, he told them not to worry about the blood anomaly: "Dr. Naegeli says it will recede of itself. It is most unusual but neither dangerous nor symptomatic." *Letters I*, 350, 357.
55. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 15 December 1934.
56. John Kerr, *A Most Dangerous Method: The Story of Jung, Freud and Sabina Spieltein* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 34.
57. H. Girsberger, *Who's Who in Switzerland* (Zurich: Central European Times Publishing, 1952), 72.
58. Ellmann, 676. Maria Jolas seems to have been the family friend who first suggested Jung as a doctor for Lucia. One can well understand her hope for such a therapeutic intervention, for her husband, Eugene, had not only translated some of Jung's work into English but published "Psychology and Poetry" in the June 1930 issue of *transition: an international quarterly for creative experiment*. Jolas was in the vanguard of those interested in the newest ways of understanding modern culture. He was like Hans Prinzhorn, whose book about the configurations of art and the irra-

- tional, *Das Bildneri der Geisteskranken* (*The Artistry of the Mentally Ill*), had been published in 1922. Jolas was interested in the similarities that could be noted among the works of children, primitive peoples, mentally ill people, and the great artists of Europe. The 1920s were characterized by such books; see also Ewald Vol-
Psychanalyse, both published in 1928. But where Prinzhorn's book excited great interest among the surrealists (Sophie Tauber wrote to Hans Arp in 1922 telling him he must find it immediately), we can imagine no such enthusiasm on Joyce's part with regard to Jung's view of the arts.
59. William Walcott, "Carl Jung and James Joyce: A Narrative of Three Encounters," *Psychological Perspectives* 1:1 (spring 1970): 22-23.
60. *Neue Schweizer Rundschau* 1, 1928.
61. C. G. Jung, "Ulysses: A Monologue," in *The Spirit in Man, Art and Literature* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), 112-14.
62. *Ibid.*, 112n, 115, 117.
63. CG-W to C. G. Jung, October 1934, Zurich James Joyce Foundation.
64. Jung, "Ulysses: A Monologue," 113-14.
65. *Ibid.*
66. *Ibid.*
67. Ellmann, 676.
68. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 20 November 1934.
69. William McGuire and R. F. C. Hull, eds., *C. G. Jung Speaking: Interviews and Encounters* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), 78.
70. *Ibid.*
71. See Maggie Anthony, *The Valkyries: The Women around Jung* (Longmead, England: Element Books, 1990), 2.
72. Quoted in Patricia Hutchins, *James Joyce's World* (London: Methuen, 1957), 184-85.
73. These notes were sent to Richard Ellmann by Ximena de Angulo Roelli, the daughter of Cary F. Baynes, on 27 July 1981, with a small personal note about her mother and the comment, "I had thought that she had written up these notes on her contacts with Lucia for Jung's benefit, but on reading through it seems obvious Ellmann obviously could not have used this material in his 1959 biography of Joyce, but he does allude to it in his notes to the 1982 revision.
74. Strong and Mann are both mentioned in Baynes's "Notes on Lucia."
75. This hostility continued even in Zurich. See Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 19 November 1934. Joyce reported to Baynes that Lucia had "behaved abominably to her mother, made fun of everything she said, sneered at her."
76. Cary F. Baynes, "Introduction" to *Contributions to Analytical Psychology*, trans. H. G. Baynes and Cary F. Baynes (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928), xiv.
77. Ximena de Angulo Roelli to RE, 27 July 1981, RE Papers.
78. Baynes, "Introduction" to *Contributions to Analytical Psychology*, xv.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*, xvi.
81. Baynes's notes begin on 29 October 1934; they allude to having seen Lucia "a month or five weeks ago." They end on 15 December 1934—a period of approximately three and a half months.

82. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 29 October 1934.
83. *Ibid.*
84. The six characteristics that follow constitute Bleuler's list of the forms of resistance characteristic of schizophrenia found in Jung's essay, "Bleuler's Theory of Schizophrenic Negativism," in *The Psychogenesis of Mental Disease*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (1911; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972).
85. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 8 November 1934.
86. *Ibid.*, 29 October 1934.
87. Five years after her work with Lucia, Baynes's husband, H. G. Baynes, published *Mythology of the Soul: A Research into the Unconscious from Schizophrenic Dreams and Drawings* (London: Rider, 1939). It is possible that Cary Baynes's notes about Lucia in some way contributed to this inquiry into the role of creativity in recovery from schizophrenia.
88. Joyce and Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce."
89. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 15 December 1934.
90. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 20 November 1934.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Joyce and Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce."
93. Jf to HSW, 21 December 1934, BL.
94. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 15 December 1934.
95. *Ibid.*
96. Jung, "Ulysses: A Monologue," 122, 114, 116.
97. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 20 November 1934.
98. *Ibid.*
99. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 30 October 1934.
100. In McGuire, *Jung Speaking*, 50.
101. *Ibid.*, 51.
102. "The decisive part of the work is achieved by creating in the patient's relation to the doctor in the 'transference'—new editions of the old conflicts; in these the patient would like to behave in the same way as he did in the past. . . . In place of the patient's true illness there appears the artificially constructed transference illness, in place of the various unreal objects of his libido there appears a single, and once more imaginary, object in the person of the doctor." Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 455.
103. C. G. Jung, "Psychology of the Transference," in *The Practice of Psychotherapy: Essays on the Psychology of the Transference and Other Subjects*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954), 172.
104. C. G. Jung, "Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction between the Sexes" in *The Practice of Psychotherapy*, 673. See also Robert M. Polhemus, "The Lot Complex: Rereading the End of *Finnegans Wake* and Rewriting Incest," in *Rereading Text/Rethinking Critical Presuppositions*, ed. Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, Leona Toket, and Shuli Barzilai (New York: Peter Lang, 1996).
105. Jf to GJ, 29 October 1934, *Letters III*, 326–27.
106. Jf to HSW, 17 December 1934, *Letters I*, 353.
107. Jf to HSW, 21 October 1934, *Letters I*, 349.
108. Lj to Jf, October 1934, RE Papers. Original in Italian, translated at Jung's request.
109. Peter Jung (grandson), conversation with the author, Zurich, March 1992.

