

EXHIBIT B

Part 2

EXHIBIT A

PART 1

NOTES

63

The following abbreviations and short titles are used:

- CW* *The Critical Writings of James Joyce*, ed. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking Press and London: Faber and Faber, 1959).
- Ellmann Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce: The New and Revised Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).
- FW* James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (New York: The Viking Press, 1966).
- GJ* James Joyce, *Giacomo Joyce*, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: The Viking Press, 1968).
- JJQ* *James Joyce Quarterly*.
- Knowlson James Knowlson, *Damned to Fame: The Life of Samuel Beckett* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).
- Letters I, II, III* *The Letters of James Joyce*, vol. I, ed. Stuart Gilbert, 1957, new ed. 1966; vols. II and III, ed. Richard Ellmann, 1966 (New York: The Viking Press and London: Faber and Faber).
- Lidderdale Jane Lidderdale and Mary Nicholson, *Dear Miss Weaver: Harriet Shaw Weaver, 1876-1961* (London: Faber and Faber, 1970).
- Maddox Brenda Maddox, *Nona: The Real Life of Molly Bloom* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988).
- P* James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York: The Viking Press, 1964).
- SL* *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: The Viking Press and London: Faber and Faber, 1975).
- U* James Joyce, *Ulysses: The Corrected Text*, ed. Hans Walter Gabler with Wolfhard Steppe and Claus Melchior (New York: Random House, 1986).

470

NOTES

Frequent correspondents are cited in the notes by initials:

BM Brenda Maddox
CC Constantine Curran
CCG-W Carole Cicioni-Weicker
EP Ezra Pound
GJ Giorgio Joyce
HK Helen Kantor Joyce (Helen Fleischman)
HSW Harriet Shaw Weaver
JJ James Joyce
JL Jane Lidderdale
LJ Lucia Joyce
MH Michael Healy
MJ Maria Jolas
MN Myron Nutting
NBj Nora Barnacle Joyce
PL Paul Léon
RE Richard Ellmann
SB Samuel Beckett
SG Stuart Gilbert
SJ Stanislaus Joyce

University libraries and special collections are noted by the name of the university, with these exceptions:

Beinecke Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University
Berg Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection at the New York Public Library
BL British Library, London
HRC Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin
HSW Papers Harriet Shaw Weaver Papers, British Library, London
NLI National Library of Ireland, Dublin
NYLPA New York Library of the Performing Arts
Opéra Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris
PL Papers Paul Léon Papers, National Library of Ireland, Dublin
RE Papers Richard Ellmann Papers, McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa
Rondelle Rondelle Collection of the Performing Arts, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris
SB Papers Sylvia Beach Papers, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University
SG Papers Stuart Gilbert Papers, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin
SIU Special Collections Department, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
TCD Trinity College, Dublin
UCD University College, Dublin
UCL University College London

NOTES

471

The major repositories of manuscripts consulted for this book are

For the performing arts: Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris; Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris; Zentralbibliothek, Zurich; Hauptbibliothek, Zurich; Kunstmuseum, Zurich; The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection at the New York Public Library; The New York Library of the Performing Arts; The San Francisco Library of the Performing Arts; The Archives of American Art at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

For the history of medicine: E.T.H. Bibliothek (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule), Zurich; National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Maryland; Lane Medical Library, Stanford University

For the family and friends of the Joyces: The National Library of Ireland, Dublin; Trinity College, Dublin; Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, University College, Dublin; Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection; The British Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection, London; University of London, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection; Cornell University, Olin Library, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection; The Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, the University of Texas at Austin; The New York Public Library; Northwestern University Library, Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections; Princeton University Library, Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections; Southern Illinois University Library, Department of Library, Special Collections Department; University of Buffalo, Lockwood Memorial Library; Poetry and Rare Books Collection; University of Tulsa, McFarlin Library, Department of Special Collections; Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

INTRODUCTION: What Happened to Lucia Joyce?

1. HKI and MJ to Padraic and Mary Colum, 2 November 1932, in Mary Colum and Padraic Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), 194.
2. Nino Frank, "The Shadow That Had Lost Its Man," *Portraits of the Artists in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 90.
3. HSW to JJ, 17 February 1935, RE Papers.
4. Cary F. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
5. Helen Nutting, Paris diary, RE Papers.
6. Stuart Gilbert, Paris diary, RE Papers.
7. HSW to JJ, 18 March 1935, RE Papers.
8. Patrick Collins, quoted in Maddox, 310.
9. JJ to GJ, 13 August 1935, Letters III, 372.
10. Maria Jolas, interview by Richard Ellmann, 22 July 1953, RE Papers.
11. Nora and Giorgio Joyce, quoted in PL to HSW, 8 May 1936, in RE Papers.
12. Dr. Thérèse Bertrand-Fontaine, quoted in Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce*, 142.
13. Hans Wolfgang Maier, quoted in Ellmann, 677.
14. Henri Codet, quoted in Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce*, 139.
15. Admissions officer at Les Rives de Prangins, quoted in Ellmann, 665.

472

NOTES

16. JJ to CJ, 9 September 1934, RE Papers.
17. Theodor Brunner, quoted in Baynes, "Notes on Lucia Joyce."
18. Hans Wolfgang Maier, quoted in Ellmann, 676.
19. Dr. Agadjanian, quoted in PL to HSW, 22 May 1936, RE Papers.
20. See Ellmann, 649.
21. David Hayman, "Shadow of His Mind: The Papers of Lucia Joyce," in *Joyce at Tusculum*, ed. Dave Orlphand and Thomas Zizgal (Austin: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 1983).
22. See Maddox.
23. Dante Alighieri, *The New Life*, trans. Dante Gabriel Rossetti (New York: National Alumni, 1907), 85.
24. James Joyce and Paul Léon, "Annunzio von Fraulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
25. JJ to CG-W, 15 October 1937, RE Papers.
26. Eugen Bleuler, *Dementia Praecox or the Group of Schizophrenia*, trans. J. Zinkin (New York: International Universities Press, 1950), 277.
27. C. G. Jung, "Recent Thoughts on Schizophrenia," in *The Psychology of Mental Disease*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (Princeton: Bollingen Series XX, 1960), 250.
28. JJ to CJ, 9 September 1934, RE Papers.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Charles de Saint-Cyr, *La Semaine à Paris*, 1928, Rondelle.
31. "On the Left Bank," *Paris Times*, 14 March 1928, Buffalo.
32. Kay Boyle to JL, 15 January 1983, RE Papers.
33. Kay Boyle to RE, 6 January 1983, RE Papers.
34. Adeline Glasheen, *Third Census of 'Tinneguns Wake'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 149.
35. PL to HSW, 19 July 1935, PL Papers.
36. JJ to HSW, 1 May 1935, *Letters I*, 366.
37. PL to HSW, 19 July 1935, PL Papers.
38. Dominique Maroger, "Dernière rencontre avec Lucia," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Herne, 1985), 82.
39. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia Joyce."
40. Jacques Mercanton, "The Hours of James Joyce," in Post, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, 114.
41. MJ to RE, "Notes re RE biography of JJ," 26 September 1959, RE Papers.
42. For the relationship between Maria Jolas and Richard Ellmann that follows, I have studied the archives at Yale and the University of Tulsa. But I wish to acknowledge an excellent paper on this subject by William Brockman, first delivered at the James Joyce Symposium in Zurich in 1996. He kindly sent me a copy of it: "Give us back their papers: Possession, Control and Availability of Joyce's Manuscripts and Letters."
43. MJ to RE, 10 September 1953, RE Papers.
44. MJ to RE, 11 December 1954, RE Papers.
45. MJ to RE, 20 January 1954, RE Papers.
46. We can infer that the Weaver letters in the "famous trunk" are the ones summarized in notes now in the Ellmann Papers in Tulsa in the Harriet Weaver file. When Maria Jolas was thinking of giving the trunk back to Giorgio, Ellmann told her he didn't need it any longer, as he had already taken copious notes. The docu-

NOTES

473

- ments in Tulsa are neither the originals nor Harriet Weaver's expurgated typescripts; they are dated summaries, which would accord with Ellmann's admission that he had what he needed in note form.
47. MJ to RE, 11 February 1955, RE Papers.
 48. RE to MJ, 16 February 1955, RE Papers.
 49. Maria Jolas, "Notes on final days at Saint-Gérard-le-Puy," Box 41, File 917, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
 50. RE to MJ, 22 June 1981, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
 51. MJ to RE, 4 October 1953, RE Papers.
 52. MJ to RE, 11 February 1955, RE Papers.
 53. MJ to RE, 4 October 1957, RE Papers.
 54. MJ to RE, 20 January 1959, RE Papers.
 55. *Ibid.*
 56. MJ to RE, 16 May 1964, RE Papers.
 57. MJ to RE, n.d., RE Papers.
 58. MJ to RE, n.d., RE Papers.
 59. Maria Jolas, interviews by Richard Ellmann, June and July 1954, RE Papers.
 60. MJ to RE, 22 October 1961, RE Papers.
 61. RE to MJ, 14 October 1961, RE Papers.
 62. Lidderdale, 448n; and Lucia Joyce Papers, HRC.
 63. MJ to RE, "Notes re RE biography of JJ," 26 September 1959, RE Papers.
 64. For an excellent discussion of Ellmann's dependence on Stanislaus Joyce, see Joseph Kelly, "Ellmann's Joyce," in *Our Joyce: From Outcast to Icon* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 141-79.
 65. Ellsworth Mason, "Ellmann's Road to Xanadu," in *Essays for Richard Ellmann: Omnia Genuerunt*, ed. Susan Dick et al. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 10.
 66. Marvin Magalaner and Richard M. Kain, *Joyce: The Man, the Work, the Reputation* (New York: New York University Press, 1950), 90.
 67. Ellmann, 663.
 68. Gilbert agreed to this project for the benefit of Lucia and Giorgio. See SG to Patricia Hutchins, 29 November 1952, "The book of letters on which I'm working is, as I think you know, being published for the financial benefit of Lucia and Giorgio and is almost a 'labour of love' as far as I'm concerned," SG Papers.
 69. Stuart Gilbert, "Introduction," *Letters I*, 34.
 70. HSW to SG, 4 January 1954, SG Papers.
 71. Stuart Gilbert, "A Note on the Editing," *Letters I*, 40.
 72. Patricia Hutchins to SG, 8 August 1949, SG Papers.
 73. HSW to SG, 1 September 1954, SG Papers.
 74. HSW to SG, 17 November 1949, SG Papers.
 75. Gilbert, "Introduction," *Letters I*, 32.
 76. Gilbert, "A Note on the Editing," *Letters I*, 40.
 77. Lidderdale, 404.
 78. *Ibid.*, 420.
 79. HSW to SG, 18 November 1954, SG Papers.
 80. Jane Lidderdale, interviews by Brenda Maddox, 22 June 1987 and 1 January 1988, in Maddox, 438.

474

NOTES

81. Richard Ellmann, "Preface," *Letters II*, xxix.
 82. *Ibid.*, xxviii.
 83. Harriet Weaver, quoted in Maddox, 438.
 84. Harriet Weaver file, RE Papers.
 85. Mary Reynolds, "Joyce and Miss Weaver," *JJQ* 19:4 (1982): 377.
 86. Lidderdale, 454.
 87. Reynolds, "Joyce and Miss Weaver," 394.
 88. *Ibid.*, 375.
 89. Lucie Noel, *James Joyce and Paul L. Leon: The Story of a Friendship* (New York: The Gotham Book Mart, 1948), 36-37.
 90. *Ibid.*, 39-40.
 91. Lidderdale, 411.
 92. *Ibid.*, 417.
 93. Noel, *Joyce and Leon*, 36-37.
 94. Patricia Donlon, *The James Joyce-Paul Leon Papers in the National Library of Ireland: A Catalogue*, comp. Catherine Fahy (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 1992), v.
 95. HSW to RE, 20 February 1958, RE Papers.
 96. The dates of the missing letters are 2 October 1934; 4 April 1935; 19 July 1935; 8 May 1936; 22 May 1936; 22 August 1936; 3 November 1936; 4 August 1937; 7 October 1937; 18 December 1937; 16 December 1938; 20 December 1939. The dates of the letters in the Leon Papers are 12 July 1936; 18 November 1936; 18 August 1938; 14 February 1939.
 97. Lidderdale, 343.
 98. M to RE, 11 December 1954, RE Papers.
 99. Maddox, 398.
 100. RE to M, 10 December 1984, Maria Jolas Papers, Betnecke: "You will be interested to know that by a settlement reached last week, Stephen gets the famous trunk—though his stepbrother Hans will first remove from it anything to do with his mother. As I recall there was nothing about Asia (Giorgio's second wife) there. I think the settlement reached was quite amicable and should make Stephen less touchy about his role."
 101. Caryn James, "The Fate of Joyce Family Letters Causes Angry Literary Debate," *New York Times*, 15 August 1988, C11-12.
 102. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, trans. R. J. Hollingdale (New York: Penguin Books, 1961), 132.
 103. Mrs. Hester Hawkes to Carol Loeb Shlos, 3 May 1996.
- I. THE CURTAIN OPENS: Trieste 1907-15
1. Eileen Schaubert, interview by Richard Ellmann, n.d., RE Papers. Joyce wrote this while they lived on the Via Vincenza Scusa, when Lucia was about two and a half.
 2. Peter Harshorn, *James Joyce and Trieste* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997), 53.
 3. J to SJ, 12 July 1905, *Letters II*, 95.
 4. Margaret Joyce to J, 10 October 1907, Cornell, Scholes 710.

