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**“The war is in words and the wood is the world”:
An Ecocritical Reading of James Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake***

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A Thesis submitted to the School of English at the University of Dublin,
Trinity College, in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

September 2011

Declaration

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Summary

“The war is in worlds and the wood is the world’: An Ecocritical Reading of James Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake*” is the first work to attempt a comprehensive ecocritical reading of any of James Joyce’s texts. This thesis approaches *Finnegans Wake* from a genetic perspective, using Joyce’s notebooks, drafts and revisions, in addition to the final text of the *Wake*, to demonstrate Joyce’s consistent interest in environmental themes, to explore the way in which these themes appear in the composition process, and to provide a more nuanced reading of Joyce’s engagement with nature. Through this careful and detailed exegesis of *Finnegans Wake*’s *avant-texte*, an irrefutable vision of Joyce’s engagement with nature appears, laying the groundwork for future forays into Joyce and ecocriticism.

This thesis argues against the critical commonplace that Joyce was a writer exclusively concerned with city life. In *Finnegans Wake*, one of Joyce’s predominant interests is the relationship between nature and culture in the twentieth century, in a time when science, philosophy, technology and war undermined all prior perceptions of mankind’s place in the universe. The nature of *Finnegans Wake* is paradoxically chaotic and holistic, its unpredictability the only constant. Uncovering suppressed ecological themes in an experimental text like *Finnegans Wake* not only contributes to current debates in ecocriticism, but also helps in closing the gap between environmentalism of the early twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. This thesis impacts not just the field of James Joyce studies, but ecocriticism, Modernist studies, Irish studies and genetic criticism as well.

The first chapter, “Rewriting the Landscape: The First Sketches”, begins with the first sketches drafted for *Finnegans Wake* in 1923 and early 1924. The first drafts of “Roderick O’Conor”, “Tristan and Isolde”, “Mamalujo”, “Saint Kevin” and “Saint Patrick and the Druid” all contain seeds of the environmental themes that develop throughout Joyce’s nearly two decades of work on *Finnegans Wake*. With recourse to the notebooks Joyce used for these first drafts, these early sketches can be read as incursions into a re-examination of the relationship between Irish culture and its landscape. This chapter also discusses the early sketches of “Haveth Childers Everywhere” and “The Revered Letter”, introducing more developed themes of the relationships between hunting and imperialism, and between natural history and writing. This chapter concludes with the first drafts of I.8, the “Anna Livia Plurabelle” chapter, introducing the relationship between a civilization and its rivers,

as well as demonstrating Joyce's attention to geographical detail, arguing against any assertions that nature is merely ornamental in the *Wake*.

Chapter two, "Ancient Landscapes: The First Drafts of Book III", addresses Joyce's attention to the history of culture's interactions with nature, particularly in the forms of religion, myth, ritual and superstition. This chapter moves to a discussion of the early drafts of Book III, displaying the prominence of "The Letter" and introducing Joyce's interest in language and writing as derivative of the material conditions of existence.

The third chapter, "Rus in Urbe: Country and City", concerns the second five years of work on *Finnegans Wake* (1928-1932) and continues to explore the interdependence of a city and its natural setting, moving away from the ancient cultures discussed in the previous chapter and towards the twentieth century. During this period, Joyce engages with the wider relations between city and nature, discussing issues of disease, famine, slums and overpopulation. This chapter develops the earlier relationship between hunting and imperialism, articulating questions of nationalism, identity and territory through the question of native versus "invasive" species. This chapter also discusses the first draft of the "Ondt and the Gracehoper" sketch in terms of the popularity of entomology during the early twentieth century and the presence of animals and insects in fable and myth. The last point in this chapter concerns "growth" and demonstrates how Joyce wove Darwinian evolution, sexual maturation, botanical growth and the span of an individual life together with larger cycles of cosmic creation and destruction.

Chapter four, "No wind, No word: Nature, Language and Identity", concerns the final five years of composition of the *Wake*. By this stage, Joyce's intentions were clear and directed, and the notebooks from this period correspond unambiguously to the material being drafted and revised. The sections drafted during this period confirm inferences of earlier chapters, with, for example, "The Norwegian Captain" sketch depicting issues of imperialism and the domestication of a country, of land, of animals, and of women. The "Buckley" sketch expands the discussion of nationhood, identity and territory, incorporating the political ideologies that led to World War II as well as the rhetoric of *Sinn Féin* and Irish nationalism. Furthermore, this chapter discusses the relationship between nature and Irish nationalism, discussing the Irish Free State's prioritization of "progress" (and de-Anglicization), over the preservation of cultural and natural heritage.

Acknowledgements

Over the past four years, so many people have helped me out in the process of writing this thesis. I could not have finished this work if weren't for the generosity and kindness of so many individual people.

My supervisor, Sam Slote, has been a wonderful mentor for the past four and a half years since I first began working on my M.Phil thesis with him. From the very first days of my thesis, Sam pushed me towards conferences, made sure I was introduced to everybody, found me a job at the James Joyce Centre, and generally threw lots of opportunities my way to help me into academic life. I'd like to thank him for always being available and for answering e-mails faster than anyone else I have ever encountered.

I'd like to thank Fritz Senn, Ruth Frehner and Ursula Zeller at the Zürich James Joyce Foundation for providing the scholarship that allowed me to spend two wonderful months in Zürich. I'd also like to thank John McCourt for the scholarship to the Trieste Summer School in 2009. For someone who has written a considerable amount of her thesis on "place" in Joyce, the chance to spend time in Zürich and Trieste was invaluable.

I'd also like to thank the members of the James Joyce and ASLE communities. Being a part of these two communities has not only given me comfortable space to share my work and share in the work of others, but it has also provided me with many wonderful friends. I'd specifically like to thank Geert Lernout, who helped me tremendously with the *Finnegans Wake* notebook transcriptions and also provided me with a copy of the invaluable and difficult to locate *Les Grandes fleuves et les civilisations historiques* by Léon Metchnikoff.

Laura Barnes and James Quin of the James Joyce Centre, for providing me with an excellent job, giving me so much responsibility, and allowing me to sit upstairs in the library for weeks on end. I'd also like to thank Stacey Herbert, sometimes of the James Joyce Centre, for her encouragement and her wonderful sense of humour – both of which have helped me gain a lot of perspective.

I'd like to thank the stalwart members of the *Finnegans Wake* reading group – Ann, Michael, P.J., Peter and John – for making the reading of *Finnegans Wake* a truly enjoyable experience. This little community has been instrumental in keeping me interested in *Finnegans Wake* and I will miss them greatly all when I leave Ireland.

Though Sam was my sole supervisor for this thesis, the welcoming spirit of the School of English in general has been a big help over the years. Even if it was just a quick hello in the Arts Block, the members of the School have built an excellent community of which I have been grateful to be a part. I would like to single out Philip Coleman for a special thank you; despite not being my supervisor, Philip dedicated a lot of time that he did not have to helping me out with various things (from conferences to references to concert tickets) over the years, and for that I'm truly grateful.

Since I got over the hassle of climbing three flights of stairs a couple years ago, the wonderful world of Foster Place has been my home away from home. Thanks to everyone there –the constant presences of Rachel, Jenny, Edwina, Niamh, Niall, Kate Harvey, Kate Roddy, Dara, Ruth, Leigh, Hanna, Alex, Derek, and Billy and Nuala at the desk - for making Foster Place a wonderful place to work.