110. Jung, "Schizophrenia," in *The Psychogenesis of Mental Disease*, 260.
 111. *Ibid.*
 112. Jung, "Psychology of the Transference," 198.
 113. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 20 November 1934.
 114. Jung, "Psychology of the Transference," 198.
 115. Jung, "Appendix," in *The Practice of Psychotherapy*, 328.
 116. HSW to PL, 20 December 1934, PL Papers.
 117. Jf to GJ, 5 February 1935, *Letters I*, 356–57.
 118. Jung, "Anima and Animus" in *Alchemical Studies*, translated by R. F. C. Hull (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961), 85, 84.
 119. Jung, "The Shadow and the Syzygy," in *Alchemical Studies*, 168.
 120. "No one can get around the fact that by taking up a masculine profession, studying, and working like a man, woman is doing something not wholly in accord with, if not directly injurious to her feminine nature." Also, "It is a woman's outstanding characteristic that she can do anything for the love of a man. But these women who achieve something important for the love of doing a thing are exceptional because this really does not agree with their nature. Love for a thing is a man's prerogative." C. G. Jung, "Women in Europe," in *The Collected Works of C. G. Jung*, ed. Herbert Gerhard, Michael Fordham, and Read Adler (Princeton, N.J.: Bollingen Series XX, 1953–83), vol. 10. See also Anthony, *Valhryns*.
 121. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 20 November 1934.
 122. Ellmann, 677.
 123. Lj to Jf, October 1934, RE Papers.
 124. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 12 November 1934.
11. LOCKING UP DANCERS: London 1935
1. Jf to GJ and HKJ, 28 December 1934, *Letters I*, 354.
 2. Peter F. Ostwald, *Karl Jung: A Leap into Madness* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1991).
 3. HSW to PL, 11 November 1934, PL Papers.
 4. Romola Nijinsky, *Nijinsky* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1934), 428–30.
 5. *Ibid.*, 432.
 6. HSW to PL, 6 and 11 November 1934, PL Papers. Lucia's supposed clairvoyance has been a subject of considerable interest. Joyce and Nora's biographers use Joyce's faith in Lucia's extraordinary powers as an example of his misplaced credulity. Al-York: Hyperion Books, 1992), uses Lucia's ability to "see" in an extraordinary way as a founding metaphor for her life. The truth is that clairvoyance was a subject of general interest to those in Jungian circles in Zurich in these years. Jung was, at the time, giving a series of seven lectures on clairvoyance at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule in Zurich. Focused on Justus's famous *Clairvoyance of Prevorst*, the lectures were accompanied by numerous diagrams about the psychological nature of clairvoyance. If Lucia and the Joyces became interested in or influenced by clairvoyance, they were likely responding to what was in the forefront of many Jungian imaginations between 1933 and 1941. See Barbara Hannah, *Jung: His Life and Work* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1976).
 7. Jf to HSW, 9 June 1936, *Letters III*, 385.

5 0 8

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8. Jung, "Schizophrenia," in *The Psychogenesis of Mental Disease*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (1911; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972), 265.
9. Gary F. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia Joyce in Zurich, 1934," 20 November 1934, RE Papers.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Jung, "Schizophrenia," 267.
12. Maddox, 283.
13. Jung, "Schizophrenia," 256.
14. Joyce located this nurse "through Giorgio's aviator friend," Walter Ackermann. JJ to PL, 15 January 1935, PL Papers.
15. JJ to PL, 16 January 1935, PL Papers.
16. Lidderdale, 338.
17. The only independent evidence we have of syphilis as a real possibility is a cryptic letter dated 7 October 1937, in the Ponisovsky section of the PL Papers in Dublin. Here we learn that Ponisovsky was worried about an illness that he forbade his friends to talk about lest his father find out: "Dear Paul . . . I think Alec must have forbidden him to tell any of us anything. . . . He had been and was very angry, especially he doesn't want his father to know anything about his illness. Please make quite sure from Macgregory (?) whether there are any new developments, whether he is conferring with Fuller and whether Valmont is the best. . . . Don't fail to let me know. Please. Urgent. H."
18. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 20 November 1934.
19. JJ to PL, 16 January 1935, PL Papers.
20. "Sie sei überhaupt von Männern schlechtbehandelt worden," James Joyce and Paul Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
21. This is contrary to the accounts given by Ellmann and Maddox, which tell the story of a marriage seemingly arranged, in the French manner, by adults to a man whom Lucia barely knew. See Ellmann, 649-50; and Maddox, 284.
22. "Als er 1932 wieder auftauchte, machte er ihr einen Heiratsantrag, worauf sie zum ersten Mal psychotisch wurde." Joyce and Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce."
23. This was most probably Mathilde Wörnecke, the nurse who had accompanied her to Feldkirch, when the two young women stayed with Maria Jolas. Lucia's relationship with Sylvia Beach's assistant Myrsine Moschos also had sexual overtones, and we know that the two young women slept together at the Joyces' apartment when Moschos took over as Lucia's companion. See JJ to HSW, 18 January 1933, RE Papers.
24. On 31 January, Eileen Schaurck arrived in Paris, not in Zurich, as Ellmann states. Paul Léon was asked to meet her at Amiens Station. Joyce, Nora, and Lucia arrived back in Paris on 1 February 1935. Telegrams, PL Papers.
25. HSW to PL, 5 October 1934, PL Papers.
26. HSW to PL, 20 December 1934, PL Papers.
27. PL to HSW, 6 February 1935, PL Papers.
28. *Ibid.*
29. "Harriet certainly lacked the experience to distinguish between merriment and alcoholism, and probably thought the party drunker than it really was." "Bryher . . . has confirmed that everyone was dismayed by Josephine's stiff and utter dis-