NOTES

475

5. Dante Alighieri, *The New Life*, trans. Dante Gabriel Rossetti (New York: The National Alumni, 1907), 85.
6. Maddox, 82.
7. Martin Gilbert, *A History of the Twentieth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 143-57.
8. Harshorn, *James Joyce and Trieste*, 49.
9. Josephine Murray to J, 29 July 1907, Cornell, Scholes 922.
10. J to SJ, 28 December 1904, *Letters II*, 75.
11. J to SJ, 28 February 1905, *Letters II*, 81.
12. Bozenna Berta Delimaia, interview by Richard Ellmann, 27 June 1953, RE Papers.
13. J to SJ, 2 or 3 May 1905, *Letters II*, 83.
14. J to SJ, 12 July 1905, *Letters II*, 93.
15. *Ibid.*, 94-95.
16. *Ibid.*, 96.
17. J to SJ, 18 September 1905, *Letters II*, 107.
18. J to SJ, 29 July 1905, *Letters II*, 101.
19. SJ to J, 31 July 1905, *Letters II*, 102.
20. John Wyse Jackson with Peter Costello, "Joyce Family Tree," in *John Stanislaus Joyce* (London: Fourth Estate, 1997), n.p.
21. High Court, Document 1942], no. 456.
22. J to SJ, 19 August 1906, *Letters II*, 152.
23. J to SJ, 10 January 1907, *Letters II*, 172.
24. Josephine Murray to SJ, 6 June 1906, *Letters II*, 206.
25. J to Josephine Murray, 4 December 1905, *Letters II*, 138-39.
26. Alessandro Francini Bruni, "Joyce Stripped Naked in the Piazza," in *Portrait of the Artist in Exile*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 32.
27. Hether Gorman, *James Joyce* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939), 159.
28. Ellmann, 224-25.
29. J to SJ, 19 January 1905, *Letters II*, 78.
30. Maddox, 74.
31. J to SJ, 7 December 1906, *Letters II*, 202.
32. J to SJ, 10 January 1907, *Letters II*, 206.
33. J to SJ, 13 November 1906, *Letters II*, 192.
34. J to SJ, 6 February 1907, *Letters II*, 206.
35. Helen Kantor Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist by His Daughter-in-Law," unpublished typescript, HRC.
36. Mary Colum and Padraic Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), 147.
37. Ellmann, 204.
38. J to SJ, 71 March 1907, *Letters II*, 219-20.
39. SJ to John Stanislaus Joyce, unsent, in Ellmann, 262.
40. Ellmann claims that Joyce's address between 7 March and November 1907 was Via San Nicolo 32 (*Letters II*, viii). Harshorn, basing his story on the "Stanislaus Joyce diary," RE Papers, Box 143, writes that in August 1907, "Matters worsened when Joyce was given one week's notice to vacate the Via Nuova apartment.... On August 18, Joyce and his family moved to an apartment at Via San Caterina 1"

476

NOTES

- (52-53). Richard B. Watson shows Joyce's address in March 1907 to be c/o Stanislaus at Via San Nicolo 32; on 24 September to be Via San Nicolo 33; and on 2 December to be Via San Caterina 1. See Richard B. Watson with Randolph Lewis, *The Joyce Calendar: A Chronological Listing of Published and Unpublished Correspondence by James Joyce* (Austin: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 1994), 14. My best judgment is that the Joyces lived with Stanislaus until September 1907, at which point it looks as if they moved next door.
41. Ellmann, 262.
42. Harthorn, *James Joyce and Trieste*, 49-50.
43. Ellmann, 296.
44. P, 481.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Thomas Suley, "James Joyce in Trieste," *Georgia Review* 16:4 (winter 1962): 449.
47. Lucia Joyce, "My Life," unpublished typescript, HRC.
48. In 1907, the year of Lucia's birth, Joyce purchased Edward Mort Woolley's *The Art of Selling Goods* (Chicago: American Business Man, 1907). The appropriateness of the author's name to the project of Donegal tweeds could not have escaped him. See Richard Ellmann, "Appendix: Joyce's Library in 1920," in Richard Ellmann, *The Consciousness of Joyce* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), 113.
49. *II* to NBI, 7 August 1909, *Letters II*, 233.
50. *II* to NBI, 31 August 1909, *Letters II*, 242.
51. *II* to NBI, 24 December 1909, *Letters II*, 281.
52. Watson, *Joyce Calendar*, 20.
53. Alice Curtayne, "Portrait of the Artist as Brother: Interview with James Joyce's Sister," *Critik* 21 (1963): 43.
54. Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, ed. Clive Hart (Dublin: Millington, 1974), 70-71.
55. *II* to Eileen Joyce, 30 May 1912, *Letters II*, 295.
56. Eileen Schaurck, "Pappy Never Spoke of Jim's Books," in *James Joyce: Interviews and Recollections*, ed. E. H. Mikhail (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 63.
57. Eva Joyce to SJ, 12 May 1912, Cornell, Scholes, 653.
58. Curtayne, "Portrait of the Artist as Brother," 63.
59. *Ibid.*, 66.
60. Francini Bruni, "Joyce Stripped Naked in the Piazza," 20.
61. *II* to NBI, 225 October 1909, *Letters II*, 254.
62. LJ to JJ, 19 March 1974, Lucia Joyce Papers, UCL.
63. Lucia Joyce, "The Real Life of James Joyce," unpublished typescript, HRC.
64. Ellmann, "Appendix: Joyce's Library in 1920," 97-134.
65. Buzana Berta Delimata, "Reminiscences of a Joyce Niece," ed. Virginia Moseley, *JJO* 19:1 (fall 1982): 47.
66. Francini Bruni, "Recollections of Joyce," in Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, 41.
67. James Joyce, *Poems and Shorter Writings*, ed. Richard Ellmann, A. Walton Litz, and John Whitener-Bergeson (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), 114.
68. Francini Bruni, "Joyce Stripped Naked in the Piazza," 57, 45.
69. Delimata, "Reminiscences," 48.
70. Lucia Joyce, "Real Life of James Joyce."

NOTES

477

71. Arnolfo Fonda Savio and Letizia Fonda Savio, "James Joyce: Two Reminiscences," in Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, 49.
72. Mario Nordo, "My First English Teacher," in Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, 58.
73. Nora Franca Polignati, "James Joyce: An Occasion of Remembrance," in Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, 59.
74. Lucia Joyce, "Real Life of James Joyce."
75. Ellmann, 322.
76. Lucia Joyce, "Real Life of James Joyce."
77. Maddox, 118.
78. Schaurck, "Pappy Never Spoke of Jim's Books," 64.
79. Delimata, "Reminiscences," 47.
80. P, 7.
81. Curtayne, "Portrait of the Artist as Brother," 46.
82. Ellmann, "Appendix: Joyce's Library in 1920," 97-134.
83. Bjornstjerne Bjornson, *The Father Laine* (New York: Macmillan, 1891), 22-23.
84. *Ibid.*, 32.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*, 162.
87. *Ibid.*, 166.
88. *Ibid.*, 174.
89. *Ibid.*, 184.
90. I wish to thank Ellen Handler Spitz, whose *Inside Picture Books* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) led me to imagine Joyce as a father who read to his children.
91. Ellmann, 312.
92. Helen Kastor Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist," HRC.
93. Ellmann, 412.
94. Curtayne, "Portrait of the Artist as Brother," 65.
95. Ellmann, 323.
96. NBI to JJ, 11 July 1912, *Letters II*, 296.
97. NBI to Eileen Joyce, 14 August 1912, *Letters II*, 302.
98. *II* to NBI, [21 August 1912], *Letters II*, 308.
99. Maddox, 115.
100. *Ibid.*
101. Ellmann, 316.
102. Richard Ellmann, "Introduction" to *GJ*, ix.
103. *GJ*, 3.
104. James Joyce, "A Flower Given to My Daughter," in *Poems and Shorter Writings*, 53.
105. See "Notes" in James Joyce, *Poems and Shorter Writings*, 255.
106. James Joyce, "Similes," in *The Essential James Joyce*, ed. Harry Levin (London: Granada, 1977), 455.
107. P, 223.
108. *II* to CC, 10 August 1935, *Letters I*, 379.

478

NOTES

2. THE THEATER OF WAR: Zurich 1915-19

1. Ellmann, 385.
2. Felix Brann to Herbert Gorman, 12 February 1931, quoted in Maddox, 141-42.
3. They went from 7 Reinhardtstrasse to 10 Kreuzstrasse to 34 Seefeldstrasse.
4. Lucia Joyce, "My Life," unpublished typescript, HRC.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Lucia Joyce, "The Real Life of James Joyce," unpublished typescript, HRC.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Marilyn Reizbaum, "Swiss Customs," *JJO* 27:2 (winter 1990): 213; Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
9. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
10. Ellmann, 390.
11. *Ibid.*, 390-92.
12. *Ibid.*, 405-6.
13. *Ibid.*, 422.
14. J to EP, 24 July 1917, quoted in Ellmann, 416.
15. EP to Jenny Scrivens, 20 July 1920, *Letters III*, 9.
16. Lucia Joyce, "Real Life of James Joyce."
17. Frank Budgen, *James Joyce and the Making of "Ulysses"* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1960), 38.
18. Claud W. Sykes, interview by Richard Ellmann, 1954, RE Papers.
19. Georges Borach, "Conversations with Joyce," trans. Joseph Prescott, *College English* 15 (March 1954): 3227.
20. NBJ to JJ, 15 [August] 1917, Cornell, Scholes, 761.
21. Lucia Joyce, "Real Life of James Joyce."
22. NBJ to JJ, 24 August 1917, *Letters II*, 401.
23. NBJ to JJ, 211 August 1917, Cornell, Scholes, 758.
24. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
25. NBJ to JJ, 15 [August] 1917, *Letters II*, 404.
26. Ellmann, 445.
27. *Ibid.*, 418-19.
28. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
29. Lucia Joyce, quoted in Dominique Maroger, "Dernière rencontre avec Lucia," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Hermès, 1985), 77.
30. Lucia Joyce, "Real Life of James Joyce."
31. Lucia Joyce, "My Life," Claud Sykes to Herbert Gorman, 31 May 1931, reply to questionnaire, 4, SII.
32. J to Claud Sykes, 223 September 1917, *Letters II*, 416.
33. Ellmann, 421.
34. J, *GJ* in *Poems and Shorter Writings*, ed. Richard Ellmann, A. Walton Litz, and John Whitter-Ferguson (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), 231.
35. Ellmann, 473.
36. J to Frank Budgen, 3 January 1920, *Letters I*, 134.

NOTES

479

3. MOVING INTO ADOLESCENCE: Paris 1920-24

1. Lucia Joyce, quoted in Mary Colum and Padraic Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), 137.
2. Sylvia Beach, *Ulysses in Paris* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1956), 17.
3. MN to RE, 26 February 1954, RE Papers.
4. Helen Nutting, Paris diary, RE Papers.
5. Myron Nutting, *An Artist's Life and Times* (Oral History Program, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972), 2: 432.
6. Ellmann, 486.
7. Ludmila Bloch-Savitsky to EP, 9 July 1920, Buffalo.
8. Myron Nutting, unpublished memoir, 1954, RE Papers.
9. J to John Quinn, 17 November 1920, quoted in Myron Schwartzman, "Quinn's Quake: John Quinn's Letters to James Joyce 1916 to 1920," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 81:1 (summer 1978): 192.
10. J to SJ, 29 August 1920, *Letters III*, 17.
11. *Ibid.*
12. J to John Rodker, 9 December 1920, J to EP, 12 December 1920, *Letters III*, 132.
13. J to EP, 12 December 1920, *Letters III*, 133.
14. MN to RE, 16 April 1955, RE Papers.
15. Helen Nutting, Paris diary, RE Papers.
16. *Ibid.*
17. MN to RE, 23 January 1955, RE Papers.
18. William Bird, interview by Richard Ellmann, 2 August 1953, RE Papers.
19. André Levinson, *André Levinson on Joyce: Writings from Paris in the Twenties*, ed. Joan Accolla and Lynn Garafola (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1991), 27.
20. Ellmann, 649.
21. Myron Nutting, unpublished memoir of Lucia, RE Papers.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Lucia Joyce, "My Life," unpublished typescript, HRC.
24. Myron Nutting, unpublished memoir.
25. *Ibid.*
26. This is the first placard in Charlie Chaplin's silent movie *The Kid*.
27. J to Valéry Larbaud, 2 February 1924, *Letters III*, 84.
28. Kenneth Lynn, *Charlie Chaplin and His Times* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 261.
29. Lucia Joyce, "Charlie et les roses," *Le Dauphin* ser. 3-4: 5 (1924): 678; my translation.
30. Quoted in Bonnie Kime Scott, *Joyce and Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 76.
31. Djuna Barnes, "James Joyce," *Vanity Fair* 18 (April 1922): 65; quoted in Ellmann, 524.
32. Ellmann, 503.
33. Jacques Benoist-Méchin, interview by Richard Ellmann, 1956, RE Papers.
34. August Suter, "Reminiscences," *JJO* 7:3 (1972): 191.
35. James Joyce, quoted in Julia Kristeva, "Joyce 'The Gracchopper,' or the Return of

480

NOTES

- Orpheus," in *James Joyce: The Augmented Ninth*, ed. Bernard Benstock (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 179.
36. Ellmann, 506.
 37. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
 38. J. to Valéry Larbaud, n.d. (summer 1921), quoted in Ellmann, 516, and *Letters I*, 169.
 39. Helen Kastor Joyce, "We Meet," photostat of unpublished typescript, RE Papers.
 40. Ira Wile, *The Sea Life of the Unmarried Adult* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1931), 291.
 41. Peggy Guggenheim, *Out of This Century: Confessions of an Art Addict* (New York: The Dial Press, 1946), 29.
 42. *Ibid.*, 30.
 43. *Ibid.*, 33.
 44. J. to NBI, n.d., in Ellmann, 534.
 45. Maddox, 195.
 46. J. to NBI, n.d., in Ellmann, 534.
 47. Dominique Mauger, "Lucia et la danse," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Herne, 1985), my translation.
 48. J. to Josephine Murray, 23 October 1922, *Letters I*, 191.
 49. Helen Nutting, Paris diary, Myron C. Nutting and Muriel Tyler Nutting Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
4. THE ART OF DANCING: Paris 1924-28
1. There is no record of how Lucia first met Duncan, but an educated guess would place them together at Nathalie Barney's where, throughout the 1920s, the young girls who studied with him danced, long-haired and barefooted, in the back garden. It is also possible that she saw notices of him during her trip to Nice, where Duncan spent his summers for many years.
 2. Helen Kastor Joyce, "Notes re mistakes in RE's 1959 J. biography," unpublished typescript, RE Papers.
 3. Adela Roacop, *Raymond Duncan: Poet, Experimenter, Eccentric Artist* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1991), 12.
 4. Lillian Loewenthal, *The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora Duncan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Book Co., 1993), 175.
 5. Roacop, *Raymond Duncan*, 12.
 6. Lois Rafter, *Lovely Isadora* (Oakland, Calif.: Rather Press, 1976), 27.
 7. Robert McAlmon and Kay Boyle, *Being Genies Together, 1920-1930* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968).
 8. Grace Noyes, "A Remarkable Family," *Physical Culture* (April 1910): 81.
 9. Loewenthal, *Search for Isadora*, 174.
 10. *Chicago Examiner*, 9 January 1912. All headlines are from the clippings collection, NYLPA.
 11. Oscar Wolfe, "Raymond Duncan: The Executive," *Dancer Magazine* (February 1930), n.p.
 12. Loewenthal, *Search for Isadora*, 171.
 13. Isadora Duncan, *My Life* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1928), 21.