I'd like to thank the Trinity Travel Fund for providing with the opportunities to attend conferences in Italy, Belgium, Poland, the Czech Republic and the US.

I'd also like to thank my friends for their support over the years – Beth Dana, Kelly Sweeney, Katie Himmelfarb, Heather Torino, Kate O'Connor, Niamh Dowdall, Kate Petelle and Keel Geheber.

Finally, I'd like to thank my family, who have been unconditionally supportive of me during the five years I have been away from home. Without their encouragement on the other end of the phone, I would never have been able to get through this on my own, so it is to them that I dedicate this thesis.

To my family, thank you

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Editions and Abbreviations

1. Editions of Joyce's works

- D Joyce, James. *Dubliners*. Ed. Robert Scholes and A. Walton Litz. New York: Viking, Press, 1969. Print.
- FDV Hayman, David, ed. *A First-Draft Version of Finnegans Wake*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963. Print.
- FW plus page and line number. Joyce, James, *Finnegans Wake*. New York: Penguin, 1999. Print.
- JJA plus volume and page number. *The James Joyce Archives*. Ed. Michael Groden et al. 63 vols. New York: Garland Publishing, 1978-1979. Print.
- LI Joyce, James. *Letters of James Joyce: Volume 1*. Ed. Stuart Gilbert. New York: Viking Press, 1957; reissued with corrections, 1966. Print.
- LII Joyce, Joyce. *Letters of James Joyce: Volume 2*. Ed. Richard Ellmann. New York: Viking Press, 1966. Print.
- LIII Joyce, James. *Letters of James Joyce: Volume 3*. Ed. Richard Ellmann. New York: Viking Press, 1966. Print.
- P Joyce, James. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Ed. Chester G. Anderson. New York: Viking Press, 1968. Print.
- PSW Joyce, James. *Poems and Shorter Writings*. Ed. Richard Ellmann, A. Walton Litz and John Whittier-Ferguson. London: Faber and Faber, 1991. Print.
- SH Joyce, James. *Stephen Hero*. Ed. Theodore Spencer, John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon. New York: New Directions, 1963. Print.
- U plus episode and line number. Joyce, James. *Ulysses*. Ed. Hans Walter Gabler et al. New York: Garland Publishing, 1984, 1986. Print.

2. Frequently cited works of Joyce criticism

- Buffalo VI.B. plus notebook number and page. *The Finnegans Wake Notebooks at Buffalo*. Ed. Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001 –. Print.
- EFW Epstein, Edmund. *A Guide through Finnegans Wake*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. Print.
- Geni Slote, Sam and Wim Van Mierlo, eds. *Genitricksling Joyce*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999. Print.
- HJW Crispi, Luca and Sam Slote, eds. *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake: A Chapter-by-Chapter Genetic Guide*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2007. Print.
- JJ Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. Print.
- McHugh McHugh, Roland. *Annotations to Finnegans Wake*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991. Print.
- Probes Hayman, David and Sam Slote, eds. *Probes: Genetic Studies in Joyce*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995. Print.
- TDJJ Rose, Danis. *The Textual Diaries of James Joyce*. Dublin: Lilliput, 1995. Print.
- UFW O'Hanlon, John and Danis Rose. *Understanding Finnegans Wake*. New York: Garland, 1982. Print.
- WiT Hayman, David. *The Wake in Transit*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990. Print.

3. Abbreviations used for Joyce journals, both print and online.

- AFWC *A Finnegans Wake Circular*.
- AWN *A Wake Newslitter*.

- GJS *Genetic Joyce Studies.*
- HJS *Hypermedia Joyce Studies.*
- JJQ *James Joyce Quarterly.*
- JSA *Joyce Studies Annual.*

Introduction: An Ecocritical Joyce?

In a sense, language is everything, since it is the voice of no one, since it is the very voice of
the things, the waves, and the forests

– Paul Valéry

“Time and the river and the mountain are the real heroes of my book”. James Joyce said this in conversation with his friend Eugene Jolas, and continued to explain one version of the structure of *Finnegans Wake*: “Yet the elements are exactly what any novelist might use: man and woman, birth, childhood, night, sleep, marriage, prayer, death” (Jolas 11-12). This thesis follows Joyce’s direction, presenting the argument that the “river and the mountain” are really the heroes of his final novel, *Finnegans Wake*. This thesis examines the role of the environment in *Finnegans Wake* and argues that such a reading is important to the fields of Modernist studies, Irish studies, and ecocriticism as well as to Joyce studies. Through the lens of ecocriticism and genetic criticism, this study of Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake* situates Joyce’s work in a tradition of twentieth century inquiries into the relationship between culture and nature. In this introduction, I present an overview of the major areas and questions addressed by this thesis: the current debates in ecocriticism, the changing perceptions of nature during the Modernist period, the current relationship between ecocriticism and Modernism, the historical relationship between Irish literature and the Irish environment, the current relationship between Ireland, Irish literature and ecocriticism, and the metropolitan bias that prevails in critical studies of James Joyce.

Nature vs. Culture: An Introduction to Ecocriticism

In the introduction to *The Ecocriticism Reader*, Harold Fromm and Cheryll Glotfelty provide the most frequently cited definition of ecocriticism¹: “Simply put, ecocriticism is the study of the relationship between literature and the physical

¹ The term itself is widely acknowledged as coined by William Rueckert in his 1978 “Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism” (Fromm and Glotfelty 105-123), though the “origin” of any school of thought is, of course, open to debate, and Fromm and Glotfelty themselves include critics in their reader whose work pre-dates Rueckert (such as Joseph Meeker, whose *The Comedy of Survival* was published in 1974).

environment” (xviii).² Since the formative essays of the ecocritical canon were published in the 1970s and the 1980s, ecocriticism has steadily expanded in scope. The traditional approach of simply examining the role of nature in a particular literary text³ now encompasses an ever-broadening definition of both “literature” and “physical environment”, currently including television shows, government policies, advertisements, national parks, highway systems, housing, museum exhibits, biodiversity charts and environmental education.

Though there are presently many different “ecocriticisms”, one unifying goal behind them all is the exposure of the ways in which the language we use to describe and discuss nature affects our perception of that nature. The timeless “nature vs. culture” binary is often seen as an artificial construct, and recent years have witnessed the productive interaction between ecocriticism and poststructuralism/postmodernism,⁴ though this attempt has frequently been met with harsh criticism.⁵ Louise Westling, author of the formative *The Green Breast of the New World: Landscape, Gender, and American Fiction* (1998), argues that a poststructuralist approach to literary texts can be quite useful to ecocritics, as “it helps to define the human place within the ecosystem by interrogating or erasing the boundary that has been assumed to set our species apart from the rest of the living community” (Gersdorf and Mayer 30). Writing of this boundary, the environmental historian Donald Worster argues that, “it is a completely arbitrary act to put culture and nature into separate categories, requiring rigidly separate methods of analysis. The polar bear has claws and a fur coat to cope with its environment; we humans use

² Nearly every ecocritic has attempted to provide a different definition of ecocriticism and it is impossible to list each one here. However, The Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment (ASLE), does provide their own guidance on their website as to what they currently believe ecocriticism to be and which texts they support (“Ecocritical Library”, <<http://www.asle.org/site/resources/ecocritical-library>>).