NOTES

5 0 9

- approval of the misdirected joke." Ezra Pound, c. 1924, quoted in Lidderdale, 247.
30. Lidderdale, 39-44.
31. *Ibid.*, 340.
32. JJ to GJ and HKJ, 19 February 1935, *Letters III*, 340, 344. See also HSW to PL, 25 February 1935: "Mr. Joyce's sister also wrote daily till she left London. Mr. Joyce asked her not to telephone directly to his own flat but to Léon's at 8 p.m. but this is a difficult time as Lucia would be in the room." *The James Joyce-Paul Léon Papers* (NLI, 1992), description of letter which is itself missing, 51.
33. HSW to JJ, 19 and 22 February 1935, RE Papers.
34. See Ellmann, 681. Lidderdale (487-88) took her account of this visit from Ellmann. Maddox took her story from Lidderdale: "Many of the details of Lucia's visit to London and Ireland come from this biography of HSW" (430). The opening of the Paul Léon Papers in Dublin lets us clarify this recirculation of misinformation to some extent.
35. HSW to JJ, 17 February 1935, Richard Ellmann's notes and summaries of letters, RE Papers.
36. Harriet Weaver enclosed Dr. Joly's report. It has been taken out of the PL Papers, as were most of Miss Weaver's daily letters to Joyce and all Lucia's own letters to her father.
37. HSW to JJ, 18 March 1935, Richard Ellmann's notes and summaries of letters, RE Papers.
38. This and the following details are assembled from letters 27 February to 2 March 1935, PL Papers.
39. HSW to JJ, 27 February 1935 (11:37 a.m.), PL Papers. HSW to PL, telegram 28 February 1935, PL Papers.
40. Ellmann, 681.
41. Lidderdale, 341.
42. Maddox, 305.
43. HSW to JJ, 4 March 1935, PL Papers.
44. HSW to JJ, 27 February 1935, PL Papers.
45. HSW to JJ, 4 March 1935, PL Papers.
46. Ellmann, 681.
47. HSW to JJ, 2 March 1935, PL Papers.
48. HSW to JJ, 7 March 1935, PL Papers.
49. LJ to HSW, 13 March 1935, UCL.
50. HSW to PL, 9 March 1935, PL Papers.
51. Bozena Beta Delinara, interview by Richard Ellmann, 27 June 1953, RE Papers.
52. HSW to JJ, 15 April 1935, PL Papers.
53. HSW to JJ, 4 March 1935, PL Papers.
54. For an excellent discussion of this subject, noticing the dates of the deletions and speculating about the subjects discussed in them, see Mary Reynolds, "Joyce and Miss Weaver," *JÖ* 10.4 (1982): 373-403.
55. JJ to HSW, 7 April 1935, HSW Papers.
56. Kay Redfield Jamison, *An Unquiet Mind: A Memoir of Moods and Madness* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 19.

57. During this time Joyce sent Lucia a copy of Dante's *Vita Nuova*. Ellmann, 681.
58. JI to HSW, 7 April 1935, *Letters I*, 361.
59. HSW to JI, 15 April 1935, PL Papers.
60. JI to HSW, 7 April 1935, *Letters I*, 361.
61. PL to HSW, 28 March 1935, in Lidderdale, 343.
62. JI to MH, 28 June 1935, *Letters I*, 373.
63. JI to MH, 15 June 1935, *Letters III*, 362.
64. JI to HSW, 1 May 1935, *Letters I*, 366.
65. Carola Gieddon-Welcker, "Meetings with Joyce," in *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Rotts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 254-55.
66. PL to HSW, 19 July 1935, PL Papers.
67. James Joyce, "Ibsen's New Drama," in *CW*, 41.
68. *Ibid.*, 42.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Franz Wedekind, *Spring Awakening*, trans. Edward Bond (London: Eyre Methuen, 1980), 24.
71. Henrik Ibsen, *The Wild Duck*, in *Three Plays* (New York: The Heritage Press, 1965), 152.
72. Gerhart Hauptmann, *Hannele's Ascension*, in *Three Plays*, trans. Horst Frenz and Miles Waggoner (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 1977), 138-39.
73. Joyce, "Ibsen's New Drama," 371.
74. JI to Henrik Ibsen, March 1901, *Letters I*, 52.
75. PL to HSW, 19 July 1935, PL Papers.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*
78. Ibsen's *When We Dead Awaken*, quoted in Joyce, "Ibsen's New Drama," 54.
79. Henrik Ibsen, *When We Dead Awaken*, in *The Osgood Ibsen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 8, 257.
80. Joyce, "Ibsen's New Drama," 66.
81. *Ibid.*, 65.
82. *P*, 169.
83. Joyce, "Ibsen's New Drama," 65.
84. *Ibid.*, 54.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*, 57.
87. Ibsen, *When We Dead Awaken*, 8: 279.
88. *Ibid.*, 8: 280.
89. JI to HSW, 1 May 1935, *Letters I*, 365.
90. Ibsen, *When We Dead Awaken*, 8: 279.
91. HSW to PL, 5 April 1935, PL Papers.
92. Maria Jolas, quoted in Ellmann, 684.
93. PL to HSW, 19 July 1935, PL Papers.
94. Ibsen, *When We Dead Awaken*, 8: 297.
95. PL to HSW, 11 April 1935, PL Papers.
96. JI to HSW, 1 May 1925, *Letters I*, 366.