NOTES

481

14. Kay Boyle, *My Next Bride* (New York: Viking, 1986), 38.
15. McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Genies Together*, 116.
16. Raymond Duncan, *The Left Bank Reunited*, clipping file, Rondelle.
17. Martin Green, *Mountain of Truth: The Countess Marie Bygones, Arcana, 1900-1920* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986), 130.
18. Loewenthal, *Search for Isadora*, 173. The sources of Duncan's movement strategies were archaeology and the sensibility of his young Greek wife, Penelope. He seems not but only to pull them into contemporary relevance. His Hellenism seems, then, to course, indicating in the simplicity and comfort of their tunics both a rejection (they would not be confined by the structures of bourgeois attire) and an affiliation (classical antiquity would identify a crude genealogy, a search for origins that modern life both deferred and obscured. Duncan's motives seem akin to Nietzsche's in that he wanted to trace the history of the present in order to undermine the self-evidence of the present to itself. In fact, we could claim that he served as an example of what Nietzsche called "the new philosophers"—people who "have found their task, their hard, unwanted, unavoidable task, but finally the greatness of their task, in being the bad conscience of their age." See Michael Mahon, *Freud's Nietzschean Genealogy: Truth, Power and the Subject* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 86-87.
19. In this double focus, Duncan bridged the distinction that Nietzsche made between mortal ring dance—the "ecstatic dance in which a community expressed itself as a chorus of sayers, a communal half-conscious quasi-mind below the level of individual thought, expressing in its ecstasy the community's will to overcome the agony of universal death." See Francis Edward Sparshott, *Off the Ground: First Steps to a Philosophical Consideration of the Dancer* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), 68.
20. Boyle, *My Next Bride*, 40.
21. J. to HSW, 15 February 1928, *Letters III*, 171.
22. Raymond Duncan, *Echoes from the Studio of Raymond Duncan* (Paris: Akademia Raymond Duncan, 1930).
23. Raymond Duncan, *Extinguished: New Paris* (Paris: Akademia Raymond Duncan, February 1932).
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. Hugo Ball, *Die Flucht aus der Zeit* (Munich: Duncker und Humblot, 1927), 41; my translation.
27. Helen Kastor Joyce, "We Meet," photostat of unpublished typescript, RE Papers.
28. Sylvia Beach, *Shakespeare and Company* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959), 69.
29. Myron Nutting, "Paris diary, 1924-25," Myron C. Nutting and Muriel Tyler Nutting Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
30. *Ibid.*
31. André Levinson, "Argentina," in *André Levinson on Dance: Writings from Paris in the Twenties*, ed. Joan Acocella and Lynn Garafola (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1991), 96-97.

482

NOTES

32. Lucia Joyce, "The Real Life of James Joyce," unpublished typescript, HRC.
33. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*, 49-50; and Lucia Joyce, "My Life," unpublished typescript, HRC.
34. Raffaele Benini to RE, 19 May 1985, RE Papers.
35. Jean-Michel Place, "Introduction," *L'Œuf dur* (Paris: Editions Jean-Michel Place, 1975), n.p.
36. Dominique Maroger claimed that Lucia also used a nom de plume for her early published writing. See "Lucia et la danse," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Herné, 1985).
37. Place, "Introduction."
38. Emilie Fernandez, "Epithélium," *L'Œuf dur* 9 (April 1922), n.p.; my translation.
39. André Breton, "What Is Surrealism?" in *Selected Writings*, trans. John Ashbery (New York: Monad Press for Anchor Foundation, 1978), 36.
40. See André Breton, *Manifesto of Surrealism*, trans. Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969; first published by Paris: Sagittaire, 1924); and Louis Aragon, *Une Vague de rêves* (Paris: Commerce, 1924).
41. Louis Aragon, in Jacqueline Chénieux-Gendron, *Surrealism*, trans. Vivian Folkenflik (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 52.
42. *Ibid.*, 22.
43. Kay Boyle to RE, 6 January 1983, RE Papers.
44. See Dominique Maroger, "Lucia et la danse" and "Dernière rencontre avec Lucia," in Aubert and Senn, eds., *James Joyce*, 81. "The poems have disappeared, probably thrown on the dustbin during the liquidation of the apartments in Paris and Zurich. Nora was never interested. The doctors in Jung's entourage who read them did not attach importance to the fact that they were generated among others of the surrealists," my translation.
45. I am grateful to David Hayman and Ira Nadel for information about the Fernandez ancestry; the result of a personal interview with Emilie Fernandez's daughter Raffaele Benini Fernandez. Their essay, "Joyce and the Family of Emilie and Yva Fernandez: Solving a Minor Mystery," can be found in *JJQ* 25:1 (fall 1987): 49-57.
46. Lucia Joyce, "Real Life of James Joyce."
47. Raffaele Benini to RE, 19 May 1985, RE Papers.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Darius Milhaud, *My Happy Life* (London: Marion Boyers, 1993), 264.
50. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
51. Samuel Beckett, interview by Richard Ellmann, 28 July 1953, RE Papers.
52. Adèle Fernandez to RE, n.d., unpublished letter, RE Papers.
53. William Bird, interview by Richard Ellmann, 2 August 1953, RE Papers.
54. See Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 71: "Not only had she read far more of Joyce's books than Nora had, but she also knew his thoughts intuitively: she was the daughter of the spirit, the anima, of James Joyce," my translation.
55. Beach, *Shakespeare and Company*, 184.
56. JJ to HSW, 23 October 1923, *Letters I*, 206; JJ to HSW, 2 November 1923, *Letters III*, 82.
57. JJ to HSW, 23 November 1923, *Letters III*, 134.
58. JJ to HSW, 9 October 1923, *Letters I*, 205.

NOTES

483

59. JJ to HSW, 6 April 1924, *Letters III*, 93.
 60. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 73.
 61. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
 62. Myron Nutting, "My Life."
 63. Helen Nutting, "Paris diary, 1924-25."
 64. JJ to Robert McAlmon, n.d. (early 1924), RE Papers.
 65. JJ to HSW, n.d. (June 1924), *Letters I*, 209.
 66. At the Trocadéro, the programs consisted of Beethoven, Wagner, Schubert, Elyzé, the programs included a Chopin festival and works by Liszt, Brahms, Wagner, and Berlioz (May-June). Again at the Trocadéro, with four of the 25-31 January she and the four Isadorables completed the yearlong festival. See Loewenthal, *Search for Isadora*, 198.
 67. Lucia's pin-up collection, now housed at the University of Buffalo, Lockwood Memorial Library, the Poetry and Rare Book Collection, includes pictures of Lili, Constantin Tcherkass, Alexandra Danilova, and Leonide Massine.
 68. André Levinson, "The Girls," in *André Levinson on Dance*, 89; Lucia Joyce, "Note to Zdenka Podhaysky," Buffalo.
 69. Hayman and Nadel, "Joyce and the Family of Emilie and Yva Fernandez," 55.
 70. Sparshott, *Off the Ground*, 7.
 71. André Levinson, "The Spirit of Classical Dance," in *André Levinson on Dance*, 42-43.
 72. *Ibid.*, 80.
 73. *Ibid.*, 81.
 74. *Ibid.*, 4.
 75. *Ibid.*, 90.
 76. *Ibid.*
 77. Green, *Mountain of Truth*, 110.
 78. Naima Prevors, *The Mary Wigman Book: Her Writings*, ed. and trans. Walter Sorell (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), 52; see also Sparshott, *Off the Ground*, 74.
 79. Green, *Mountain of Truth*, 123.
 80. *Ibid.*, 108.
 81. *Ibid.*, 96.
 82. *Ibid.*, 222.
5. LEAPING WITH THE RAINBOW GIRLS: Nice 1928
1. André Levinson, "Articles sur la danse" (scrapbook), vol. 1, n.p., Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.
 2. Dominique Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Herné, 1985), 69; my translation.
 3. *Ibid.*
 4. *Ibid.*, 74.
 5. *Margaret Morris Dancing: A Book of Pictures by Fred Danesi, with an Introduction*

- and *Outline of Her Methods* by Margaret Morris (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trubner, 1928), 26.
6. *Ibid.*
 7. *Ibid.*, 29.
 8. *Ibid.*, 35, 42.
 9. *Ibid.*, 44.
 10. *Ibid.*, 45–46.
 11. *Ibid.*, 46.
 12. *Ibid.*
 13. "Leur grande originalité est dans leur existence privée. Elles sont huit ou dix jeunes filles—peut-être seize et davantage—qui refitès pendant de longs mois, dans un coin sauvage des Alpes-Maritimes, consacrent leur existence à la danse." *Petit Journal* (February 1927), Rondelle.
 14. See J1 to HSW, 22 September 1932. "We are all here. Lucia and the nurse came over from Venice today." *Letters III*, 259.
 15. "Telle est, à quelques kilomètres d'Antibes, la vallée du Lauq. Une rivière encadrée de grands arbres, un air de fraîcheur, un pays ombreux, touffu et verdoyant. . . . Si, de là, nous poursuivons vers l'intérieur, nous arrivons dans une région de collines gris clair, très différentes de tout ce que nous avons couronné de voir en Provence. Le feuillage des oliviers s'accorde avec ce ton de boue sèche. Dans l'étendue des vignes, les files longues et basses de ceps sont tendues maintenant de pourpre violente. Partout dans les jardins le pècher et l'orange abonde. . . . J'en connais une ou un manuscrit s'achève en ce moment. Un vestibule laisse voir le départ d'un escalier de bois. Une salle, dont la cheminée est fort belle, a son plafond soutenu par des solives en saillie, brunes et crevasées. Les fenêtres ouvrent sur un abîme d'or, de vert clair et de ciel." Henri Bidou, "Les Danseuses de Saint-Paul," *Temps* 21 (October 1931), translation by Theodor Schorske.
 16. Hélène Vanel, "Le Mouvement," *Cahiers rythme et couleur* 3 (May 1926): 91. Part of Lucia's training was to create rhythm and color in drawings, which she kept in notebooks. The drawings, which include images of tropical landscapes with palm trees, were evidently handed in to Hutton and Vanel, who annotated them: "Lucia design on [dance notation] on the back and responded to their quality with comments like "couleurs d'une belle qualité—un certain prisme dans les formes."
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. The Lizard-on-the-Wall, "The Three Dancers," *Cahiers rythme et couleur* 2 (November 1925): 57.
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. Hélène Vanel, "La Danseuse artiste et éducatrice," *Cahiers rythme et couleur* 2 (November 1925): 34.
 21. *Ibid.*
 22. *Ibid.*
 23. *Ibid.*, 35.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. *Ibid.*, 36–37.
 26. *Ibid.*
 27. The performances for which playbills have survived are Théâtre des Champs-Élysées: 20 November 1926, and 18 December 1926; Ancien Théâtre du Marais:

- 21 December 1926; Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier: 19 February 1927, and 9 April 1927; Empire Théâtre: 12 August 1927. From newspaper reviews in Rondelle, we know that the group performed regularly through 1930.
 28. Darius Milhaud, *My Happy Life* (London: Marion Boyers, 1995), 82.
 29. *Ibid.*, 84.
 30. "Un groupement de jeunes artistes de la classe qu'elle a formée en Provence. Pendant deux ans, elles ont travaillé avec acharnement sur les collines qui avoisinent la cité de Saint-Paul, bien connue des peintres et leurs efforts ont été fort appréciés par l'élite artistique du Midi de la France et de la Suisse." *Petit Journal* (February 1927), Rondelle.
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. "Se conjuguent parfaitement: celle-ci, surtour d'attitudes, celle-là plus danseuse, toutes deux sensibles aux plus tenues variations de la musique et brochant sur la mélodie des arabesques fines et spontanées, lesquels n'en détournent ni le vers profond, ni la résonance intérieure," clipping file, Rondelle; my translation.
 33. André Levinson, "Bagatelles laborieuses," February 1930, clipping file, Rondelle.
 34. Lucia shared this prejudice, for among her memorabilia is a page cut from *IDEAL?* Buffalo, Jean Tedesco was then the director of the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier.
 35. Levinson, "Bagatelles."
 36. The Lizard-on-the-Wall, "Three Dancers," 59.
 37. Lucia's first stage appearance was with Margaret Morris in March 1926.
 38. Hélène Vanel, "Souvenirs de Lucia Joyce," in Aubert and Senn, eds., *Janez Joyce*, 83–84.
 39. In Ellmann, 581.
 40. Vanel, "Souvenirs de Lucia Joyce," 85.
 41. J1 to HSW, 5 March 1926, *Letters III*, 138.
 42. J1 to HSW, 18 March 1926, *Letters I*, 240.
 43. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 70.
6. CHOOSING PARTNERS: Paris and Salzburg 1928
1. Richard Ellmann, in an effort to locate the Joyces within a larger framework of the arts, tells us mistakenly that in 1923 Joyce took his whole family to see a performance of George Antheil's *Ballet Mécanique* [sic] and that they were all present at the Ballet studios on 4 October 1923. "When the composer played his *Sonata finale Mécanique*, a ballet not of dancers but of "percussion in pictures," was not even begun until July 1924. See Hugh Ford, *Four Lives in Paris* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1987), 30. It was not performed, even in private, until September 1924, and the public had to wait until 1925 to see it. For the project, Antheil had worked with Fernand Léger, who frequently did work for the Ballet studios. But even this leading, Léger, in this instance, was not choreographing but was instead making a film "using static objects repeated and reflected in mirrors and special lenses. . . . that would create a moving and separating effect and like music, a definite

486

NOTES

- rhythm" (30). And according to Rolf de Mare, director of the Ballet suédois, who wrote the first full-length book on it, George Antheil did not compose any of his troupe's dance music; nor did it perform on 4 October 1923. See his "Tableau des représentations," in *Les Ballets suédois dans l'art contemporain* (Paris: Editions du Trianon, 1931).
2. *Archives internationales de la danse* 1 (1933): n.p.
 3. Playbill, Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, 19 February 1927, Rondelle.
 4. In Sally Banes, "An Introduction to the 'Ballets Suédois,'" *Ballet Review* 72-3 (1978-79): 29.
 5. Pierre Tugal, quoted in De Mare, *Les Ballets suédois dans l'art contemporain*, 30.
 6. Banes, "Introduction to the 'Ballets Suédois,'" 29.
 7. Victor Seroff, 23 September 1920, clipping file, Rondelle.
 8. "Dances arranged by Harley Quinn," (*PW* 221.25).
 9. "A czarlaner indeed! Dervish glad too" (*PW* 513.17).
 10. "Les frontières entre les arts, les époques et les pays," See Ingrid-Marie Kessler, "Les Ballets suédois et les poètes français," *La Recherche en danse* 2:83-79; my translation.
 11. *New York News*, 26 November 1923.
 12. *New York American*, 26 November 1923.
 13. Banes, "Introduction to the 'Ballets Suédois,'" 45.
 14. *Ibid.*, 39.
 15. Paul Claudel, *Claudel on the Theatre*, ed. Jacques Petit and Jean-Pierre Kempf, trans. Christine Trollope (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1972), 45-47.
 16. Richard Brender, "Reinventing Africa in Their Own Image: The Ballets Suédois' 'Ballet nègre,' *La Création du monde*," *Dance Chronicle* 9:1 (1986): 125.
 17. In Jay Rockner, *Blaise Cendrars: Discovery and Re-creation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 67.
 18. In Brender, "Reinventing Africa in Their Own Image," 124.
 19. Fanoudh Siefert, quoted in Brender, "Reinventing Africa in Their Own Image," 123.
 20. Blaise Cendrars, "Homage à Jean Bordin," in De Mare, *Les Ballets suédois dans l'art contemporain*, 176-77.
 21. Brender argues that the Ballet suédois distinguished itself from other Western recreations of the primitive by its insistence that African religious ritual be taken as seriously as the story of Adam and Eve, and by its posing of the modern artist, like his African precursor, as an integral part of the life of the community. The social structure of the tribe, he suggests, is "analogized to that of the new humanity." According to him, the troupe was neither presenting Africa in the stereotypes of Western colonialism—as bestial or senescently passionate or childlike—nor appropriating another culture for use solely for avant-garde purposes, nor making a claim for universal similarity between the traditional and the new. It was, rather, re-creating the collective spectacle of the artist embraced by his society and thus replicating a folk wisdom made manifest first to Africa but in this performance finally understood on the Western stage. Whether we agree with Brender's formulation or not, rhythmic structure was clearly at the heart of the ballet's meaning for the dancers, for those who worked with them, and for those who watched its performance. See Brender, "Reinventing Africa in Their Own Image," 131-33.

NOTES

487

22. If Julia Kristeva imagines literature to be rhythm made intelligible by syntax, then we can claim that dance turns the moving body into the generator of that syntax, translating an unfettered, irreducible energy into another kind of intelligible script. See *Revolution in Poetic Language*, ed. Margaret Walter (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 26.
23. In Roger Shattuck, *The Banquet Years: The Origins of the Avant-Garde in France, 1885-World War I* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), 51.
24. JI to HSW, 24 November 1926, *Letters III*, 146.
25. Hélène Vanel, "Souvenir de Lucia Joyce," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Hermès, 1985), 84.
26. *Ibid.*, 85.
27. *Ibid.*, 84.
28. JI to HSW, 14 September 1927, *Letters I*, 259.
29. JI to HSW, 8 October 1927, *Letters III*, 163.
30. Helen Nutting, Paris diary, RE Papers.
31. "Representation unique," Programme: Comédie des Champs-Élysées, 18 February 1928, Opéra.
32. Helen Nutting, Paris diary, RE Papers.
33. Brender, "Reinventing Africa in Their Own Image," 120.
34. "On the Left Bank," *Paris Times* 1371 (14 March 1928).
35. Bozenna Berta Delimaia, "Reminiscences of a Joyce Niece," ed. Virginia Moseley, JI/2 1931 (fall 1982): 50.
36. André Levinson, "The Spirit of Classical Dance," in *André Levinson on Dance: Writings from Paris in the Twenties*, ed. Joan Accolla and Lynn Garzola (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1991), 42.
37. Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, ed. Clive Hart (Dublin: Millington, 1974), 95.
38. In Ellmann, 564.
39. Samuel Beckett, "Dante . . . Bruno, Vico . . . Joyce," in Beckett et al., *Our Fragmentation Round His Fertilization for Incarnation of "Work in Progress"* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 14.
40. Delimaia, "Reminiscences," 50.
41. Eileen Schaubert, interview by Richard Ellmann, n.d., RE Papers.
42. Dominique Maroger, "Dernière rencontre avec Lucia," in Aubert and Senn, eds., *James Joyce*, 77.
43. "The Past of the Future: Zdenka Podhalsky's Dance of Life," newspaper clippings, RE Papers.
44. *Ibid.*
45. Schaubert interview.
46. Robert McAlmon and Kay Boyle, *Being Gensies Together, 1920-1930* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), 354.
47. *Ibid.*, 354.
48. *Ibid.*, 353.
49. Maddox's statement, "In 1928 . . . Lucia was twenty-one and went with her dance group to the Isadora Duncan school near Salzburg" (212), is wrong. She went alone to the Elizabeth Duncan School. The contact was made through Raymond Duncan and not through her affiliation with Les Six de rythme et couleur. Isadora Duncan was already dead; she died on 14 September 1927.

488

NOTES

50. Irma Duncan, *Duncan Dancer* (New York: Books for Libraries, 1980), 51.
51. Victor Seroff, *The Real Isadora* (New York: The Dial Press, 1971), 158.
52. Max Meix, "Die Ziele und die Organisation der Elizabeth Duncan-Schule," in *Elizabeth Duncan-Schule: Marienhöhe/Darmstadt* (Jena, Germany: Eugen Dieckmann, 1912), 11; my translation.
53. *Ibid.*, 12.
54. *Ibid.*, 15.
55. A. Mallwitz, "The Physical Education of Girls in Light of the Physical Culture Movement," in *Elizabeth Duncan-Schule*, 19; my translation.
56. *Ibid.*, 20.
57. *Ibid.*, 21.
58. Seroff, *Real Isadora*, 158.
59. *Ibid.*, 161.
60. Irma Duncan, *Duncan Dancer*, 112.
61. McAlmon and Boyle, *Being Geminus Together*, 112.
62. Lucia Joyce, "The Real Life of James Joyce," unpublished manuscript, HRC.
63. *Ibid.*
64. J to HSW, 19 October 1929, *Letters III*, 283.
65. Maddox, 249.

7. STUMBLING AND RECOVERY: Paris 1928-31

1. Ellmann, 606-7; Maddox, 243-46.
2. Helen Kastor Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist by His Daughter-in-Law," unpublished typescript, HRC.
3. HKJ to RE, 23 October 1959, RE Papers.
4. *Ibid.*
5. See note 30 below.
6. MN to RE, 9 April 1955, RE Papers.
7. Nino Frank, interview by Richard Ellmann, 20 August 1953, RE Papers.
8. Giorgio Joyce, interview by Richard Ellmann, 9 August 1953, RE Papers.
9. Helen Kastor Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist."
10. Cited in Maddox, 230.
11. Helen Kastor Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist."
12. *Ibid.*
13. Helen Kastor Joyce, "We Meet," photostat of unpublished typescript, RE Papers.
14. Maddox, however, states as fact that Helen seduced Giorgio (225), and "For Joyce, his son's sexual initiation by a Jewish beauty must have been deeply distressing" (232). Ellmann had a copy of Helen's unpublished memoir but apparently did not use it because he could not substantiate its claims. In 1955 he began an extensive correspondence with Myron Nurning, hoping that Nurning would either know of the alleged affair with Lillian Wallace or be able to lead him to the truth. On 30 January 1955, after Nurning had written a brief biographical note about Lillian, Ellmann wrote, "You have given me considerable help with the Wallaces about whom I had no information." Nurning evidently remained preoccupied with the Wallaces; for on 16 April 1955, he wrote again to Ellmann, with several paragraphs about how he, Richard Wallace, and Joseph Collins had met in the ambulance

NOTES

489

- corps and how their friendship had continued through their years together in Paris (1920-29). Using information that Nurning had given him about Lillian's maiden name and family background, Ellmann finally succeeded in finding her. On 9 December 1955, Nurning wrote, "I was delighted that you located Lillian Wallace. I got a wonderful letter from her." Three years later, Ellmann, Nurning, and Lillian Wallace were all still in correspondence with one another, but Nurning never suspected that she had a secret; Ellmann never told him what he was searching for, and Lillian never divulged the truth, if there was truth to be revealed. RE Papers.
15. Helen Kastor Joyce, "We Meet."
 16. MN to RE, 23 January 1955, and 16 April 1955, RE Papers.
 17. Helen Kastor Joyce, "We Meet."
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. Lucia Joyce, "My Life," unpublished manuscript, HRC.
 20. Lucia Joyce, quoted in Maddox, 256. Maria Jolas had a similar assessment: "He was practically—I don't like to use the word 'gigolo'—but he was absolutely at the back and call of this spoiled, attractive, rich woman," quoted in Maddox, 256.
 21. Adie Nelson and Barrie Robinson, *Gigolos and Madames: Illusions of Glamour, Power, and Intimacy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 52-53.
 22. Jean Martz, *L'Apprenti gigolo* (Paris: J. Perenzy, 1926), 13; my translation.
 23. Ellmann, 600.
 24. Stuart Gilbert, Paris diary, 8 December 1930, SG Papers.
 25. William Bird to RE, 24 October 1955, RE Papers.
 26. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
 27. André Breton, "Second Manifesto," in *Investigating Sex: Surrealist Research 1928-1932*, ed. José Pierre, trans. Malcolm Innrie (London, New York: Verso Press, 1992), 192, 21.
 28. D. H. Lawrence, "A Propos of Lady Chatterley's Lover," in *Lady Chatterley's Lover (The Complete and Uncensored 1928 Orion Edition)* (London: Bantam Books, 1968), 332.
 29. Gilbert, Paris diary, 9 July 1932, SG Papers.
 30. "Heren Bruder habe sie ausserordentlich geliebt," James Joyce and Paul Léon, "Anamnese von Fräulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers; my translation.
 31. J to HSW, 24 June 1924, *Letters I*, 216.
 32. In David Hayman, *A First-Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake"* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), 225.
 33. *Ibid.*, 226. Hayman uses the following editorial conventions: "All of Joyce's additions are in italics; Joyce's cancellations are crossed out; Joyce's substitutions are in bold face" ("Reader's Key," 44).
 34. Helen Nurning, Paris diary, RE Papers. This diary fragment is dated 1928, but it is not possible to verify if Patrick Tuohy was in Paris in 1928. It may be that this is a description of an earlier year between 1924 and 1927, when Tuohy was working on Joyce's portrait.
 35. J to HSW, 15 February 1928, *Letters III*, 171.
 36. "Le Championnat d'amateurs de danse rythmique," clipping file, Rondelle; my translation.
 37. *Chronique parisière*, clipping file, Rondelle.
 38. *Ibid.*