³ When ecocriticism began to gain in popularity in the 1990s, it was largely focused on “nature writing” itself as opposed to seeking out the nature present in texts. Its objects of inquiry were largely limited to American literature and naturalist non-fiction. In addition to Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and William Wordsworth, Rachel Carson, Edward Abbey, Barry Lopez, Aldo Leopold, John Muir and a handful of others became strongholds of the environmental literary canon.

⁴ Some significant texts that speak to this subject are Greg Garrard’s *Ecocriticism* (Routledge: New York and London, 2004), Dana Phillips’ *The Truth of Ecology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), Donna Haraway’s *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (Routledge: New York and London, 1989) and Donna Haraway’s *Simians, Cyborgs and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (Routledge: New York, 1991). Louise Westling, in her essay “Literature, Environment, and the Posthuman”, concisely articulates the relevance of poststructuralist and phenomenological discourse for the development of ecocriticism’s theoretical basis. She discusses Jacques Derrida’s late essay *Geschlecht II* (2002), John Dewey and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, citing the latter as the true bridge between the poststructuralists and the emerging ecocritics (30-34).

⁵ The most vocal critic (and supporter) of the merging of these two approaches is, to date, Dana Phillips in *The Truth of Ecology*, which will be discussed further throughout this thesis.

our cultures to do the same” (37). In Worster’s view, culture is something directly born out of and dependent on nature, and all history, inevitably, is natural history. The next major goal of ecocriticism should be to focus on this inextricability of culture and nature.

As ecocriticism becomes more of an accepted theoretical approach in the academy, the subject matter of which ecocriticism is allowed to speak steadily continues to expand. Along with class, race and gender, “place” can now be seen as a determining factor in the understanding of literatures and their production, and this has resulted in the merge of ecocriticism with Marxist criticism (“ecomarxism”), gender studies, queer theory, feminist criticism (“ecofeminism”), ethnic studies and postcolonial criticism. As Karla Armbruster and Kathleen Wallace argue in their 2001 volume *Beyond Nature Writing: Expanding the Boundaries of Ecocriticism*, the focus of earlier ecocritics on personal narratives of the American wilderness was guilty of “seriously misrepresenting the significance of multiple natural and built environments to writers with other ethnic, national or racial affiliations” (7). The “culture vs. nature” binary is implicated in the perpetuation of other damaging discursive binaries as well, including the oppositions of white/black, man/woman, colonizer/colonized, urban/rural, human/non-human etc.

Critics of the integration of poststructuralism and ecocriticism often represent poststructuralism as a malicious force, the goal of which is to destroy the planet and all life forms. These critics tend to focus on only the most soulless, nihilistic interpretations of poststructuralism and postmodernism, overlooking the ability of these two approaches to decentre the human and undo deleterious systems of thought and uses of language. While their fear is understandable – radical interpretations of Jacques Derrida or Jean Baudrillard certainly imply that nature only exists in our minds and that therefore we do not need to worry about our effect upon it – it is also limiting to the development of ecocriticism’s theoretical stance.⁶ Laurence Coupe, in the influential *Green Studies Reader*, argues that “green studies does not challenge the notion that human beings make sense of the world through language, but rather the self-serving inference that nature is nothing more than a linguistic construct” (3).⁷

⁶ For a comprehensive advertisement for the need to merge these two strands of thought, see Serpil Opperman’s “Theorizing Ecocriticism: Toward a Postmodern Ecocritical Practice”. *ISLE* 13.2 (2006): 103-129. This article will be discussed further in the conclusion to this thesis.

⁷ “Green Studies” is often interchangeable with “ecocriticism”, but can sometimes refer more to the incorporation of environmental ethics into pedagogical practice. Two foundational texts that discuss “green studies” are David W. Gilcrest’s *Greening the Lyre: Environmental Poetics and Ethics* (Reno:

Coupe readily accepts the role of language in our understanding of the world, but profitably separates this from the harmful belief that the world is *only* a linguistic construct. Allowing poststructuralism to enter the ecocritical debate on the linguistic level allows for an exploration into the “root” of our current environmental crisis.

Richard Kerridge, in his *Writing the Environment*, provides a definition of ecocriticism slightly more focused than that of Fromm and Glotfelty, tending more towards the “activist” aspect of the ecocritical practice:

The ecocritic wants to track environmental ideas and representations wherever they appear, to see more clearly a debate which seems to be taking place, often part-concealed, in a great many cultural spaces. Most of all, ecocriticism seeks to evaluate texts and ideas in terms of their coherence and usefulness as responses to environmental crisis.

(5)

Kerridge’s definition suggests that the ecocritic aims to reveal assumptions about “nature” hidden in our language, and then seeks to use these revelations in the promotion of ecological literacy. Kerridge’s incorporation of the “great many cultural spaces” into his definition challenges the entrenched bias of ecocriticism towards “wild” spaces; isolating certain places as “wild”, closing them off from their larger communities and networks, is an irresponsible reinforcing of nature’s objectification.

Gradually, ecocriticism is moving towards the inclusion of all types of “place”; nature is present everywhere, from inner city streets to the Alaskan interior. The ecocritical investigation into all points on this continuum is necessary as all places are affected by and affect human life differently. As Stephen Rosedale argues in his *The Greening of Literary Scholarship*, an important thing to keep in mind as an ecocritic is the “human component of the human-nature relationship” (xvii). In the twenty-first century, there is no part of the “non-human” environment that is not entangled with the impact of the human, and vice versa. In short, this means that the urban/rural split becomes less and less clear, and that the ecocritic must examine all types of environments, built or natural.⁸

University of Nevada Press, 2002) and Steven Rosendale’s collection *The Greening of Literary Scholarship: Literature, Theory, and the Environment* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002).

⁸ There are many defining works of ecocriticism which will not be discussed in thesis, and a few select works include: Wendell Berry, *The Unsettling of America: Culture and Agriculture* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1977); Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Karl Kroeber, *Ecological Literary Criticism: Romantic Imagining and the Biology of Mind* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in*

Modernist Ecologies

Nature vs. Culture during the Modernist⁹ period

During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries, a profound change in the way humans viewed their place on earth and their relationship to other living creatures occurred, and in the literary tradition, the aesthetic responses to these events are labelled as “Modernism”. The artists huddled under this umbrella range from Baudelaire to Joyce, from D.H. Lawrence to Thomas Mann, from Gertrude Stein to Wallace Stevens, and it is notoriously difficult to isolate characteristics that unite these disparate figures. Though the question of Modernism’s “beginning” and “end” is always up for debate, the most productive way of defining Modernism is becoming a focus on the events of this loosely demarcated time period, and how these events have shaped the individual writers and artists. Bradbury and McFarlane identify two distinct accounts of Modernism, the first relating to the aesthetics of “form” and “self-consciousness”, and the second in line with a historicizing of Modernism. In this second definition, “Modernism” is “the art consequent on Heisenberg’s ‘Uncertainty principle’, of the destruction of civilization and reason in the First World War, of the world changed and reinterpreted by Marx, Freud and Darwin, of capitalism and constant industrial acceleration, of existential exposure to meaninglessness or absurdity. It is the literature of technology” (27). In this definition, Modernism is a direct product of the scientific, political and philosophical

America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); Joseph W. Meeker, *The Comedy of Survival: Studies in Literary Ecology* (New York: Scribner’s, 1972); Patrick D. Murphy, *Literature, Nature, and Other: Ecofeminist Critiques* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Knopf, 1995); Paul Shepard, *Man in the Landscape: A Historic View of the Esthetics of Nature* (New York: Ballantine, 1967); Kate Soper, *What Is Nature?*; Gary Snyder, *The Practice of the Wild* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1990); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspectives of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Donald Worster, *Nature’s Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977). For general overviews of ecocriticism, Fromm and Glotfelty’s *Ecocriticism Reader* is still the definitive text.