12. ACTING ON HER FATHER'S BEHALF: Dublin and Bray 1935
 1. Eileen Schaurck to JI, 20 March 1935, PL Papers.
 2. *L*, 1, 181-82.
 3. William Fitzpatrick, *Memories of Father Healy of Little Bray* (London: Macmillan, 1899), 28, 63-64.
 4. Bozena Berta Delimata, autobiographical typescript, n.d., RE Papers.
 5. *Ibid.*
 6. Lucia Joyce, quoted in JI to GJ, 10 April 1935, *Letters III*, 353.
 7. Arthur Flynn, *History of Bray* (Dublin: The Mercier Press, 1986), 74.
 8. JI to CC, 15 May 1935, *Letters I*, 369.
 9. Niall Rudd, *Pale Green, Light Orange: A Portrait of Bourgeois Ireland, 1930-1950* (Dublin: The Lilliput Press, 1994), 2.
 10. *Ibid.*, 28, 36.
 11. *Ibid.*
 12. Delimata, autobiographical typescript.
 13. James Joyce, "Ibsen's New Drama," in *CW*, 66.
 14. Rudd, *Pale Green, Light Orange*, 42.
 15. *Ibid.*, 50-57.
 16. Bozena Berta Delimata, interview by Richard Ellmann, 27 June 1953, RE Papers.
 17. Patrick Collins, quoted in Maddox, 310.
 18. SG Papers.
 19. JI to LJ, 15 May 1935, *Letters I*, 369.
 20. JI to LJ, 27 April 1935, *Letters I*, 364.
 21. JI to LJ, 7 April 1935, *Letters III*, 353.
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. PL to HSW, 11 April 1935, PL Papers.
 24. CC to PL, 7 May 1935, PL Papers.
 25. "The Joyces," *New Yorker* (12 January 1935): 12-13.
 26. Susanna Kaysen, *Girl, Interrupted* (New York: Random House, 1994), 153.
 27. It was Stuart Gilbert's opinion, however, that Helen Fleischman got Lucia to end her engagement. Stuart Gilbert, Paris diary, 18 June 1932, SG Papers.
 28. Giorgio's opinion can be inferred from Joyce's repeated reminders to his son to remember that "severe seclusion" was a "calamitous failure." See JI to GJ, 16 July 1935, *Letters III*, 370; see also JI to GJ, 14 August 1935, *Letters III*, 372.
 29. JI to GJ, 17 June 1935, *Letters I*, 371.
 30. JI to LJ, 27 April 1935, *Letters I*, 362.
 31. Leo Tolstoy, "How Much Land Does a Man Need?" *Russian Stories and Legends* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), 48.
 32. *Ibid.*
 33. *Ibid.*, 66.
 34. Leo Tolstoy, "Masters and Servants," in *Russian Stories and Legends*, 192.
 35. *Ibid.*, 221.
 36. PL to HSW, 19 July 1935, PL Papers.
 37. Delimata interview.
 38. *Ibid.*
 39. JI to GJ, n.d. (July 1935), *Letters I*, 375.

40. JI to LJ, 15 May 1935, *Letters I*, 369.
41. JI to LJ, 15 May 1935, *Letters III*, 356.
42. Delimata interview.
43. Joyce also suffered from the unanticipated effects of Veronal, which Léon's doctor "attributed chiefly to my abuse of somniferents. (I had even gone so far as to take 6 of these before going to bed to insure sleep). Then when going to Rouen I all of a sudden cut them out all together, which he said was a good intention with a bad effect, for the change around was altogether too sudden total abolition to which the system had become accustomed for nearly 12 months." See Ellmann's transcription of JI to HSW, 18 January 1933, RE Papers.
44. K. M. Julien, "Sedative-Hypnotic Compounds: Drugs That Depress the Central Nervous System," in *A Primer of Drug Action* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1975), 41.
45. *Ibid.*, 39.
46. *Ibid.*, 40.
47. *Ibid.*, 48.
48. JI to CC, 10 August 1935, *Letters I*, 378.
49. Delimata interview.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*
52. Delimata, autobiographical typescript.
53. Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1928), 215.
54. Delimata, autobiographical typescript.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Bozena Berra Delimata, "Reminiscences of a Joyce Niece," ed. Virginia Moseley, *JIO* 19:1 (fall 1982): 55.
57. Delimata file, RE Papers.
58. *Ibid.*
59. JI to LJ, n.d. (May 1935), *Letters I*, 367.
60. Raymond Duncan, *Exangels: New-Paris-York* (Paris: Akademia Raymond Duncan, February 1932).
61. JI to MH, 215 June 1935, *Letters III*, 362.
62. JI to MH, 28 June 1935, *Letters I*, 373.
63. P, 252.
64. JI to LJ, 22 May 1935, *Letters I*, 368.
65. JI to LJ, n.d. (August 1935), *Letters I*, 377.
66. Lucia Joyce, "Charlie et les gosses," *Le Disque vert* 3: 4-5 (1924): 677.
67. JI to GJ, 10 July 1935, *Letters III*, 368.
68. P, 203.
69. Quoted in Maddox, 311.
70. JI to GJ, n.d. (July 1935), *Letters I*, 275.
71. Delimata interview.
72. JI to GJ, 16 July 1935, *Letters III*, 369.
73. Ellmann, 535.
74. Virginia Woolf, *Mrs. Dalloway* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1925), 99-100.
75. JI to GJ, 16 July 1935, *Letters III*, 369.