490

NOTES

39. JI to HSW, 28 May 1929, *Letters I*, 280.
40. Samuel Beckett, interview by Richard Ellmann, 28 July 1953, RE Papers.
41. *La Semaine à Paris*, clipping file, Rondelle, my translation.
42. Dominique Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Héne, 1985), 71.
43. Beckett interview.
44. Stuart Gilbert, *Reflections on James Joyce: Stuart Gilbert's Paris Journal*, ed. Thomas F. Suley and Randolph Lewis (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 11.
45. Stuart Gilbert, "Introduction," *Letters I*, 34.
46. JI to HSW, 26 April 1929, *Letters III*, 189n.
47. Ellmann, 614.
48. Helen Kastor Joyce, "Luncheon at Café Léopold," photocast of unpublished typescript, RE Papers.
49. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 71.
50. Ellmann, 616.
51. Gilbert, *Reflections on James Joyce*, 13.
52. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 71.
53. At the end of *Oedipus at Colonus*, as Oedipus lies dying, he refuses to pass his estate to his daughters. Instead he selects a surrogate son in Theseus, saying to Antigone and Ismene, "never ask to see what law forbids . . . Now go quickly. Only the appointed one, Theseus, let him stand behind me: He alone must see this mystery." See *Daughters and Fathers*, ed. Lynla Boock and Betty S. Flowers (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 42.
54. Victor Seroff, 23 September 1920, clipping file, Rondelle.
55. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 71.
56. André Levinson, "The Spirit of Classical Dance," in *André Levinson on Dance: Writings from Paris in the Twenties*, ed. Joan Acocella and Lynn Garafola (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1991), 45-46.
57. *Ibid.*, 47-48.
58. Zelda began working with Egorova in 1927 and continued to do so until 1930, when she had a breakdown. She recuperated at Les Rives de Prangins in Nyon, Switzerland, where Lucia also spent time in 1934.
59. Zelda Fitzgerald, *Save Me the Walts*, in *The Collected Writings of Zelda Fitzgerald*, ed. Matthew Bruccoli (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1991), 116-17.
60. JI to HSW, 19 October 1929, *Letters I*, 285.
61. Fitzgerald, *Save Me the Walts*, 138.
62. *Ibid.*, 151.
63. Fitzgerald, *Collected Writings*, 448.
64. Helen Kastor Joyce, "Notes re mistakes in RE's 1959 JI biography," RE Papers.
65. Eileen Schaubek, interview by Richard Ellmann, n.d., RE Papers.
66. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 72.
67. *Ibid.*, 67.
68. JI to HSW, 22 November 1929, *Letters I*, 287.
69. Maddox, 249.
70. Margaret Morris, *My Life in Movement* (London: Owen, 1969), 65.
71. *Ibid.*, 64.
72. *Ibid.*, 69.

NOTES

491

73. *Ibid.*, 64, 67, 69.
 74. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 68.
 75. *Ibid.*
 76. For an elaboration of similar ideas see Peggy Phelan, "Dance and the History of Hysteria," in *Corporalities: Dancing, Knowledge, Culture and Power*, ed. Susan Bruler (New York: Routledge, 1996), 90-99. "Anna O's conversations with them are performances in which her body finds words, but rather past. Passing into language, the somatic symptom passes into the past. To put it in a slightly different key: If we think of psychoanalysis as a mode of psychic choreography, we can see the symptom as the body's psychic movement. Psychoanalysis and choreography are two different modes of performing the body's movement" (96).
 77. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 73.
 78. SB Papers.
 79. JI to HSW, 11 March 1931, *Letters III*, 303.
 80. Ellmann, 663.
8. STEPPING OUT: Paris 1931-32
1. Stuart Gilbert, Paris diary, 6 May 1932, SG Papers.
 2. *Ibid.*, 5 and 8 December 1930.
 3. *Ibid.*, 29 January 1930.
 4. *Ibid.*, 31 January 1930.
 5. *Ibid.*, 6 May 1932.
 6. For an excellent discussion of the ways in which categories about female adolescence have shaped various images of Lucia, see Catherine Driscoll, *Appendix: Lucia Joyce*, Ph.D. diss.; and Catherine Driscoll, *Girl* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
 7. For a more extended discussion of this adolescent phenomenon—a female child's tendency to impose restrictions on herself at the period when she becomes aware of her sexual identity—see Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). Lucia's place in Joyce's imaginative economy made distinctive demands on her that cannot be fully explained with Gilligan's paradigm.
 8. Samuel Beckett, interview by Richard Ellmann, 28 July 1953, RE Papers.
 9. Knowlson, 105.
 10. Samuel Beckett, "Dante . . . Bruno, Vico . . . Joyce," in Beckett et al., *Our Examinations Round His Facification for Incarnation of "Work in Progress"* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 17.
 11. See Derride Bati, *Samuel Beckett* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978); Ellmann, and Maddox.
 12. Samuel Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Minding Women* (London: Calder Publications, 1993), 150.
 13. Knowlson, 110.
 14. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Minding Women*, 43.
 15. *Ibid.*, 40.
 16. Maroger, "Dernière rencontre avec Lucia," in *James Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Héne, 1985), 77.

492

NOTES

17. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 49.
18. Knowlson, 146.
19. *Ibid.*, 104.
20. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 23-24.
21. *Ibid.*, 18.
22. *Ibid.*, 19.
23. Knowlson, 148.
24. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 34.
25. *Ibid.*, 37, 36.
26. *Ibid.*, 36.
27. Knowlson, 149.
28. Terence Kilicen, "Play It Again Sam!" *Irish Times*, 5 November 1992.
29. Knowlson, 148.
30. James Knowlson makes the connection with Lucia through Dante's *Divina Commedia*, a book that Beckett gave to Lucia and that was annotated with his remark that one of the "très bonne benedette" (three blessed women) comes from Syracuse. Knowlson, 149.
31. Lucia mentioned this as a book she read in her youth in her 1938 "The Real Life of James Joyce," unpublished typescript, HRC.
32. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 118.
33. Beckett interview, 28 July 1953. Brenda Maddox understands this behavior to be a symptom of schizophrenia. For a ballerina who was entered by her dance mistress, Madame Egorova, to remain lean and sinewy, vomiting after meals might better be considered bulimia; to me the problem seems to be more directly about weight and the perceived beauty of a lean appearance.
34. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 50.
35. Knowlson, 149 n.33, 646.
36. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 121.
37. *Ibid.*, 33.
38. Scattered throughout Beckett's text are many other veiled allusions to *Finnegans Wake*: the description of anatomy as geometry (35); an allusion to the children's lesson in the *Wake* II, ii (293ff); the beautiful hen (35), an allusion to Belinda Doran, the hen who finds the buried letter in the *Wake* I (13ff); and an imitation of Joyce's hundred-letter "thunderwords" on (239): "Thimiseacrakuzidikenjennamaria-undlofunduhlungekreuzl! All in one word. The things people come out with sometimes!" Throughout Beckett's *Dream* are portmanteau words from at least three languages that also suggest covert references to Joyce's writing.
39. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 116.
40. *Ibid.*, 50.
41. *Ibid.*, 46.
42. *Ibid.*, 34.
43. *Ibid.*, 50.
44. Gilbert, Paris diary, 6 May 1932, SG Papers.
45. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 48, 34. In reading this section of the novel, I am reminded of Peggy Guggenheim's description of a similar time in her own life: "At this time, I was worried about my virginity. I was twenty-three and I found it burdensome. All my boyfriends were disposed to marry me, but

NOTES

493

- they were so respectable they would not rape me. I had a collection of photographs of frescos I had seen at Pompeii. They depicted people making love in various positions, and of course I was very curious and wanted to try them out myself. It soon occurred to me that I could make use of Florenz [Laurence Vail] for this purpose. . . . I went home and dined with my mother and a friend [glaring over my secret and wondering what they would think of it if they knew]." (*This Century: Confessions of an Art Addict* [New York: The Dial Press, 1946], 25-26.
46. At another point in the text, the narrator refers to the Syra Cusa's "Bilitis breasts." One wonders if Beckett in some way sensed or even knew that Lucia had lesbian tendencies. *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 33, 50, 116.
 47. *Ibid.*, 120.
 48. *Ibid.*, 137.
 49. *Ibid.*, 121.
 50. *Ibid.*, 120.
 51. *Ibid.*, 49. James Knowlson identifies the character Lucien as based on Jean Beaufrey, Beckett's philosophy student at the École normale (150), and adds in a footnote that Georges Belmont, a friend of both, concurs (646 n42). My own vote for Lucien would be Thomas MacGrevey. See Maddox: "When Lucia accused all the men around her of seducing her, [Joyce] responded by banning them all from Syra Cusa's desire for sexual experience" (285). Regardless, the text reveals that the game of sexual bandying, if such sexual trading occurred among the men in Beckett's circle, it would explain Lucia's distress when she finally understood the nature of the game. In other words, she might have been upset about something real, and not hallucinating, as other writers have implied.
 52. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 116, 117.
 53. *Ibid.*, 121. See also SB to Thomas MacGrevey, 1 October 1932, Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, TCD: "What I mean is I don't love her nor scape of I couldn't quite bring it off. . . . I just feel fervent/ardent in a vague, general way."
 54. Gilbert, Paris diary, 24 May 1932, HRC.
 55. Peggy Guggenheim, quoted in Jacqueline Weld, *Peggy: The Wayward Guggenheim* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1986), 83.
 56. Guggenheim, *Out of This Century*, 118.
 57. See Jacques Lacan, "Joyce le symptôme I," in *Joyce avec Lacan*, ed. Jacques Aubert (Paris: Navarin Editrice, 1987), 21-29. Lacan posited that Lucia "fragilized" herself to avoid incest.
 58. Maroger, "Dernière rencontre avec Lucia," 77.
 59. *Ibid.*, 76.
 60. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," in Aubert and Senn, eds., *James Joyce*, 67.
 61. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 49.
 62. *Ibid.*
 63. See Bell, *Samuel Beckett*, 101; Ellmann, (48-50; Maddox, 253-54.
 64. See Jay's footnote in *Finnegans Wake*, II, ii, 271.
 65. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 137.

494

NOTES

66. *Ibid.*, 50.
67. *Ibid.*, 125.
68. *Ibid.*, 50.
69. Guggenheim, *Out of This Century*, 205.
70. Maddox, 254.
71. Knowlson, 134.
72. *Ibid.*, 179.
73. SB to Thomas MacGreery, 10 March 1935, in Knowlson, 179.
74. Guggenheim, *Out of This Century*, 194.
75. Kay Boyle to RE, 29 January 1983, RE Papers. In August 1982, Boyle and Beckett met once again in Paris, and Boyle remembered that they seemed to pick up where they had left off fifty years ago. He wanted to talk about the plot of a Machiavelli play he had seen the night before they met, while she made clear, "It was only Lucia I wanted to talk about, and madness, which I had never believed in until he made it clear."
76. Helen Kantor Joyce, "Notes re mistakes in RE 1959 JJ biography," RE Papers.
77. Stella Steyn had been urged by Patrick Tuohy, then the art master of the School of Art in Dublin, to study French painting in Paris. When her mother consented to take her there, Tuohy gave the Steyns a letter of introduction to the Joyces. Stella Steyn, "A Retrospective View with an Autobiographical Memoir," in *Catalogue*, ed. S. B. Kennedy (Dublin: Gorry Gallery, 1995), 12. I wish to thank Misa Lerman-Hayes for calling my attention to this memoir.
78. *Ibid.*, 13-14.
79. *Ibid.*, 15, 8.
80. *Ibid.*, 16.
81. *Ibid.*, 17.
82. *Ibid.*, 16-17.
83. Cary F. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia Joyce in Zurich, 1934," RE Papers.
84. *Ibid.*
85. Alexander Calder, Paris address book, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
86. Albert Hubbard to RE, August 1981, RE Papers.
87. "Waldo Peirce to Betty Lockett Spender," *Bangor Daily News*, n.d. (1936); Waldo Peirce Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*
91. Alexander Calder, *Calder: An Autobiography with Pictures* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), 92.
92. Steyn, "Retrospective View," 17.
93. Hubbard to RE, August 1981, RE Papers.
94. Lucia Joyce, "My Life," unpublished typescript, HRC.
95. See especially *Josephine Baker*, 1926, wire; *Acrobats*, 1928, wire; *Josephine Baker*, 1927, iron wire; *Action Toys*, brochure, 1926; *Dancer*, 1929, wire; *Grand Eclair*, 1929, wire.
96. See Alexander Calder to George Thomas, 29 June 1932: "I had another exposition in Paris last February. This time abstract sculptures which moved—so swaying when touched or blown and others propelled by small electric motors. I had some

NOTES

495

- 15 individual motors so it was really quite a show." Alexander Calder Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
97. Calder, *Autobiography*, 91.
98. Joan M. Marret, *Alexander Calder* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 45.
99. Calder, *Autobiography*; Marret, *Alexander Calder*, 63-64.
100. Calder, *Autobiography*; Calder, *Circus*, ed. Jean Lipman with Nancy Foote (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1972), 165.
101. Lipman, ed., *Calder's Circus*, 165.
102. Calder, *Autobiography*, 91.
103. *Ibid.*, 95.
104. *Ibid.*, 112.
105. Lucia Joyce, "My Life."
106. Hubbard to RE, August 1981.
107. Calder, *Autobiography*, 101, 112.
108. Calder returned home in December 1930.
109. Hubbard to RE, August 1981.
110. *Ibid.*
111. Beckett, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*, 19.
112. Hubbard to RE, August 1981.
113. *Ibid.*
114. *Ibid.*
115. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia."
116. Léon held degrees in literature and law, was an editor of a law review, and had published *Lettres de Nicolas II et de sa mère* (1928) and *Remyism Constant* (1930).
117. Stuart Gilbert, *Reflections on James Joyce: Stuart Gilbert's Paris Journal*, ed. Thomas F. Staley and Randolph Lewis (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 46.
118. *Ibid.*, 26.
119. Nino Frank described Liam O'Flaherty in this way: "In the course of one of these soirees I came upon a strapping fellow with a brick-red face and green eyes. He was the heaviest drinker of all and had an air of a tough boxer and a brutal laugh that did not harmonize at all with the tone of the party; however, the Joyces were attentive to him, and he inspired me with a lively enough curiosity that several days later we met for a drink. It was Liam (O'Flaherty), a book of whose had just appeared in French (*The Informers*). "The Shadow That Had Lost Its Man," in *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Potts (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 89-90.
120. Zdenka Podhajsky, interview by Richard Ellmann, n.d., RE Papers.
121. Maria Jolas, interview by Richard Ellmann, 22 July 1983, RE Papers. See also Veronal, *Reflections on James Joyce*, 20. By "dope" Jolas may also have referred to Veronal, a barbiturate that was prescribed for nervousness and insomnia. See pages 340-42.
122. Mary Colum and Padraic Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), 136-37.
123. Helen Kantor Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist by His Daughter-in-Law," unpublished typescript, HRC.
124. Bozenna Betta Delimata, interview by Richard Ellmann, 27 June 1983, RE Papers.