⁹ “Modernism” and the “Modernist period” are largely defined by the debates surrounding their definition. In the introduction to their collection *Modernism: A Guide to European Literature 1890-1930*, Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane devote fifty pages to explaining the reasons for this debate, ranging from the vast stylistic differences in art during these decades, to the very question about the efficacy of historically isolating any time period. The “Modernist” period sometimes encompasses only the inter-war period, while other critics designate the 1840s as the start of “Modernism”, while some may extend Modernism until the 1950s. For my purposes, I will be using the period of 1890-1945 as the Modernist period, though developments from the nineteenth century will also be discussed due their unavoidable impact on this period (i.e., a “long twentieth century”). My use of “Modernism” refers specifically to the literary movement of this time period, though the “Modernist period” refers to all events from these years.

contexts of the period. The major thread uniting these contexts is, metaphorically, Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle; for Bradbury and McFarlane, Modernism is a reaction to a newly acknowledged disorder.

While in this thesis all of the major figures and events articulated by Bradbury and McFarlane will be discussed, the figure I focus upon most is Charles Darwin. It is not always customary for Darwin to be referenced in terms of Modernist literature; most overviews and introductions to Modernism or to literary theory highlight Freud and Marx, with Nietzsche and Einstein being possible third figures in the equation, but Darwin is rarely on the radar. When Darwin's work is discussed, it is often more due to its hostility to religion rather than in terms of its benefits for the environment and all of its forms of life. An abridged list of Darwin's work other than *The Origin of Species* (1859) shows that in the late nineteenth century, Darwin's texts were actively redefining what it meant to be "human" and what it meant to be alive. In the same way that Freud's texts are the foundational texts for Psychoanalytic literary criticism, Darwin's texts should be the foundational texts for ecocriticism. Darwin's work posits the "emotions" of non-human animals, the agency of plants, the sexuality of plants, and the effects of domestication on animals; the very titles suggestive of a re-contextualization of human life: *The Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication* (1868), *The Descent of Man* (1871), *The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872), *Insectivorous Plants* (1875), *The Effects of Cross and Self Fertilisation in the Vegetable Kingdom* (1876) and *The Power of Movement in Plants* (1880). Darwin's work, especially as it was translated to popular culture and popular science, fundamentally altered the understanding of all living organisms and of nature itself. Building upon Darwin's work, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed new ideas in anthropology and the blossoming of ecology as a discipline, and indirectly allowed for the chaos unleashed by advances in physics in the early twentieth century.

Clarence Glacken, in his study *Traces on the Rhodian Shore*, a key text in the field of ecocriticism, argues that the mid-nineteenth century signalled the end of the anthropocentric era, of one in which a "utilitarian interpretation of earth and animals persisted" (704-705). The paradigm shift that occurred during this period redefined the human relationship to and effect upon the natural world. The nineteenth century

witnessed the first efforts towards our current idea of environmental conservation¹⁰ with the establishment of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (UK) in 1824, the Sea Birds Preservation Act of 1869 (UK), the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 (USA), the foundation of the Kyrle Society in 1875 (UK), the establishment of the Society for the Protection of Birds Act of 1880 (UK), the foundation of the Sierra Club in 1892 (USA), and the creation of the Nation Park Service in 1916 (USA). The National Trust was founded in 1895 by three Victorian philanthropists who, according to the organization's own website, were "concerned about the impact of uncontrolled development and industrialization" and "set up the Trust to act as a guardian for the nation in the acquisition and protection of threatened coastline, countryside and buildings" (National Trust). The modern environmental movement grew from these early efforts in conservation, and this sense of conservation as placing the human in the role of "guardian" or "steward" is important to the way in which environmentalism and its associated rhetoric have developed throughout the world.

In the late nineteenth century, one figure in particular stands out in the history of environmental conservation: George Perkins Marsh, an American philologist considered by many to be the first "environmentalist". His work *Man and Nature, Or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action* (1864) was the first to argue that the success of a civilization was dependent upon its environment; he argued that Mediterranean civilizations collapsed because of the way they treated the land. For centuries, especially in the Judeo-Christian tradition,¹¹ the prevailing belief had been that the earth, its creatures and its resources were there for human benefit. Anna Bramwell's *Ecology in the twentieth Century: A History* explains how, during this period, belief in the perfection and indestructibility of God's creation was replaced with the idea of "biological holism". This idea held that "man and animals were interdependent in and on a balanced environment", and, in corollary, anthropogenic effects on the land became increasingly recognized, as the view that "the dissipation of energy might endanger man's existence, or even that of the planet itself" became pervasive (15). Modern geographers also began to alter the way in which land was

¹⁰ Prior to the nineteenth century, forestry and wildlife management inadvertently contributed to the preservation of the environment and its flora and fauna, but not necessarily because of any deep-rooted belief in the importance of nature for nature itself.

¹¹ On the contrary, many belief systems strongly opposed exploiting the earth and its resources, either because they believed the earth was sentient being and experienced pain, or because they believed their gods would be angered and seek vengeance upon them. For more information on this topic, see Carolyn Merchant's *The Death of Nature* (29-41).

perceived by humans, as they “examined land settlement and use from the aspect of resources”, arguing that “no longer was land a finite resource, but it was slowly becoming a *quantifiable* resource, one that was limited and one that should be preserved” (15). This shift in terms of a human sense of *responsibility* to the world was of enormous consequence; the idea that human actions could have an effect on the world discredited many central Christian beliefs¹² as well as many popular ideas about the very idea of “progress”.

Christina Alt, in her study *Virginia Woolf and the Study of Nature*, provides a comprehensive overview of the development of the modern life sciences, locating the origin of ecology and ethology in the late nineteenth century popularity of “evolutionary history and the new biology of the laboratory” (38). According to Alt, whose study is one of the only works of Modernist criticism to deal with these aspects of scientific thought, “developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century life sciences [...] transformed the way that nature was seen and described, shifting attention from external form to internal functioning, and from the dead specimen to the living organism, its behavior, and its interactions with its environment” (39). The expanding fields of ecology and ethology around the turn of the century contributed to Joyce’s use of nature to articulate changing historical philosophies; popular accounts of nature provided new metaphors, mainly through ideas such as “organicism”, “community”, “symbiosis” and “feedback cycles”, with which to communicate a new “universal history”.