76. JI to GJ, 13 August 1935, *Letters III*, 372.
 77. PL to CC, 17 July 1935, PL Papers.
 78. H. R. C. Rutherford, "Certificate about LJ's health," 19 May 1936, PL Papers.
 79. H. R. C. Rutherford to CC, 13 May 1936, PL Papers.
 80. PL to HSW, 19 July 1935, PL Papers.
 81. "Latin me that, my trinity scholand" (FW 404.06).
 82. JI to GJ, 16 July 1935, *Letters III*, 370.
 83. PL to HSW, 19 July 1935, PL Papers.
 84. U, 10.875-77.
13. FALLING APART: England and Paris 1935-38
1. HSW to PL, 17 July 1935, PL Papers; and HSW to JI, 2 September 1935, RE typescript of original letter, RE Papers.
 2. JI to LJ, n.d. (August 1935), *Letters I*, 377.
 3. PL to HSW, 19 July 1935, PL Papers.
 4. JI to LJ, n.d. (July or August 1935), PL Papers.
 5. JI to CC, 31 July 1935, *Letters I*, 377-78.
 6. JI to CC, 10 August 1935, *Letters I*, 378.
 7. Naum Efmowitsch Ischlonsky, *Physiologische Grundlagen [Neuropsychie und Hirnrinde] der Tiefen-Psychologie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psychoanalyse: Ein Handbuch* (1930). Ischlonsky's other books include *Artificial Reproduction [sic] and Voluntary Change of Sex according to Prof. Steinach* (1926); *Der bedingte Reflex und seine Bedeutung in der Biologie, Medizin, Psychologie und Pädagogik: Ein Handbuch der experimentellen Reflexologie* (1930); *Stetion interne et régénératrice* (1933); *Protogonothery in Treatment and Prevention: Fifteen Years of Research* (London: Henry Kimpton, 1937); and *Brain and Behavior: Induction as a Fundamental Mechanism of Neuropsychic Activity: An Experimental and Clinical Study* (1949).
 8. See Ischlonsky, *Protogonothery*.
 9. Charles Edouard Brown-Sequard (1817-94) was elected to the Royal Society of London in 1860 and to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1867. In 1878 he became professor of medicine at the Collège de France, a position that followed many other appointments in both England and the United States. In 1881 Cambridge gave him an honorary L.L.D., and he later received the Baly Medal of the Royal College of Physicians of London. See Victor Cornelius Medvei, *A History of Endocrinology* (Lancaster: MTP Press, 1982), 291.
 10. *Ibid.*, 289.
 11. Merrill Borell, quoted in Medvei, *History of Endocrinology*, 290.
 12. A term coined by the English physiologist Edward Sharpey-Schafer, the endocrinologist who helped to discover the properties of adrenaline and insulin.
 13. Medvei, *History of Endocrinology*, 303.
 14. Joyce owned these books. They can be found in the PL Papers.
 15. Medvei, *History of Endocrinology*, 391.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. *Ibid.*, 418-19.
 18. William Sargant and Elliot Slater, *An Introduction to Physical Methods of Treatment in Psychiatry* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1944), 3.

19. *Ibid.*, 1.
20. J to L.J. n.d. (July 1935), *Letters I*, 377.
21. Ischlonsky, *Protophormotherapy*, 75.
22. *Ibid.*, 78.
23. HSW to PL, 8 March 1935, PL Papers.
24. J to L.J., 15 September 1935, *Letters I*, 382.
25. Lidderdale, 351.
26. *Ibid.*.
27. J to L.J., 14 September 1935, *Letters I*, 382.
28. HSW to PL, 29 October 1935, PL Papers.
29. HSW to J, 5 December 1935, PL Papers.
30. Lidderdale, 353.
31. HSW to J, 16 October 1935, PL Papers.
32. J to L.J., 17 October 1935, *Letters III*, 377.
33. Lidderdale, 354.
34. Tina Bennett, communication to author, October 2000.
35. J to HSW, 11 October 1935, *Letters I*, 385.
36. Hermione Lee, *Virginia Woolf* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 195.
37. J to HSW, 7 April 1935, *Letters I*, 362.
38. HSW to PL, 29 January 1936, PL Papers.
39. J to L.J., 9 December 1935, quoted in Lidderdale, 355.
40. PL to HSW, 5 February 1936, PL Papers.
41. HSW to PL, 29 January 1936, PL Papers.
42. W. G. Macdonald to HSW, 7 February 1936, RE Papers.
43. Maria Jolas, interview by Richard Ellmann, 22 July 1953, RE Papers.
44. J to L.J., 23 October 1935, *Letters III*, 378.
45. Jolas interview.
46. HSW to PL, 22 March 1936, in *The James Joyce-Paul Leon Papers in the National Library of Ireland: A Catalogue*, comp. Catherine Fahy (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 1992), 61.
47. J to HSW, 9 June 1936, RE Papers.
48. Lucia Joyce file, RE Papers.
49. PL to HSW, 8 May 1936, RE Papers.
50. PL to HSW, 22 May 1936, RE Papers.
51. Cyclothymia was a term coined by Dr. Karl Kahlbauer (1828-99), who taught at the University of Königsberg and later worked at a private asylum in Görlitz, in East Prussia. He was following the medical model suggested by the new understanding of syphilis and tuberculosis as diseases caused by infection. Emil Kraepelin, the great classifier of psychiatry, knew of Kahlbauer's work and incorporated some of it into his nosology. See Peter Oswald, *Vaskar Nijinsky: A Leap into Madness* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1991), 206.
52. J to HSW, 9 June 1936, RE Papers.
53. PL to HSW, 22 August 1936, RE Papers.
54. Eileen Schaurck, notes in Eileen Schaurck file, RE Papers.
55. PL to HSW, 8 May 1936, RE Papers.
56. PL Papers.
57. J to CG-W, 15 October 1937, RE Papers.