EXHIBIT A

PART 2

496

NOTES

125. Jf 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. Bozema Berta Delimata, autobiographical typescript, n.d., RE Papers.
129. Maddox, 271.
130. Jf to Padraic Colum, 18 July 1931, *Letters III*, 221; Maddox, 272.
131. Gf to Jf, 18 August 1931, RE Papers.
132. Lj to Zdenka Podhajsky, 22 August 1931, RE Papers.
133. Jf to HSW, 27 September 1931, *Letters I*, 306.
134. Jf to HSW, 7 December 1931, *Letters I*, 308.
135. Jf 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, 1933). 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 Dieën.
139. Steyn, "Retrospective View," 17.
140. Jf to HSW, 17 April 1931, *Letters III*, 217.
141. Maroger, "Lucia et la danse," 73.
142. Lj to Zdenka Podhajsky, 1 December 1931, RE Papers.
143. Jf to HSW, 21 November 1931, *Letters III*, 234; Jf to HSW, 7 December 1931, *Letters I*, 308.
144. Jf to HSW, 21 November 1931, *Letters III*, 234; Jf to HSW, 27 November 1931, *Letters III*, 235.
145. Jf 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, "Annuaire von Fräulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
 8. George S. Hellman, *The Story of the Selfmann* (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: Borence, 1994), 33.

NOTES

497

11. *Ibid.*, 34.
12. Jacqueline Weld, *Peggy: The Heyward 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 1989 Jf biography," RE Papers.
15. Joyce and Léon, "Annuaire 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. Bozema 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. Slaty 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. Jf to HSW, 22 September 1934, *Letters I*, 146.
41. See, for example, Martin Green's quotation from *The Birth of Tragedy* in *Mountain of Truth: The Counterintelligence Regime, Arcadia, 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

NOTES

- mourns her dismembering into individuals. . . . He is no longer artist but artwork. It is clear from photographs of the dancers in Monte Verità that Laban cast himself as that bearded Dionysiac savior, 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 *Jamel Joyce*, ed. Jacques Aubert and Fritz Senn (Paris: Editions de l'Hermès, 1985), 68. See also the dances of Lucia's own repertoire with Les Six de rythme et couleur: *Fantastique, Les Vignes sauvages*, and *Pandore venge*.
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 II 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, 1 Reisepass dat. v. 5 Feb. 1932 gültig bis 5 Feb. 1937 für Aufenthalt in der Gemeinde Küssnacht 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.

NOTES

69. II to GJ, 13 August 1935, *Letters III*, 372n; also Maddox, 291.
70. Evans, *Fits and Starts*, 23.
71. Robert Castel, *The Regulation of Madness: The Origins 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. Hebephrenia, named after the Greek goddess of youth, Hebe, is a disorder characterized by regressive behavior. Maillard had only one publication to his credit: *Les Menueilles de l'autisme: Conférence d'enseignement faite à l'Institut Coudé de Paris* (Paris: Editions Ollivier, 1924).
74. II 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 Problème actuel de l'hystérie" ("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 the territory of medical rather than psychological practice, and they would challenge 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.

500

NOTES

81. *Ibid.*, 112.
82. *Ibid.*, 113.
83. J to HSW, 6 August 1932, *Letters III*, 254.
84. J to SR, 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. Cocteau, *Psychisme*, 118.
88. Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
89. J to Zdenka Podhajsky, 21 July 1932, RE Papers.
90. J to Mathilde Wenecker, 8 August 1932, HSW Papers, BL; my translation from the original French.
91. P, 169.
92. "figures, grimaces, des masques agrandis de personnes étrangères." J to Wenecker, 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 J to Frank Vigors Morley at Faber and Faber, 10 November 1932, *Letters III*, 266. This book and *A Chairner A.B.C.* were printed by Editions Vendôme/Imprimerie Vendôme Lectrain-Servant. See PL Papers.
94. In October 1932, when ten copies of the books were shipped to England, the silk casings allowed New Haven customs officials to seize the books and ask for a high luxury tax (£4) on each one. See J to SG, 17 October 1932, quoted in Gilbert, *Reflections on James Joyce*, 79.
95. J to PL, 12 July 1932, PL Papers.
96. J to HSW, 6 August 1932, *Letters III*, 254.
97. J to HSW, 25 November 1932, RE Papers.
98. J to Robert McAlmon, August 1932?, *Letters III*, 252.
99. J to SJ, 22 September 1932, *Letters III*, 260.
100. PL Papers.
101. J to Padraic Colum, 2 October 1932, in Colum and Colum, *Our Friend James Joyce*, 142.
102. J to HSW, 6 August 1932, *Letters III*, 254, n1.
103. Cocteau, *Psychisme*, 118.
104. *Ibid.*, 119.
105. J to John Sullivan, 25 August 1932, *Letters III*, 256.
106. J 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 J to Frank Budgen, 17 June 1932, *Letters I*, 319, my translation.
109. J to HSW, 11 November 1932, *Letters III*, 326-27.
110. See Fritz Vanderyp, *Exposition les jeunes graveurs contemporains: Galerie Marcel Gairol du 12-29 June 1929* (Paris: La Galerie, 1929).
111. PL to Carolus Verhulst, 17 February 1933, PL Papers; Fritz Vanderyp's publications included *De Grootte d' Paris de Chateaux* (1913), *Mon chemin de guerre* (1917),

NOTES

501

109. *Voyager* (1920), *Exposition les jeunes graveurs contemporains* (1929), *Prinnet de mon époque* (1931), *L'Art sans patrie* (1942).
112. Carolus Verhulst to J, 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 multi*, n.d.; *Herald Paris Sunday*, 31 July 1932; *Daily Telegraph*, 27 September 1932; *New York Herald*, 19 September 1932, Rondelle.
116. J 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. Huebner, 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 J, 12 July 1934, PL Papers.
124. J to John Holroyd-Reece, 4 August 1934, PL Papers.
125. The letters were not returned until 8 September 1934. See J to Frank Budgen, 8 September 1934, *Letters III*, 325.
126. The colophon of *A Chairner 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. J 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 niche" (*FW* 244 33); Jacques Mercanton, "The Hours of James Joyce," in Potts, ed., *Portraits of the Artist in Exile*, 214.
135. J 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. Fontaine that his pains were psychosomatic, caused by 'nerves'" (343).
137. J to HSW, 18 January 1933, *Letters I*, 232.
138. Gilbert, Paris diary, 5 November 1932, SG Papers.

502

NOTES

139. Herbert R. Lottman, "One of the Quiet Ones [Maria Jolas]," *New York Times Book Review*, 22 March 1970, 5.
140. *Ibid.*, 6.
141. Gilbert, *Paris diary*, 19 August 1932, SCG Papers.
142. Maria Jolas, interview by Richard Ellmann, 22 July 1953, RE Papers.
143. *J 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. *J to CC*, 29 July 1934, *Letters III*, 345; and *J to GJ*, 5 February 1935, *Letters III*, 357.
152. *J 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, "Dernière 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: Juris Druck und Verlag Dietiko, 1992), 36; my translation.
 2. Ellmann, 677.
 3. Oscar Forel, Raymond Mallet, Otto Naegele, 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.

NOTES

503

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. *J to HSW*, 9 June 1936, *Letters III*, 386.
11. Bleuler, *Dementia Praecox*, 277.
12. In Howells, ed., *Concept 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 Schwell-Frage* (Zurich: Raucher 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 had hired between thirty and thirty-nine staff members in number of professional staffs 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 Geistes- 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 stamped 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

504

NOTES

- 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 CJ, 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 Fäulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
45. "Beobachtungen im Burghölzli vom 28 bis 29 September 1934," RE Papers.
46. Otto Naegeli, *Ungelimmern* (Leipzig: Verlag von Georg Thieme, 1923), 57.
47. Financial records, PL Papers.
48. JJ to CJ, 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 Spielrein* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 34.
57. H. Girsberger, *Who? 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-

NOTES

505

- tional, *Das Bildneri der Geisteskrankten* (*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 Volz, *Lebenswissenschaften und Psychoanalyse* as well as Hugo Bleher, *Drilling und Psychoanalyse*, both published in 1928. But where Prinzhorn's book excited great interest among the surrealists (Sophie Taeuber 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 McEwre 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 Margy Anthony, *The Valkyries: The Women around Jung* (Longmead, England: Element Books, 1980), 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 that it was a memorandum for her own use, and that she reported to him directly." 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.

506

NOTES

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. J 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. Pollman, "The Lon Complex: Rereading the End of *Finnegans Wake* and Rewriting *Lucius*," in *Rereading Text/Rethinking Critical Transpositions*, ed. Shomvi Rittman-Kenan, Leona Toket, and Shuli Barzilai (New York: Peter Lang, 1996).
105. J to GJ, 29 October 1934, *Letters III*, 326–27.
106. J to HSW, 17 December 1934, *Letters I*, 353.
107. J to HSW, 21 October 1934, *Letters I*, 349.
108. J to J, October 1934, RE Papers. Original in Italian, translated as Jung's request.
109. Peter Jung (grandson), conversation with the author, Zurich, March 1992.

NOTES

507

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. J 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 Gerhardt, Michael Fordham, and Rüdiger Adler (Princeton, N.J.: Bollingen Series XX, 1953–83), vol. 10. See also Anthony, *Valhymen*.
 121. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 20 November 1934.
 122. Ellmann, 677.
 123. J to J, October 1934, RE Papers.
 124. Baynes, "Notes on Lucia," 12 November 1934.
11. LOCKING UP DANCERS: London 1935
1. J to GJ and HKI, 28 December 1934, *Letters I*, 354.
 2. Peter F. Ostwald, *Valdear Nymphy: 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 vision Lucile Gold, author of *The Clairvoyant: The Imagined Life of Lucia Joyce* (New York: Hyperion Books, 1997), 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 Jung's famous *Clairvoyance of the Preterite*, 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. J to HSW, 9 June 1936, *Letters III*, 385.

508

NOTES

8. Jung, "Schizophrenia," in *The Psychology 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. Liddendale, 338.
17. The only independent evidence we have of syphilis as a real possibility is a cryptic letter dated 7 October 1937, in the Pomisovsky section of the PL Papers in Dublin. Here we learn that Pomisovsky 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 schlecht behandelt 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 auftaucht, 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 Wrecks, 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 Joyce's 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

509

- approval of the misdirected joke." Ezra Pound, c. 1924, quoted in Liddendale, 247.
30. Liddendale, 39–44.
31. *Ibid.*, 340.
32. JJ to GI and HKI, 19 February 1935, *Letters III*, 340, 344. See also HSW to PL, 25 February 1935: "Mc Joyce's sister also wrote daily till the left London. Mc 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 in the National Library of Ireland: A Catalogue*, comp. Catherine Fahy (Dublin: 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. Liddendale (487–88) took her account of this visit from Ellmann. Maddox took her story from Liddendale: "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. Liddendale, 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. JJ to HSW, 13 March 1935, UCL.
50. HSW to PL, 9 March 1935, PL Papers.
51. Bozenna Berta Delimata, 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," *JG* 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.

510

NOTES

57. During this time Joyce sent Lucia a copy of Dante's *Vita Nuova*. Ellmann, 681.
58. J to HSW, 7 April 1935, *Letters I*, 361.
59. HSW to J, 15 April 1935, PL Papers.
60. J to HSW, 7 April 1935, *Letters I*, 361.
61. PL to HSW, 28 March 1935, in Liddendale, 343.
62. J to MH, 28 June 1935, *Letters I*, 373.
63. J to MH, 15 June 1935, *Letters III*, 362.
64. J to HSW, 1 May 1935, *Letters I*, 366.
65. Carola Cichon-Walcker, "Meetings with Joyce," in *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Parks (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 Accusation*, 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. J 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 Oxford 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. J 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. J to HSW, 1 May 1935, *Letters I*, 366.

NOTES

511

12. ACTING ON HER FATHER'S BEHALF: Dublin and Bray 1935
 1. Eileen Schaubek to J, 20 March 1935, PL Papers.
 2. U, 1, 181-82.
 3. William Fitzpatrick, *Memories of Father Brady of Little Bray* (London: Macmillan, 1899), 28, 62-64.
 4. Bozenna Berta Delimata, autobiographical typescript, n.d., RE Papers.
 5. *Ibid.*
 6. Lucia Joyce, quoted in J to GJ, 10 April 1935, *Letters III*, 353.
 7. Arthur Flynn, *History of Bray* (Dublin: The Mercier Press, 1986), 74.
 8. J to CC, 15 May 1935, *Letters I*, 369.
 9. Niall Rudd, *Pale Green, Light Orange*, 42.
 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. Bozenna Berta Delimata, interview by Richard Ellmann, 27 June 1983, RE Papers.
 17. Patrick Collins, quoted in Maddox, 310.
 18. SG Papers.
 19. J to LJ, 15 May 1935, *Letters I*, 369.
 20. J to LJ, 27 April 1935, *Letters I*, 364.
 21. J 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 re-member that "severe seclusion" was a "calamitous failure." See J to GJ, 16 July 1935, *Letters III*, 370; see also J to GJ, 14 August 1935, *Letters III*, 372.
 29. J to GJ, 17 June 1935, *Letters I*, 371.
 30. J 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. J to GJ, n.d. (July 1935), *Letters I*, 375.