Alt also provides an account of the celebrity of several individual works in the life sciences during this period. For example, she discusses the insect ethologist Henri Fabre and his *Souvenirs entomologiques: études sur l’instinct et les moeurs des insectes* (1897-1907), and how his work exploded in popularity:

Thirty-three books based on English translations of Fabre’s works appeared in the 1910s and another in the 1920s; additionally, between 1912 and 1922 *The English Review* intermittently printed excerpts from *Souvenirs entomologiques* and extracts appeared as well in the *Fortnightly Review* and the *Daily Mail*. (55)

The popularity of this topic during the 1920s may explain where Joyce found some of the information he used in “The Ondt and the Gracehoper” sketch, or at least where

¹² For an overview of these Christian beliefs, a famous essay by environmental historian Lynn White Jr., “The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis”, seeks to trace the dislocation of culture from nature evident in discourse concerning science and technology back to Judeo-Christian religion.

he found some of the ideas, as *The Daily Mail* was a source for the first *Finnegans Wake* notebooks (at least in 1922-1924). Joyce's article on Ibsen's "When We Dead Awaken" was published in 1900 in the *Fortnightly Review*, so this journal would most likely have been on his radar throughout his life.¹³

In addition to developments in ethology and entomology, this period also witnessed the first incursions into ecology. The term "ecology" was coined in 1866 by the German zoologist Ernst Haeckel in his *Generelle Morphologie*, on the heels of Darwin's *Origin of Species*:

By ecology we mean the whole science of the relations of the organism to the environment including, in the broad sense, all the 'conditions of existence'. These are partly organic, partly inorganic in nature; both, as we have shown, are of the greatest significance for the form of organisms, for they force them to become adapted. (qtd. in Merchant 2002, 159)¹⁴

Focusing on the etymology of the word from "*oikos*", Merchant cites Haeckel's two most important ideas as the "idea of nature as household" and the "economy of nature" (160). Extending from Darwin's theories of adaptation, Haeckel's work urged biologists to take into account the impact of environment and habitat of an organism and eventually led to the development of the "ecosystem" (Merchant 2002, 159-162). In the following century, the term "ecosystem" was adapted to various contexts, the main focus being the ideas of communities and networks defined by symbiotic relationships.

The metaphorical use of terms like "ecosystem" is questioned in Dana Phillips' *The Truth of Ecology*, wherein he provides another brief overview of the history of ecology, attempting to navigate between the differing interpretations of this word over the past century. Phillips tries to reign in overzealous use of scientific discourse by those working in the humanities by separating the metaphorical connotations of certain terms from their more discipline-specific origins. For

¹³ In addition to the behaviour of insects, there were several popular studies of the behaviour of birds and of other animals. In 1934, a short film titled *The Private Life of Gannets* was the recipient of an Oscar (Alt 56), and "essays on nature subjects by authors such as J. Arthur Thomson and E.M. Nicholson appeared regularly in generalist periodicals such as the *New Statesman* and *Time and Tide*" (Alt 57).

¹⁴ In 1869, Haeckel revised his definition slightly, bringing Darwin explicitly to the forefront: "By ecology we mean the body of knowledge concerning the economy of nature – the investigation of the total relations of the animal both to its inorganic and to its organic environment...in a word, ecology is the study of all those complex interrelations referred to by Darwin as the conditions of the struggle for existence" (qtd. Merchant 2002, 160).

example, he explains that the term “ecosystem” as we understand it did not fully come into use until 1935 from the British ecologist A.G. Tansley’s paper, “The Use and Abuse of Vegetational Concepts and Terms” (61), and firmly tries to ground the “ecosystem” in botany. However, Phillips does not acknowledge Tansley’s relationship with Freud that began in the 1920s and greatly impacted the remainder of Tansley’s career.¹⁵ Tansley himself promoted the connection between psychology and biology, between the mind as a “system” and the ecosystem, drawing upon these analogies to study vegetative succession (Cameron 2004, 55-56). The term “ecosystem” suggests, clearly, a *system*, a machine-like version of nature that is integrated and self-regulatory. Such ideas at times led to a regressive belief in nature’s “permanence” and “immutability”, but Tansley’s definition actually suggests otherwise:

Many systems (represented by vegetation climaxes) which appear to be stable during the period for which they have been under accurate observation may in reality have been slowly changing all the time, because the changes effected have been too slight to be noted by observers. Many ecologists hold that *all* vegetation is *always* changing. (Tansley 302)

Keeping Tansley’s relationship with Freud in mind, this definition of the dynamism of the ecosystem and of steady-state equilibrium suggests that both the human mind and the natural world are always changing yet never changing, an idea of “ordered disorder” that appealed to many during the seeming chaos of the Modernist period.

Haeckel’s definition of ecology also led to the development of environmental determinism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, merging ecology with geography, anthropology and history. A strain of cultural geography, environmental determinism “sought to link human social behavior to determinants in the physical environment (most prominently climate)” (Mitchell 17). A geographical complement to Social Darwinism, environmental determinism contributed to early twentieth century ideas about the link between a culture, a people, a nation, and their “environment” (encompassing a wide range of features, from climate to soil to geology and hydrology). Following from studies like Marsh’s, which argued for the relationship between the success of a civilization and its environment, the work of

¹⁵ For a comprehensive overview of this relationship, refer to the article “Tansley and Freud” by Laura Cameron and John Forrester in *History Workshop Journal* 48 (1999): 65-100.

Ellen Churchill Semple (*Influences of Geographic Environment: On the Basis of Ratzel's System of Anthro-Geography* [1911]), Karl Wittfogel (*Oriental Despotism* [1975]), Thomas Griffith Taylor (*Environment, Race, and Migration* [1937]) and Ellsworth Huntington (*Climate and Civilization* [1915]), explored the interdependence between geography, climate (one of both Haeckel's and Tansley's "inorganic" conditions), and history. Wittfogel established a Marxist dialectic in the struggle between a people and their land in his 1929 article, "Geopolitics, Geographical Materialism, and Marxism", distilled by Donald Worster to the following question: "How does a society's interaction with nature lead to its own restructuring, to its evolution from one form to another?" (33). Joyce's own interest in environmental determinism is discussed at length throughout this thesis, and was sparked by Léon Metchnikoff, a geographer whose 1889 study, *Les Grandes fleuves et les civilisations historiques* explored the relationship between progress, civilization, and water sources. This question of the relationship between a society and its environment is addressed throughout the entirety of *Finnegans Wake*, as Joyce explores how civilizations rise and fall.

No discussion of the relationship between a society and its environment in the Modernist period can fail to mention the role of technology. Tim Armstrong, in an essay on this topic, cites the "control of nature" as one of the defining aims of technology (Bradshaw 158), and in the first half of the twentieth century, major studies appeared on the cultural impact of technology, seeking to understand the way in which technology alters our understanding of what it means to be human.¹⁶ Throughout the last century, developments in ecology, ethology, anthropology, biology, chemistry, physics, astronomy, robotics and cybernetics steadily blurred the boundary line between the human and the non-human, calling into question some of the most fundamental beliefs held by mankind. Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, in *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, present nature as continuous with the "desiring machine" of man, wherein "every 'object' presupposes the continuity of a flow; every flow, the fragmentation of the object" (6). They continue, proposing the dissolution of subject and nature: "Man and nature are not like two opposite terms confronting each other – not even in the sense of bipolar opposites within a

¹⁶ These studies include: Henri Bergson's *Time and Free Will* (1889), Oswald Spengler's *Man and Technics* (1931), Lewis Mumford's *Technics and Civilization* (1934), Walter Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1936) and Martin Heidegger's "The Question Concerning Technology" (1954).

relationship of causation, ideation, or expression (cause and effect, subject and object, etc.); rather, they are one and the same essential reality, the producer-product” (5). Deleuze and Guattari see technology as a force uniting the human and the non-human through shared subjugation. This shared subjugation is evident throughout *Finnegans Wake* as Joyce unites ALP with the river and HCE with Dublin City; each becomes both the exploiter and the exploited in a world preoccupied with progress.