58. Helen Kastor Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist by His Daughter-in-Law," unpublished typescript, HRC.
59. *J*, 3:13-15.
60. George Belmont, interview by Brenda Maddox, 22 October 1984, in Maddox, 32.
61. Knowlson, 544, 429-33.
62. J to Adolph Kastor, 30 August 1937, *Letters III*, 405.
63. J to Wilhelm Herz, 30 August 1937, *Letters III*, 406.
64. Peter F. Oswald, *Vaskar Nijinsky*, 202.
65. *Ibid.*, 296.
66. *Ibid.*, 309.
67. Dr. Hans W. Maier, "Evaluation of Helen Fleischman Joyce," Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
68. Adolph Kastor to HKJ, 7 April 1939, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
69. Hans W. Maier, "L'Estate physique; l'Estate psychique; Prognostique," Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
70. It is important to keep this actual medical judgment in mind when reading Joyce's 1940 letters that state that Helen was interned with a "provisional certificate of lunacy" and that "the damage done cannot be remedied." See J to CG, 11 February 1940, *Letters III*, 465; and J to Mrs. Victor Sax, 23 April 1940, *Letters III*, 477. Maier's diagnosis lets us see the subjective, amateur psychologizing that was later taken as fact. It is also important that Helen had not been considered too sick to help Joyce correct page proofs of *Finnegans Wake* in 1938 and 1939, too sick to accompany Giorgio in quest of new singing venues, or too sick for Joyce and Nora to consider accepting her offer of asylum in the farmhouse in Beynes when invading Nazi troops made Paris unsafe in the spring of 1940. See J to PL, 24 September 1939, PL Papers.
71. Maria Jolas interview.
72. RE to MJ, 16 December 1954, RE Papers.
73. Peggy Guggenheim, *Out of This Century: Confessions of an Art Addict* (New York: The Dial Press, 1946), 196.
74. *Ibid.*, 242.
75. Jacqueline Weld, *Peggy: The Wayward Guggenheim* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1986), 191.
76. J to HKJ, 6 April 1938, *Letters III*, 419.
77. Nino Frank, interview by Richard Ellmann, 20 August 1953, RE Papers.
78. Dr. Thérèse Berrand-Fontaines, interview by Richard Ellmann, n.d., RE Papers.
79. Helen Kastor Joyce, "Anniversary, February 2, 1939," unpublished typescript, RE Papers.
80. Guggenheim, *Out of This Century*, 240.
81. Helen Kastor Joyce files in the Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
82. In the first edition of *Out of This Century*, Guggenheim changed Beckett's name to Oblomov, Giorgio's name to Anthony, and referred to Helen in this section simply as Anthony's wife. In other parts of the book, Helen is referred to by her real name.
83. *Ibid.*, 240.
84. *Ibid.*
85. J to Jacques Mercanton, 9 January 1940, *SL*, 402.
86. Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.

87. Ellmann, 728.
88. Guggenheim, *Out of This Century*, 240.
89. *Ibid.*, 243.
14. **FACING DANGER: Occupied France 1939-45**
1. J to PL, 19 February 1938, PL Papers.
 2. J to Daniel Brody, 5 October 1938, *Letters III*, 432.
 3. C. G. Jung, 1935, in Ellmann, 691.
 4. By February 1940 Joyce thought that the ending of the *Wake* not only characterized Lucia but prophesied Helen Joyce's nervous breakdown. He remembered that Helen had read the closing passage to the guests assembled at his 2 February birthday party in 1939, and then remarked, "Alas if you ever read them you will see that they were unconsciously prophetic!" J to CC, 11 February 1940, *Letters I*, 408.
 5. J to PL, 23 August 1939, PL Papers.
 6. J to GJ, 5 September 1939, in Ellmann, 727.
 7. J to SQ, 6 September 1939, *Letters I*, 407.
 8. Lucia Joyce, "My Life," unpublished typescript, HRC.
 9. J to PL, 11, 24, 25 September 1939, PL Papers.
 10. J to PL, 28 September 1939, PL Papers.
 11. J to PL, 5 October 1939, PL Papers.
 12. PL to HSW, 11 October 1939, RE Papers.
 13. PL to J, 6 October 1939, PL Papers.
 14. PL to J, 19 November 1939, PL Papers.
 15. Ellmann, 732.
 16. J to Nino Frank, 18 April 1940, *Letters III*, 476.
 17. J to HSW, 22 March 1940, *Letters I*, 411.
 18. J to Mrs. Victor Sax, 20 April 1940, *Letters III*, 477.
 19. J to HSW, 18 June 1940, *Letters I*, 413.
 20. Ian Ousby, *Occupation: The Ordeal of France, 1940-1944* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 43.
 21. *Ibid.*, 45.
 22. *Ibid.*, 102-3.
 23. J to Nino Frank, 5 August 1940 and 9 April 1940, *Letters III*, 480 and 474.
 24. Ellmann, 731.
 25. Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 17.
 26. *Ibid.*, 15.
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. *Ibid.*, 16.
 29. *Ibid.*, 17.
 30. *Ibid.*, 26.
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. *Ibid.*, 67.
 33. There were initially four euthanasia institutions. During January 1940, one was opened at Grafeneck; Brandenburg was opened in February, Hartheim in May, and Sonnenstein in June. In the first half of the year, 8,765 persons were gassed in