512

NOTES

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 Leon'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. Juhn, "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 Berta Delimata, "Reminiscences of a Joyce Niece," ed. Virginia Mosseley, *HQ* 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, *Esangelos: 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 Dauphin* nos 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.

NOTES

513

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 scholar!" (FHW 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*, 379.
 7. Naum Efimovitch Ischionitsky, *Physiologische Grundlagen [Neuropsychie und Hirnrinde] der Tiefen-Psychologie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Psychoanalyse: Ein Handbuch* (1930). Ischionitsky's other books include *Artificial Reproduction [sic] and seine Bedeutung in der Biologie, Medizin, Psychologie und Pädagogik: Ein Handbuch der experimentellen Reflexologie* (1930), *Skizzen interner und regressiver (1933)*; *Protoplasma 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 Ischionitsky, *Protoplasma*.
 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 the Royal College of Physicians of London, and he later received the Baly Medal of *Endocrinology* (Lancaster: MTP Press, 1982), 291.
 10. *Ibid.*, 289.
 11. Merrily Rosell, 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*, 301.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. *Ibid.*, 418-19.
 18. William Sargant and Eliot Slater, *An Introduction to Physical Methods of Treatment in Psychiatry* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1944), 3.

514

NOTES

19. *Ibid.*, 1.
20. *Jl* to L.J. n.d. (July 1935), *Letters I*, 377.
21. Ischionsky, *Proctodermatology*, 75.
22. *Ibid.*, 78.
23. HSW to PL, 8 March 1935, PL Papers.
24. *Jl* to L.J. 15 September 1935, *Letters I*, 382.
25. Lidderdale, 351.
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Jl* to L.J. 14 September 1935, *Letters I*, 382.
28. HSW to PL, 29 October 1935, PL Papers.
29. HSW to *Jl*, 5 December 1935, PL Papers.
30. Lidderdale, 353.
31. HSW to *Jl*, 16 October 1935, PL Papers.
32. *Jl* to L.J. 17 October 1935, *Letters III*, 377.
33. Lidderdale, 354.
34. Tina Bennett, communication to author, October 2000.
35. *Jl* to HSW, 11 October 1935, *Letters I*, 385.
36. Hermione Lee, *Virginia Woolf* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997), 195.
37. *Jl* to HSW, 7 April 1935, *Letters I*, 362.
38. HSW to PL, 29 January 1936, PL Papers.
39. *Jl* 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. C. Macdonald to HSW, 7 February 1936, RE Papers.
43. Maria Jolas, interview by Richard Ellmann, 22 July 1953, RE Papers.
44. *Jl* 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 Falty (Dublin: National Library of Ireland, 1992), 61.
47. *Jl* 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 Kahlbaum (1828-99), who taught at the University of Königsberg and later worked at a private asylum in Götting, 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 Kahlbaum's work and incorporated some of it into his nomenclature. See Peter Oswald, *Verlaid Nymphy: A Leap into Madness* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1991), 206.
52. *Jl* 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. *Jl* to C.G. W., 15 October 1937, RE Papers.

NOTES

515

58. Helen Kaster Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist by His Daughter-in-Law," unpublished typescript, HRC.
59. *U*, 313-15.
60. George Belmont, interview by Brenda Maddox, 22 October 1984, in Maddox, 32.
61. Knowlson, 544, 429-33.
62. *Jl* to Adolph Kaster, 30 August 1937, *Letters III*, 405.
63. *Jl* to Wilhelm Herz, 30 August 1937, *Letters III*, 406.
64. Peter F. Oswald, *Verlaid Nymphy*, 202.
65. *Ibid.*, 296.
66. *Ibid.*, 309.
67. Dr. Hans W. Maier, "Evaluation of Helen Fleischman Joyce," Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
68. Adolph Kaster to HKJ, 7 April 1939, Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
69. Hans W. Maier, "L'Etiat physique, l'Etiat psychique, Prognose," 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 *Jl* to C.G., 11 February 1940, *Letters III*, 465; and *Jl* to Mrs. Victor Sax, 23 April 1940, *Letters III*, 477. 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 Bayeux when invading Nazi troops made Paris unsafe in the spring of 1940. See *Jl* 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. *Jl* to HKJ, 6 April 1938, *Letters III*, 419.
77. Nino Frank, interview by Richard Ellmann, 20 August 1953, RE Papers.
78. Dr. Thérèse Bertrand-Fontaine, interview by Richard Ellmann, n.d., RE Papers.
79. Helen Kaster Joyce, "Anniversary, February 2, 1939," unpublished typescript, RE Papers.
80. Guggenheim, *Out of This Century*, 340.
81. Helen Kaster Joyce, files in the Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.
82. In the first edition of *Out of This Century*, Guggenheim changed Becker's name to Ohlmann, 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. *Jl* to Jacques Mercanton, 9 January 1940, *SL*, 402.
86. Maria Jolas Papers, Beinecke.

516

NOTES

87. Ellmann, 728.
88. Guggenheim, *Out of This Century*, 240.
89. *Ibid.*, 241.
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, 1953, in Ellmann, 691.
 4. By February 1940 Joyce thought that the ending of the *Wade* 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 SC, 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 Cusby, *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, Harheim in May, and Sonnenstein in June. In the first half of the year, 8,765 persons were gassed in

NOTES

517

- 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. Cusby, *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 CC-W, 28 July 1940, *Letters III*, 414.
 42. J to CC-W, 14 September 1940, *Letters III*, 414.
 43. J to CC-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 Zaimsteg, 16 September 1940, *Letters III*, 482.
 49. J to CC-W, 18 September 1940, *Letters III*, 488.
 50. J to Jacques Mercanton, 29 October 1940, *Letters III*, 491.
 51. J to Gustav Zaimsteg, 31 October 1940, *Letters III*, 494.
 52. Ellmann, 736-37.
 53. J to CC-W, 20 November 1940, *Letters III*, 499.
 54. J to Gustav Zaimsteg, 22 November 1940, *Letters III*, 500.
 55. Gustav Zaimsteg 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 CC-W, 28 November 1940, *Letters III*, 503.
 61. Giorgio Joyce, interview by Richard Ellmann, 9 August 1953, Zurich, RE Papers.
 62. J to Edmond Jalloux, 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. Ludderdale, 379.
 67. LJ to Bozenna Berta 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 1942] no. 456.

518

NOTES

15. KILLING TIME: Northampton 1951-82.
1. Maddox, 371.
2. Hélène Vanel, "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 Fraulein 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 LJ, 15 January 1983, RE Papers.
2. Ellen Schaeck 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 *Portrait of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, ed. Willard Porter (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 192.
7. Jacques Mercanton, "The Hours of James Joyce," in Porter, ed., *Portrait 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. Havelock 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.

NOTES

519

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 proofs, 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 "dollar" 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* 2.50.22 as "a fork of hazel over 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 Kasser Joyce, "A Portrait of the Artist by His Daughter-in-Law," unpublished typescript, HRC.
34. Bozenna 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 [this] 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. Lucie Ingaray, *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: Insanity 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*

520

NOTES

- Annual* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 43-60. See also David Hayman, *The "Wake" in Tamsin* (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, "Annunzio von Fräulein Lucia Joyce," RE Papers.
54. JJ to MH, 15 June 1935, *Letters* III, 362.
55. Meltzoff, *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 Kasser Joyce, "Anniversary, February 2, 1939," photograph 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:

Beckett, Samuel, *Dream of Fair to Middling Women*. London: Calder Publications, 1993.

Gold, Alison Leslie, *The Clairvoyant: The Imagined Life of Lucia Joyce*. New York: Hyperion Books, 1992.

Hall, Frances Benn, "Lucia." In *Fanny's Nob for Willie and Other Plays*. Lenox, Mass.: Mountain Press, 1996.

House, Aimee, "Lucia's Commitment: A Poem Based on Brenda Maddox's *Notes*." *James Joyce Literary Supplement* (spring 1997).

Kaufman, Lynne, *Speaking in Tongues*. A play, performed April-May 1991 at the North Coast Repertory Theatre, San Diego, Calif.

Lombardi, Chris, *blue: reason*. Unpublished novel. See also "Notes from a blue: reason," Talk given at the 1993 California Joyce Conference, University of California, Irvine.

Mabou Mines, *Cam Lucia*. Weaving sound, music, imaginary and original writing with documentary materials. New York, N.Y.

NOTES

521

- Murphy, Caitlin, *An Imagined Dialogue between Lucia Joyce and Suzanne Deschamps-Damernil*. Undergraduate diss., University of Toronto.
- Nigro, Don, *Lucia Mad*. A play, performed October 2000 at the Eastport Arts Center, Eastport, Me.
- Oates, Joyce Carol, "Daisy." In *Major American Short Stories*. Edited by A. Walton Litz. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Pig from Theatre Company, *James Joyce Is Dead and Paris Is Burning: A Lucia Joyce Cabaret*. Performed April 2003 at Christ Church, Philadelphia.
- 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 Hands*," *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.

EXHIBIT B

EXHIBIT B***Statement between Dream Nos. 1 and 2***

"I told my dreams to Miss Harmer every morning and now I am going to try to write them down."

Dream No. 1

"I was in an old fashioned hotel with my mother and father so I decided to go to the cinema by myself so I went in a bus or tram and it was a small cinema. I got myself an ice cream then I talked in German to a taxi driver and I did not remember the name of the hotel in which my parents were. ~~Then~~ I was run over by a train. ~~It~~ was a place I did not know at all. it looked very strange to me."

Dream No. 24

"I dreamt I was...[eating beans and then I was] with a piano teacher a woman. I could see her very clearly. ~~Then~~ there was my father. ~~He~~ looked very well but he did not seem to know what to do. ~~Then~~ I was in France and did not like it at all. I insulted everybody but I was sorry afterwards."

Dream No. 29

"I dreamt I went to a shoe shop in Zurich and lost my nice scarf so they gave me another one for two I could see them very distinctly they were rather nice with flowers."

Dream No. 6

"I dreamt my brother was in a little shop having tea but the tea had a taste of ink. ~~They~~ had all sorts of sweets in the shop then two young men came in. ~~Then~~ I ~~dreamed~~ cleaned the table as it was messy. My brother gave me some sweets and cakes then we had tea in a nice flat where there was some [indecipherable] ~~s~~So I went away to a place where I could see the Eiffel tower. ~~Then~~ I asked for a taxi to go home but at first they said they could not get me one. They were rather angry then they did get me one in the end and told me that my father had died."

Dream No. 41

"I dreamt I was having a piano lesson and I arrived — 1/4 of an hour late. My teacher had some chocolates which she offered me. ~~Then~~ there was a boy somewhere and I had some writing paper and envelopes and a pencil."

Dream No. 31

"I dreamt of my father and brother and of Emile Fernandez. He was in his house and there were a lot of people about. I had to wash dishes but I did not do it. I ran away. Emile said he would buy me a coat as the one I had was getting shabby. I can remember quite well what happened. We went upstairs and there was a sort of hole and I nearly fell down."

Dream No. 2

"I dreamt of a child and then I was looking for Roger Bickert but did not find him. [I think I went to Latinville with a young woman. I also had some raspberries and toast and other things to eat in the company of some young man. Then I dreamt of Helen my sister in law.]"

Dream No. 3

"I dreamt I was in a theater. ~~It~~ it looked like the Trocadero and my mother was there. ~~It~~ it was very crowded. ~~Then~~ then there was a ballet performance. I had a bag which did not close very well and my things kept on falling out. I had a ~~e~~Camera and some money. ~~My~~ my parents disappeared and I was waiting for them to come back. ~~Then~~ then I had two lovely big apples which I wanted to give to my brother. My sister-in-law was also there and when I asked her for money, she refused to give it to me."

Dream No. 9

"I dreamt that a young Jewish man was in love with me and he had a very nice shop of glass bottles and crystal things. I was in a corner in a lovely bed with a red velvet cover [it was a very nice place I liked it very much. Then we went somewhere in a tram which Nurse Olone was driving there were a lot of people I said to the Jewish man I would get a twill(?) strap for my hat to hide my scar then there was an earthquake or a storm of some sort]."

Story Between Dream Nos. 29 & 30*

"~~I dreamt of w~~ When I was...in France near the Bois de Vincennes." [See below]

Dream No. 2

"I dreamt of a child and then I was looking for Roger Bickert but did not find him."

Dream No. 18

"I dreamt of Helene Vanel ~~and the dancer and~~ that I had a lot of all sorts of thoughts [also a chain that was all tangled with a big violet(?) flower. Then we went by train somewhere with my father and mother we were also going to go by aeroplane. There were a lot of little children and I had some pearls and other jewelry]."

Dream No. 19

"I dreamt...that Miss Neel was married to an Irish man ~~who she~~ she wrote a letter to somebody mentioning me. It was in France and there were a lot of ~~F~~French people."

Dream No. 12

"I dreamt I was with a lot of rich people Nurses. We went to a sort of ~~e~~Conference or ~~e~~Concert and I asked if I could sing [then I thought of Jesus Christ.]...We went by ambulance~~[?]~~ a German one; then I found my father and kissed him with much love also my mother. I kissed

her and was happy ~~we~~ We were in a bus or ~~train~~ tram. There was another bus coming near us. I also talked about Helene Vanel and ~~Leis Hutton~~ Policemen."