Interest in the environment and in the human relationship with the environment during this period developed from a combination of factors that, while mostly not “new”, all collided during this period in different ways around the world. Industrialization, technology (radio, telephones, phonographs, cinema, television), X-rays, transportation (railroads, automobiles, airplanes), urban sprawl, famine, quantum mechanics, pollution, the Great Depression, disease, World War I; together, these events and trends forced the questioning of the very idea of progress.

Ecocriticism and Modernism

The previous section introduced several developments in the relationship between the human and the non-human during the Modernist period, and this section will briefly discuss the current relationship between ecocriticism and Modernist studies. In short, very few ecocritics address Modernist writers, and very few Modernists address the environment. Though slightly reductive, the prior ecocritical focus on the Romantics and nature writing, combined with Modernist studies’ emphasis on the urban and cosmopolitan aspect of Modernism,¹⁷ has led to a major gap in both fields. Fairly expansive bodies of ecocritical work already exist on the

¹⁷ The argument that Modernism was a strictly urban and cosmopolitan movement can be found in almost all significant studies of Modernism. Nearly all major introductions or companions to Modernism contain a section about the role of the city in Modernist writing, yet very few attempt to negotiate the relationship between the city and its surroundings. In the Blackwell guide to Modernism, the editor Michael H. Whitworth dedicates one of the eight sections of this introduction to “Modernity and the City” (181-215). Alex Davis and Lee Jenkins begin their collection *Locations of Literary Modernism: Region and Nation in British and American Modernist Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) asserting that “the construction of modernism as an international, urban, and yet placeless phenomenon remains, for the most part, a critical given” (3). Some other works that explicitly present the alignment between modernism and metropolitanism include Robert Alter’s *Imagined Cities: Urban Experience and the Language of the Novel* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2005), Peter Barta’s *Bely, Joyce, and Döblin: Peripatetics in the City Novel* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), Mary Gluck’s *Popular Bohemia: Modernism and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), Desmond Harding’s *Writing the City: Urban Visions and Literary Modernism* (London: Routledge, 2003), Edward Kelly and Edward Timm’s *Unreal City: Urban Experience in Modern European Literature and Art* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1985) and Hana Wirth-Nesher’s *City Codes: Reading the Modern Urban Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

early modern period, the Elizabethan period, the Romantic period, and on the years from World War II to the present, but the period from 1900 until 1950 remains largely unexplored. There are several studies that examine the role of science in works of the Modernist period,¹⁸ but very few that focus on ecology or ethology.¹⁹ Most of the studies that do focus on ecology or ethology relate to Virginia Woolf,²⁰ with surprising gaps such as Katherine Mansfield, William Faulkner,²¹ D.H. Lawrence,²² and Ernest Hemingway.²³ J. Scott Bryson, in one of the only attempts to bridge this gap, an essay titled “Modernism and Ecological Criticism”, also notes this dearth and questions why this is:

An ecocritical methodology has much to offer as an approach to modern literature, not only because modern artists displayed a

¹⁸ Though by no means a complete account, some works in this category include: Daniel Albright, *Quantum Poetics: Yeats, Pound, Eliot and the Science of Modernism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Gillian Beer, *Open Fields: Science in Cultural Encounter* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Holly Henry, *Virginia Woolf and the Discourse of Science: The Aesthetics of Astronomy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Michael H. Whitworth, *Einstein’s Wake: Relativity, Metaphor, and Modernist Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁹ These isolated examples include two essays and one full book, though the book is not quite an explicit study of ecology and ethology in the early twentieth century: J. Scott Bryson, “Modernism and Ecological Criticism” in *Modernism*, ed. Astradur Eysteinnsson and Vivian Liska. Vol. 2. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007, pp. 591-604); Craig Gordon, *Literary Modernism, Bioscience, and Community in Early twentieth Century Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Angeliqe Richardson, “The Life Sciences: ‘Everybody Nowadays Talks About Evolution’” in *A Concise Companion to Modernism*, ed. David Bradshaw, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003, pp. 6-33).

²⁰ Some examples include: Christina Alt, *Virginia Woolf and the Study of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Carol H. Cantrell, “The Flesh of the World: Virginia Woolf’s *Between the Acts*”, in *The Green Studies Reader: From Romanticism to Ecocriticism*, ed. Laurence Coupe (London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 275-281); Bonnie Kime Scott, “Virginia Woolf, Ecofeminism, and Breaking Boundaries in Nature” in *Woolfian Boundaries: Selected Papers from the Sixteenth Annual International Conference on Virginia Woolf*. Ed. Anna Burrells, Steve Ellis, Deborah Parsons, and Kathryn Simpson (Clemson University Digital Press, 2007, pp. 108-115) and Kelly Sultzbach, “The Fertile Potential of Virginia Woolf’s Environmental Ethic”, in *Woolf and the Art of Exploration: Selected Papers from the Fifteenth International Conference on Virginia Woolf*, ed. Helen Southworth and Elisa Kay Sparks (Clemson University Digital Press, 2006, pp. 71-77).

²¹ In 2005, the University Press of Mississippi published perhaps the first work on an “ecological” Faulkner, a collection of essays titled *Faulkner and the Ecology of the South* ed. Ann J. Abadie and Joseph R. Urgo (Oxford: University Press of Mississippi, 2005).

²² There are several studies that address the issue of nature in Lawrence, but mostly in terms of Lawrence as a neo-Romantic. These studies include Aidan Burns, *Nature and Culture in D.H. Lawrence* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes & Noble Books, 1980); Roger Ebbatson, *Lawrence and the Nature Tradition: A Theme in English Fiction, 1859-1914* (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press; Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1980) and Qamar Naheed, *D.H. Lawrence: Treatment of Nature in Early Novels* (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing, 1998). In David Mazel’s *A Century of Early Ecocriticism* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), he includes a piece by Lawrence on St. Jean de Crèvecoeur (237-248). In introducing this section, Mazel argues: “Much of Lawrence’s writing explores the possibility of living fully and authentically in a mechanized, repressive civilization” (237). Despite this prompt, and the fact that ASLE-UK cites *Sons and Lovers*, *The Rainbow* and *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* as important texts for the canon of “British Environmental Literature and Nature Writing”, there has been little follow-up in ecocritical discussions.

²³ Kevin Maier has published one article titled “Hemingway’s Hunting: An Ecological Reconsideration” in *The Hemingway Review* 25.2 (2006): 119-122.

significant interest in natural elements in their work [...] but also because a central question for artists and intellectuals in the early part of the twentieth century became how humans could somehow render their experiences with a more-than-human world. (591)

This negotiation of the human and the non-human or “more-than-human” world can be found in all the main works of Modernism, but more often than not, these negotiations are overlooked for more conventional themes of despair, alienation, or stylistic experimentation. These themes can be examined from the perspective of the environment as well, and most likely, any ecocritical approach to these tropes of Modernist studies would produce propitious new readings. The themes of despair and alienation could be viewed as stemming from, as Bryson explains, “a fundamental uncertainty about the relationship between human and non-human nature” (591), and stylistic experimentations could be understood as attempts to adequately represent a secularized, chaotic natural world.