- these institutions, three-quarters of them in May and June, a time when world attention was focused on the Wehrmacht's invasion of France. By the end of 1940 a total of 26,459 patients had been killed, and in the first eight months of 1941 an additional 35,049 were "disinfected." These figures are given by the accounting section of T4's head office. See *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, ed. Robert Rozett and Samuel Spector (New York: Facts on File, 2000), 452.
34. Friedlander, *Origins of Nazi Genocide*, 67, 68, 73, 85.
 35. Rozett and Spector, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*, 453.
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. Ousby, *Occupation*, 69.
 38. J to Jacques Mercanton, 14 September 1940, *Letters III*, 485.
 39. J to Bennett Cerf, 5 August 1940, *Letters I*, 415.
 40. Leigh W. Hunt to J, 24 September 1940, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
 41. J to CG-W, 28 July 1940, *Letters III*, 414.
 42. J to Paul Ruggiero, 4 August 1940, *Letters III*, 414.
 43. J to CG-W, 14 September 1940, *Letters III*, 486.
 44. J to Jacques Mercanton, 13 August 1940, *Letters III*, 482.
 45. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
 46. J to Jacques Mercanton, 14 September 1940, *Letters III*, 486.
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. J to Gustav Zainsteg, 16 September 1940, *Letters III*, 487.
 49. J to CG-W, 18 September 1940, *Letters III*, 488.
 50. J to Jacques Mercanton, 29 October 1940, *Letters III*, 491.
 51. J to Gustav Zainsteg, 31 October 1940, *Letters III*, 494.
 52. Ellmann, 736-37.
 53. J to CG-W, 20 November 1940, *Letters III*, 499.
 54. J to Gustav Zainsteg, 22 November 1940, *Letters III*, 500.
 55. Gustav Zainsteg to J, 13 December 1940, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. Ellmann, 738.
 58. Sean Murphy to J, 26 November 1940, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
 59. Sean Murphy to Sean Lester, 2 December 1940, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
 60. J to CG-W, 28 November 1940, *Letters III*, 503.
 61. Giorgio Joyce, interview by Richard Ellmann, 9 August 1953, Zurich, RE Papers.
 62. J to Edmond Jaloux, 17 December 1940, *Letters I*, 506.
 63. Sean Lester to J, 28 December 1940, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
 64. Ellmann, 740.
 65. GJ to MJ, 17 February 1941, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
 66. Lidderdale, 379.
 67. LJ to Bozena Beta Delimata, 7 May 1973, HRC.
 68. Nino Frank, interview by Richard Ellmann, 20 August 1953, RE Papers.
 69. Maddox, 367.
 70. MJ to HSW, 5 January 1949, HSW Papers.
 71. *Ibid.*
 72. High Court of Justice, Chancery Division, Document 1942J no. 456.

15. KILLING TIME: Northampton 1951-82

1. Maddox, 371.
2. Hélène Varel, "Souvenirs de Lucia Joyce," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Herne, 1985), 84.
3. James Joyce and Paul Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
4. Brenda Maddox, "Epilogue," unpublished manuscript, private possession.
5. RE to MJ, 28 September 1959, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
6. MJ to RE, 22 October 1961, RE Papers.
7. Lucia Joyce, "My Life," unpublished typescript, HRC.
8. Jane Lidderdale, quoted in Maddox, "Epilogue."
9. Dominique Maroger to RE, RE Papers.
10. Dominique Maroger, "Dernière rencontre avec Lucia," in Aubert and Senn, eds., *James Joyce*, 81.
11. *Ibid.*, 80, 78; my translation.
12. *Ibid.*, 81.
13. *Ibid.*, 78.
14. *Ibid.*, 80.
15. Virginia Woolf, *Three Guineas* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1966), 7.
16. Maroger, "Dernière rencontre avec Lucia," 82.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*

16. A FATHER'S SCRUTINY, LOVE, AND ATONEMENT: THE Land of Imagination

1. Kay Boyle to JL, 15 January 1983, RE Papers.
2. Eileen Schaurck file, RE Papers.
3. JJ to HSW, 23 November 1925, *Letters III*, 134.
4. David Hayman, ed., *A First-Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake"* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), 321.
5. JJ to HSW, May 1935, *Letters I*, 367.
6. Louis Gillet, "The Living Joyce," in *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 192.
7. Jacques Mercanton, "The Hours of James Joyce," in Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, 114.
8. What follows is not intended to be exhaustive. One could make the case that Lucia's biography to the age of thirty-one is refracted in *Finnegans Wake*. Here I want to use only a few selected examples to demonstrate the transpositions of life into art.
9. Havlock Ellis, *The Dance of Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), xi.
10. JJ to LJ, 1 June 1934, *Letters I*, 341; and Ellmann, 703.
11. Mercanton, "Hours of James Joyce," 227.
12. Hayman, *First-Draft Version*, 304-6.
13. JJ to HSW, 19 October 1929, *Letters I*, 285.
14. Hanley Collection, University of Texas at Austin. David Hayman mistakenly reads Joyce's handwriting as "19.V. 1929." See Hayman, *First-Draft Version*, 299.