Dream No. 28

"I dreamt of Mr. Beckett and Mr. ~~Leon~~ Leonard[?]. ~~He~~ He was going away somewhere. ~~Then~~ my shoes had a big hole; so I ordered some shoes and slippers [my mother was also there they wrote it down on a piece of paper. I cannot remember the rest perhaps tomorrow I will]."

Dream No. 40

"I dreamt I went all naked to a very nice hotel where there was a very nice young man. Then I was in a chemistry shop and had some medicated ~~m~~ Milk. They told me my father was dying."

Dream No. 13

"I dreamt I was eating cherries [sic]. Then I was in ~~love~~ Paris and was going to become a ~~mother~~ mannequin. There were a few ~~F~~ french girls there. ~~They~~ they were very slim and young. ~~Then~~ I went to buy a paper ~~Le Figaro~~ [names 2 indecipherable papers]...then there was Mrs. Neel and Mr. Leon..."

Dream No. 22

"I dreamt... they were giving a film about dogs and Alec ~~went~~. ~~Then~~ I had a little white puppy dog and I had to feed him but I lost him. ~~There~~ there was also another puppy dog like a bull dog..."

Dream No. 25

"I dreamt of Madame Fontaine our doctor; and ~~she~~ She took me to her house and I had a lot to eat. ~~There~~ there was a very big strong man; ~~then~~ I ~~went~~ was in a very small room where I could hardly move about. ~~then~~ there was an ~~Englishman~~ who wanted to talk to me."

Dream No. 11

"I dreamt... Nurse Wainwright put a camisole de force on me; ~~As~~ she was sewing it up I could not take [tuck?] it [then I lost my sock then I washed it] so she gave me another pair of socks...she had a black veil over her face and I asked her if I could have it to wear. The houses were moving up and down like in an earthquake; I could not put my camisole on..."

Dream No. 14

"I dreamt I was with a lot of nice ~~n~~ Nurses [then they got me a Room in which there was a young woman so she went away and gave me her Room then there was a Nurse and I wanted to speak with her]...as I was ill; ~~then~~ I had a nice little doll which belonged to one of the ~~n~~ Nurses."

Dream No. 10

"I dreamt I was going to America with Mrs. Leon and Helen. Then I passed through Dublin and stopped there. There were a lot of people about and I asked a girl about Mr. Beckett and other people and friends. I did not want to go to America as I was afraid of the journey so I thought I would stay in Dublin. I went to a tea room in Dublin and asked for money. They gave it to me. Then there was a young man there. I asked him if he liked me and he said "Rather."

*Story between Dream Nos. 29 & 30**

"I dreamt I was sitting in a Garden of St. Andrews Hospital and a little pretty white Butterfly came up to me but I squeezed it with my fingers. [many sentences omitted] of my left hand I think. What became of it? God knows it was so small you could hardly see it."

*Lucia drafted a brief story between Dream Nos. 29 & 30, which she entitled "the innocent Wasp the pretty butterfly and the little caterpillar." This passage encompassed approximately 3 pages of the book, and at least 1/3 of the story was cited by Ms. Shloss as dreams, though the passage was clearly a story. In bold below are the parts quoted by Ms. Shloss on the Website. For some reason, Ms. Shloss omitted a large portion of the text in the middle of a sentence and cited it as a dream. Also note that only half of the story has been reproduced.

I was sitting in a Garden of St. Andrews Hospital and a little pretty white Butterfly came up to me but I squeezed it with my fingers I don't know why now. I wonder where it went I can't remember. I think I prefer coloured Butterflies. **When I was in Jouy[?] in France near the Bois de Vincennes** I had a small room and was in Bed when suddenly a tiny little caterpillar came creeping towards me on the floor. I squeezed it with **my left hand I think.** **What became of it? God knows it was so small you could hardly see it."**

EXHIBIT C

426

THE RESURRECTION DANCE

11. THE RAINBOW GIRL

Among Joyce's many projections of his daughter's experience into the Wakean world of dream, one of the chief ones was, predictably, the world of dance with its spectacle of the female body in motion.⁹ Her father watched her intently, seeing Lucia's own dancing, which he thought good, and also the lithe bodies of her friends, all nubile women who, in the age of Isadora Duncan, ardently pursued expressive movement as a way to regenerate the life force itself. Her repertoire group, *Les Six de rythme et couleur*, seemed to inspire Joyce to invent his own troupe of Rainbow Girls—the young, heavenly dancers who entertained him in imagination and became the vehicle by which he could make explicit an analogy between language and body language, between words and dance. Both of them were wrested from a world of constant flux, whose evanescence became increasingly interesting to him. In imagination the rainbow dancers carried the letters of the alphabet as they moved, first this way and then that way, circling. RAINBOW reversed was WOBNIAK, but the words always stayed within the surge of rhythm that could, as Joyce saw, characterize the performance of both language and dance. "We are strictly correct," Havelock Ellis had said, "when we regard not only life but the universe as a dance."¹⁰ In Lucia rhythm, cadence, force, and the organization of nonverbal behavior into a calculus of meaning were displayed before the appreciative eyes of another artist who increasingly understood the deepest implications of his own work to be a "sounddance." "In the muddle is the sounddance" (*FW* 378.29). "What does it mean?" Lucia asked at one point in her life as she tried to puzzle out the invented words of her father's unprecedented creation. "It is pleasing to the ear," Joyce had replied, "just as your drawings are pleasing to the eye."¹¹ The *Wake* is a performance, a "little Negro dance," as he said to Jacques Mercanton in another context.¹² It is not about something else; it is that transient, constantly displaced, and forever disappearing thing itself. But you know that, Joyce seemed to say to Lucia. Think about what you already understand.

So and so, we by we, to and fro they go round, for they are the
ingelles, scattering seeds as girls who may, for they are an angel's
garland.

A FATHER'S SCRUTINY

427

Cachemire stockings, libertyed garters, shoddyshoes, quipped out with selver. Pennyfair caps on pimpyfore frocks and a ring on her fominging finger. And they leap so loopyly, loopyly, as they link to light. And they look so loosely, loosely, noosed in a nuptious night. Withasty glints in. Andecoy glants out. They ramp it a little, a lesse, a lisse. Then romptide round in rout.

Say them all but tell them apart, cadenzando coloratural R is Rubretta and A is Arancia. Y is for Yilla and N for greenenIN. R is Boyblue with odalisque O while W waters the fleurcettes of novembiance. Though they're all but merely a schoolgirl yet these way went they . . . [226.21–34]

... And these ways went they. And those ways went they. Winnie, Olive and Beatrice, Nelly and Ida, Amy and Rue. Here they come back, all the gay pack, for they are the Florals, from foney and pansy to papaver's blush, foretake-me-nought, while there's leaf there's hope, with primtim's rose and marrymay's blossom, all the flowers of the ancelles' garden. [227.13–18]

But even at its most celebratory, Wakean dance is not idealized or flattened into graceful motion. Beauty is at any moment subject to alteration. Art grows out of pain; perfection has its share of "vice." Perfectly heavenly girls can shift into "anger," become "virid with woad" (Dutch *woede*, "fury"). Their "complementary rages" (*FW* 227.21) can rock the devil himself. These dark emotions seem, in fact, to inhabit a Wakean kingdom of their own, to arise from a "tree-track monatan" and out of a "scout of ocean" (*FW* 227.20). They seem, that is, to spring up from a deep source that is inseparable from the bright colors of their final presentation. It is hard to imagine that the mountain is "fortuitously" the land of the sleeping giant or that the ocean is "by chance" the final home of the "cold, mad, feary father" (*FW* 628.02) that draws the flowing Anna Livia from her riverbed to her final destination.

But vicereversing thereout from those palms of perfection to anger arbour, tree-track monatan, scrouchy out of scout of ocean, virid with woad, what tournaments of complementary rages rocked the divlun from his punchpail to his tummy's shelter as he displayed all the oarhword science of his visible disgrace. He was feeling so funny and floored for the cue, all over which girls as he don't know whose hue. [227.19–25]

Exhibit C

In the heart of the Silicon Valley, legal doctrine is emerging that will determine the course of civil rights and technological innovation for decades to come. The Center for Internet and Society (CIS), housed at Stanford Law School and a part of the Law, Science and Technology Program, is at the apex of this evolving area of law.


- People & Blogs
- Events
- Cyberlaw Clinic
- Fair Use Project
- Academics
- Packets

Suing the Joyce Estate to Make the World Safer for Academic Work

by **David Olson**, posted on June 13, 2006 - 6:36am.

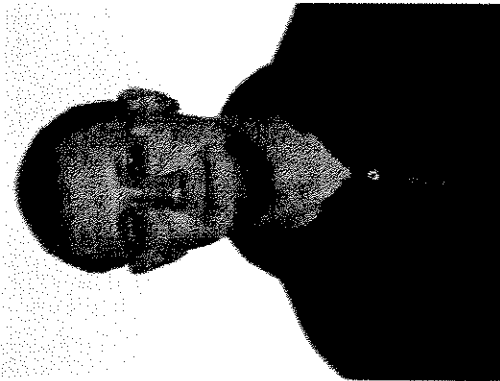
Today we filed suit against the Estate of James Joyce on behalf of Stanford English professor Carol Shloss. In a nutshell, we ask for a declaration that Professor Shloss is permitted under "fair use" to make use on her academic website of certain Joyce materials that are copyrighted. In addition, we argue that due to the Joyce Estate's history of misusing its copyrights, the Court should hold that the Estate is barred from enforcing its copyrights against Professor Shloss.

But read more of what we have to say about the case [here](#). And see our [complaint here](#).

[permalink](#) | [David Olson's blog](#) | [add new comment](#) |  |  |  | 

[Home](#) » [blogs](#) » [David Olson's blog](#)

About David Olson



Resident Fellow at the Center for Internet and Society

[View full user profile](#)

Our Issues

cybercrime
Fair Use Project
free speech
infrastructure
intellectual property

privacy
books cc copyright
copyright drm economics FOIA
Fourth Amendment
Future of Ideas Google
Hearsay Culture internet libel
IP reform japanese law school
libel Past Fellows patent
podcasting publications
surveillance **tcblog**
Testimony trademarks web 2.0

[terms and conditions](#) | [privacy policy](#) | [forums](#) | [about CIS](#) | [sitemap](#) | [subscribe](#) | [contact](#) | [Login/Register](#)

Creative Commons | Powered by Drupal | CIS logo and web design by pingVision, LLC
This site is in beta. Please report any problems to the site developer. Thank you!

Exhibit D

In the heart of the Silicon Valley, legal doctrine is emerging that will determine the course of civil rights and technological innovation for decades to come. The Center for Internet and Society (CIS), housed at Stanford Law School and a part of the Law, Science and Technology Program, is at the apex of this evolving area of law.

People & Blogs Events Cyberlaw Clinic Fair Use Project Academics Packets

Fair Use, Copyright Misuse, and Shloss v. Estate of James Joyce: Jan 29

Start: Jan 29 2007 - 12:30pm

Carol Shloss, Robert Spoo and Tony Falzone

Topic Description

The law of copyright fair use is famously murky, and copyright misuse is even more so. Come listen to Stanford English Professor Carol Loeb Shloss and some of her lawyers talk about suing the Estate of James Joyce for copyright misuse and to have material on her academic website declared non-infringing fair use. The case is currently pending in federal court before Judge Ware in the San Jose Division of the Northern District of California. A hearing on the Joyce Estate's motion to dismiss the case will be held on January 22 at 9 a.m. A group will be travelling together to watch the argument.

Location

Room 280A Stanford Law School
United States

See map: [Yahoo! Maps](#)

[add new comment](#) | [calendar](#) | posted January 17, 2007 - 12:20pm

Submitted by Toner: Fair Use Project

Speaker's Bio

Carol Loeb Shloss is a Professor of English at Stanford University. Throughout her 32-year academic career, she has taught or held research positions at numerous universities, including Wesleyan University, Harvard University, and Oxford University. She is the author of four books and has won numerous grants and fellowships, including the 1994 Pew Fellowship for Creative Non-Fiction Writing. Professor Shloss is a world-renowned Joyce scholar and an expert on Modernist literature.

Robert Spoo is an attorney with the San Francisco law firm of Howard, Rice, Nemerovski, Canady, Falk & Rabkin, and a 2006-2007 non-resident fellow with the Center for

Our Issues

cybercrime Fair Use Project
free speech infrastructure
intellectual property
privacy
books cc copyright
copyright drm economics FOIA
Fourth Amendment
Future of Ideas Google
Hearsay Culture internet libel
IP reform japanese law school
libel Past Fellows patent
podcasting publications
surveillance tcblog
Testimony trademarks web 2.0

[Home](#)

Internet and Society at Stanford Law School. He focuses his practice and his teaching and scholarship in the area of intellectual property, with a special emphasis on copyrights and the needs of authors, scholars, libraries, documentary filmmakers and others who create and use original expression. He and his law firm are assisting CIS and Professor Shloss in her lawsuit against the James Joyce Estate. Bob was formerly a tenured professor of English, the Editor of the James Joyce Quarterly, and is the author of numerous books and articles on Joyce, Ezra Pound, Hilda Doolittle, and other aspects of Modernist literature. He writes and speaks frequently on copyright and IP issues.

Anthony Faizone is the Executive Director of the Fair Use Project. An intellectual property litigator with nearly a decade of experience, he has advised and defended writers, publishers, filmmakers, musicians and video game makers on copyright, trademark, rights of publicity and other intellectual property matters. Prior to his work at Stanford, he was a litigation partner in the San Francisco office of Bingham McCutchen.

[terms and conditions](#) | [privacy policy](#) | [forums](#) | [about CIS](#) | [sitemap](#) | [subscribe](#) | [contact](#) |

[Login/Register](#)

Creative Commons | Powered by Drupal | CIS logo and web design by pingVision, LLC
This site is in beta. Please report any problems to the site developer. Thank you!