Continuing on this point, Lawrence Buell, in his essential work of ecocriticism, *The Environmental Imagination*, articulates four criteria for determining the “environmental” quality of a text:

- 1) The nonhuman environment is present not merely as a framing device but as a presence that begins to suggest that human history is implicated in natural history;
- 2) The human interest is not understood to be the only legitimate interest;
- 3) Human accountability to the environment is part of the text’s ethical orientation;
- 4) Some sense of the environment as a process rather than as a constant or a given is at least implicit in the text. (7-8)

Though Buell intended these criteria to apply almost exclusively to “nature writing” and to be unmistakably purposeful in such “environmental” texts, his four criteria can be adapted to examine a wide range of other texts not explicitly “environmental”.

Despite having the opposite intent, Buell’s criteria are particularly suited to more experimental texts; traditional character, setting and narrative may speak of nature and environmental issues, but will they have the same impact as a text like *Finnegans Wake*, wherein one of the protagonists morphs between woman and river?

Throughout this thesis, I will demonstrate how *Finnegans Wake* more than meets all four of Buell’s requirements.

Placing *Finnegans Wake* in a tradition of Modernist texts profoundly engaged with the relationship between civilization and nature will also require a re-examination of many other Modernist texts. Though the scope of this thesis does not allow any in-depth inquiry into a text other than *Finnegans Wake*, I will present a brief overview of a few possible examples of these re-examinations. Despite the fact that a significant portion of T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* speaks of rock, thunder, water and fire, very few critics have approached these themes from an ecocritical perspective, but remain steadfast in their focus on Eliot's humanism, or his theology, or his allusions, or his stylistic experiments. John Elder, in his *Imagining the Earth: Poetry and the Vision of Nature*, does dedicate some of his discussion to Eliot, focusing on the fact that "Eliot's lament for civilization is from within the city, by the banks of a weary, history-laden river" (14), that he speaks from a place where nature and culture intersect. Elder does not see Eliot as a strictly "urban" figure in any sense, but sees him and *The Waste Land* as important elements of the Modernist relationship between nature and city: "The urban wasteland is revealed as part, after all, of a larger world of mountains and ocean. Seeing the two landscapes on a single map restores the possibility both for a cultural passage into the wilderness and for a corresponding return to humanity" (14). This sense of seeing "the two landscapes on a single map" echoes Eliot's "continuous parallel between contemporaneity and antiquity" (201) in "*Ulysses*, Order and Myth", using the spatial intersection of nature and the city to evoke the temporal intersection of "contemporaneity and antiquity". Richard Lehan, in his *The City in Literature: An Intellectual and Cultural History*, also agrees with this conception of Modernism, even casting the modernist city as "another stage of romanticism": "The modernist city was reconciled to myths of the land, involved a community of like selves, and kept alive a cyclical sense of time by juxtaposing the present against a more heroic past" (287). Elder even compares Eliot to the American nature poet Robinson Jeffers, arguing that they are joined "by their sense that modern culture is corrupt precisely because it is cut off from nature's regenerative power" (16).²⁴ These readings of Modernism emphasize the role of nature in the literature of the period, arguing that nature is the point against which culture and history are defined.

As stated above, the Modernist who has had the most attention ecocritically is Virginia Woolf, so it is unnecessary to provide much detail regarding the possible

²⁴ For Elder's reading of *The Waste Land*, see pages 13-23 of *Imagining the Earth*.

environmental readings of her work. Louise Westling's essay on the posthuman and *Between the Acts* presents the novel's incorporation of voices from the ecological community, arguing that this text:

boldly insists upon the interrelation of human language and art with the voices of other creatures, the intimate processes of growth and decay around us as well as the huge sweep of geological history, the evolution of life, and the weathers and rhythms that pulsate through the ages as through our individual moments and days. (40)

The Waves also exhibits stylistic experiments similar to those of *Finnegans Wake*, subordinating the human voice to larger natural forces and using undefined shifts in perspective. *To The Lighthouse* gives nature an agency, struggling with human intervention and desire for order. Katherine Mansfield's works are similarly suited to environmental approaches, with their intent focus on specific flora and their reproductive capabilities, the passage wherein the children confront the death of a non-human animal in "Prelude", or the opening of "At the Bay" through the perspective of the sea. Even Ezra Pound's *Cantos* are filled with images of nature throughout history and with questions about the relationship between language and nature. For example, Canto XC, dealing with the vast questions of love and the soul, requires a return to the "one ash-tree in Yggdrasil" (4), to "Baucis and Philemon" (5), to "Mother Earth in thy lap" (28), and to several repetitive images and figures from literary history that present various metaphors for understanding the concepts Pound questions: "the waves rise and fall" (33), "to parched grass, now is rain" (35), "the wind under the earth" (44). In this canto, Pound visits some of the major motifs of *Finnegans Wake*, with the "Grove hath its altar / under elms" (66-67) and "the stone under elm" (80), as well as the "Wei and Han rushing together / two rivers together / bright fish and flotsam / torn bough in the flood/ and the waters clear with the flowing" (70-73). Pound returns to ancient images of nature as cosmological unity and traces this through other mythologies to explore the relationship between nature and love. He uses images of nature's rejuvenation and periodicity to further develop his argument, grounding his translation of Richard of St. Victor in a tradition of writing that connects nature with the soul and with love. In short, the environment is everywhere in Modernism; one just has to look for it.

Returning to the focus on technology, any ecocritical approach to Modernism must inevitably include technology and the larger belief in the human ability to manipulate nature. *Finnegans Wake* should be placed in this body of Modernist

works addressing the issue of human attempts to “control nature” due to, for example, its attention to the engineering projects of the Liffey, Dublin Bay and the Royal and Grand Canals, and to the development of water-power based industry. Other texts from this period which would be included in such a list include William Carlos Williams’ *Paterson*,²⁵ with the portrait of a New Jersey town in the middle of the twentieth century encompassing its modern industrial heritage, and Hart Crane’s *The Bridge*, which presents the image of the Brooklyn Bridge as a disturbance to the sea and its rhythms underneath New York City. Articulating the presence of nature in Modernism through the redefinition of the “city” as part of a larger global environmental community and refocusing the study of Modernism and technology to the relationship between technology and nature will aid in the merging of ecocriticism and Modernism.²⁶ This merger is critical not just to fill in the gaps of literary criticism, but also to locate the origins of, and to begin to mend, the drastic divide between city and nature in the twenty-first century.