15. JJ to Frank Budgen, 11 June 1919, *SL*, 238-39.
16. *FW III*, ii (429-73), Draft 9 dated by printer 21.4.28, transition 13 proof, Hayman, *First-Draft Version*, 321.
17. Hayman, *First-Draft Version*, 304.
18. *Ibid.*, 150.
19. *Ibid.*, 309.
20. *Ibid.*, 153.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, 154.
23. *Ibid.*, 158.
24. If this passage describes an actual state of affairs, where the young men in the Joyce circle gravitated toward women with money, it would explain Lucia's desire in 1932 to have a "dot" or marriage portion.
25. Hayman, *First-Draft Version*, 308-9.
26. JJ to PL, 16 January 1935, PL Papers.
27. Hazel is not far from this scene of madness. She appears in *FW* 250.22 as "a fork of hazel o'er the field."
28. Hayman, *First-Draft Version*, 144.
29. Roland McHugh, *Annotations to "Finnegans Wake"*, rev. ed. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 250.
30. JJ to HSW, 22 November 1930, *Letters I*, 295.
31. Maria Jolas, interview by Richard Ellmann, 22 July 1953, RE Papers.
32. Giorgio Joyce, interview by Richard Ellmann, 9 August 1953, RE Papers.
33. Helen Kastor Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist by His Daughter-in-Law," unpublished typescript, HRC.
34. Bozena Berta Delimata, interview by Richard Ellmann, 27 June 1953, RE Papers.
35. MJ to RE, 20 January 1959, RE Papers.
36. MJ to RE, 26 January 1959, "Notes re page 857 of [his] JJ biography," RE Papers.
37. Henrik Ibsen, *When We Dead Awaken*, in *The Oxford Ibsen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 8: 280.
38. *Ibid.*, 8: 54.
39. John Bishop, *Joyce's Book of the Dark: "Finnegans Wake"* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 242.
40. Ibsen, *When We Dead Awaken*, 8: 55.
41. Luce Irigaray, *Elemental Passions*, trans. Joanne Collie and Judith Sill (New York: Routledge, 1992), 36.
42. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979) cited in Louis A. Sass, *Madness and Modernism: Fraternity in the Light of Modern Art, Literature, and Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), 251.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*, 253.
46. Nino Frank, interview by Richard Ellmann, 20 August 1953, RE Papers; and Ellmann, 755.
47. For more detailed speculations about Joyce's transpositions of Lucia's experience into notebooks and then into the text of the *Wake*, see David Hayman, "I Think Her Pretty: Reflections of the Familiar in Joyce's Notebook VI.B.5," *Joyce Studies*

- Annual* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 43–60. See also David Hayman, *The "Wake" in Tampa* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990).
48. Cary F. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia Joyce in Zurich, 1934," included in letter from Ximena de Angulo Roelli to RE, 27 July 1981, RE Papers.
 49. HSW to JJ, 18 March 1935, RE Papers.
 50. Stuart Gilbert, "Introduction," *Letters I*, 33.
 51. Stuart Gilbert, Paris diary, 20 July 1932, HRC.
 52. LJ to JJ, 10 July 1936, RE Papers; and Ellmann, 676.
 53. James Joyce and Paul Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
 54. JJ to MF, 15 June 1935, *Letters III*, 362.
 55. McHugh, *Annotations to "Finnegans Wake"*, 621.
 56. *Ibid.*, 622.
 57. The sentiment in this section of the *Wake* seems to echo Gerard Manley Hopkins's poem that begins, "Margaret, are you grieving / Over Goldengrove unleaving," a poem about a child's reluctance to leave innocence behind to enter into the "fallen world of adult sexuality."
 58. JJ to CC, 10 August 1935, *Letters I*, 379.
 59. Clive Hart, *Structure and Motif in "Finnegans Wake"* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1962); and Kimberly Devlin, *Wandering and Return in "Finnegans Wake"* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991).
 60. Helen Kastor Joyce, "Anniversary, February 2, 1939," photostat of unpublished typescript, RE Papers.
 61. Simone Weil, *Waiting for God*, cited in Elaine Scarry, *On Beauty and Being Just* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999), 8.

EPILOGUE: A Daughter's Legacy

1. Bonnie Kime Scott, conversation with the author, International James Joyce Symposium, Goldsmith College, London, 2000.
2. Lucia Joyce, "The Real Life of James Joyce," unpublished manuscript, HRC.
3. Probate Certificate no. 331 and Will of Lucia Anna Joyce, Family Division of High Court of Justice, Somerset House, London.
4. Here is a partial list of the fictional accounts of Lucia's life:
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 - Gold, Alison Leslie. *The Clairvoyant: The Imagined Life of Lucia Joyce*. New York: Hyperion Books, 1992.
 - Hall, Frances Benn. "Lucia." In *Ezra's Nob for Willie and Other Plays*. Lenox, Mass.: Mountain Press, 1996.
 - Houser, Aimee. "Lucia's Commitment: A Poem Based on Brenda Maddox's *Nora*." *James Joyce Literary Supplement* (spring 1997).
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 - Mabou Mines. *Carr Lucia*. Weaving sound, music, imaginary and original writing with documentary materials. New York, N.Y.

- Murphy, Caitlin. *An Imagined Dialogue between Lucia Joyce and Suzanne Deschamps-Dumernil*. Undergraduate diss., University of Toronto.
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- Oates, Joyce Carol. "Daisy." In *Major American Short Stories*. Edited by A. Walton Litz. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
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- Weiss, Hedy. *dreaming lucia*. A play, performed April 1995 at the Athenaeum Theatre, Chicago, Ill.
- The works of three generations of Joyce scholars are listed in the Bibliography.
5. Jean Erdman, quoted in Joseph Campbell, *The Hero's Journey: Joseph Campbell on His Life and Work*, ed. Phil Cousineau (Boston: Element, 1999).
 6. Joseph Campbell and Morton Robinson, *A Skeleton Key to "Finnegans Wake"* (New York: The Viking Press, 1972).
 7. Walter Sorell, "Coach to Spoleto: Jean Erdman Discusses Her Variation on James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*," *Dance Magazine* (May 1963): 35.
 8. Jean Erdman, "A Viewer's Guide to *The Coach with the Six Inside*," *Dance Archives*, NYLPA.
 9. Sorell, "Coach to Spoleto," 63.
 10. Walter Sorell, ed., *The Dance Has Many Faces* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), 212.
 11. *Ibid.*, 199.
 12. *Ibid.*, 200.
 13. *Ibid.*, 204.
 14. Campbell, *Hero's Journey*, 94.