Nature vs. Culture in Irish Literature

Popular images of Ireland, from the 1600s to the present day, almost always relate to Ireland’s landscape, and Ireland has practically always been marketed to visitors as a place in tune with nature with its miles of rugged, wind-blown, sheep-filled wilderness to explore. While many Irish people would not necessarily argue with such a characterization, this image has been unquestionably damaging to certain aspects of the Irish psyche. Characterizing the land as “Erin”, as explicitly coded female, has also contributed to a passive conception of the landscape, and this alignment between the land and the female is a theme Joyce engages with significantly in *Finnegans Wake*. This image of the land as passive and maternal, when combined with the realities of rural life, has resulted in a fraught relationship between the land and Irish culture.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Ireland’s relationship with its land was characterized by politics and hardship. For centuries, the land had been co-opted by outside forces from early Christian nature poets, to the first topographical work on

²⁵ For an ecocritical interpretation of William Carlos Williams, see Mark Long, “William Carlos Williams, Ecocriticism, and Contemporary American Poetry.” (In *Ecopoetry: A Critical Introduction*, ed. J. Scott Bryson. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2002: 58-74).

²⁶ It is important to stress that for Joyce technology and nature are not incompatible, and that technology and “progress” are not synonymns.

Ireland, Giraldus Cambrensis' 1188 *Topographica Hiberniae*, to the Ordnance Survey's mapping of Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century, to the Revivalists attempt to reclaim and redefine the ancient Celtic relationship to nature. Accordingly, the Irish landscape has been burdened with countless different images, associations, relationships and histories that have developed over many centuries. It is nearly impossible to find a piece of Irish literature that does not deal with this relationship, either through the landscape directly or through the broader theme of "place". Though this relationship has endured for centuries, the current Irish critical focus on "place", in a slightly reductive explanation, was fixed with the work of the Literary Revival. The major figures of the Revival sought, largely for political purposes, to demonstrate not only the existence of an unalterable relationship between Irish culture and Irish place, but also to demonstrate the singularity of Irish place and landscape as a way to define itself against England. While their intentions may have been benevolent, this did serve as just one other example of the co-opting of the Irish land by external actors.

Contemporary critics of Irish literature often attempt to locate the origin of this Irish connection to "place" in texts from the pre-Christian period. While the intention here is clearly to restore a natural tradition in Celtic literature that preceded English rule, the criticism of the Revival often levied by such critics seems hypocritical as such an idealizing of "pre-Christian" Ireland is no less guilty of condescension. For example, one of the only existing works of Irish ecocriticism, Tim Wenzell's *Emerald Green: An Ecocritical Study of Irish Literature* begins with a slightly insulting focus on the "Celtic peoples" and the early Christian hermits (1-24). While the importance of pre-Viking evocations of nature is certainly important in the agenda of "de-colonization", any discussion of early Celtic and Christian nature poetry must be addressed very carefully. One way to negotiate this minefield is through the focus on the specifics of place; their climate, their geography, their habitation, their history. Declan Kiberd, in his *Irish Classics*, describes the tradition of the *dinnsheanchas*, wherein "a poet praised the lore of a particular place" (58). The *dinnsheanchas*, pre-Christian texts providing explanations for names of particular places (the name is translated, at times, to "topography", or to "the lore of places"), have often been evoked in postcolonial discussions of Irish writing as examples of, as Mary Gilmartin has argued, "anti-colonial" geography (37-38), for they present a way of "knowing" territory without "claiming" it. On this same subject, in his study on the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey, *A Paper Landscape*,

J.H. Andrews writes of how Thomas A. Larcom, one of the leaders of the surveying team, pointed out that “in writing the history of a place-name one has taken a long step towards writing the history of the place itself” (156). This conviction, this returning to names with histories deriving from particular people, events, or topography, is supported by the enduring importance of naming and of place in Irish literature and can be seen as a way to unravel English authority, but also problematically implies that these places have “original” names.

Oona Frawley asserts “Irish literature’s preoccupation with place, nature and landscape” in the introduction to *Irish Pastoral: Nostalgia and Twentieth-Century Irish Literature*, and argues that “nature and landscape become signifiers, lenses through which it is possible to examine cultural and historical developments” (1). Throughout her study, Frawley often returns to the *dinnsheanchas* as the foundation of the Irish fixation upon place. In his critical guide to James Joyce, Lee Spinks uses the *dinnsheanchas* to explain the poetic goals of Yeats:

His mythic transformation of the Gaelic bardic tradition of *dinnsheanchas*, or poems that detail the knowledge of the lore of a place, represented Ireland as a cultural space bearing the scars of its colonial occupation while remaining unassimilable in its radical difference and singularity to any version of the past that imperial history might offer. (15)²⁷

Through this focus on “knowledge of the lore of a place”, Spinks rejects the traditional argument that Joyce’s work was antithetical to the Irish Revival. He argues that the project of Yeats and Synge was to locate a pre-Imperial history, language and style for Ireland and that their work “provides a compelling analogue to Joyce’s revolutionary rewriting of Homeric epic in *Ulysses* and his development of a syncretic mythic language in *Finnegans Wake*” (16). This reading is a productive one as it provides a perspective on Irish literature much more different from the traditional divide that exists in criticism of the Irish Revival. Instead, this reading

²⁷ The importance of landscape and climate in Yeats has been written of fairly extensively, often in the context of Yeats being an inheritor of Wordsworth and a “last romantic”. In discussing Yeats’s collection *Responsibilities*, Terence Brown writes: “A windy dawn, a wild landscape of primitive, cold desolation, morning light in which solitary curlews call, constitute a climate and geography of the soul engaging with last things, the trauma of death and the life to come. Landscape and weather are the portents of a spiritualist eschatology in a Yeatsian book of the soul’s personal apocalypse” (209). In J. Scott Bryson’s *Ecopoetry*, Deborah Fleming’s essay “Landscape and the Self in W.B. Yeats and Robinson Jeffers” firmly locates Yeats in Ireland and the Irish landscape and compares this relationship to that of Robert Frost’s with New England (39-40).

leads towards the emerging category of Irish Modernism that includes writers ranging from Yeats and George Moore to Joyce, to Elizabeth Bowen, Liam O'Flaherty, Patrick Kavanagh and Flann O'Brien. As Edwina Keown and Carol Taaffe argue in their introduction to *Irish Modernism*, the "emergence of the New Modernist Studies [...] and its re-evaluation of local, regional and national modernisms" has caused Ireland to be "transformed from a footnote in the modernist canon to something of an exemplary case" (2). Placing this group of writers in a tradition of Irish Modernism defined by an attention to place and land, as opposed to the author's Anglo-Irish or Irish social status, not only overcomes restrictive readings, but also allows for continuity in Irish literature that could support a more meaningful presence of Irish topography in contemporary Irish writing.²⁸

Irish Literature, Ecocriticism and Environmentalism

Since Irish literature is so inextricably bound with place, it seems odd that ecological criticism has not yet fully attached itself to Irish literature or to any universities in Ireland (as it has, for example, in England at the Universities of Warwick, Exeter, and Bath Spa). The first conference in Ireland on the topic of ecocriticism took place in 2010 at Mary Immaculate College, and the second took place at Trinity College Dublin in September of 2011. Only in 2011 did the Association for the Study of Literature and the Environment's UK branch

²⁸ For example, Greg Winston's essay "George Moore's Landscapes of Return" in *Out of the Earth: Ecocritical Readings of Irish Texts*, does not focus so much on Moore as a Revivalist, allowing a more fruitful reading of Moore. Winston focuses mostly on the implications of the title *The Untilled Field* and interprets the short stories as stories of the land. Winston provides convincing arguments concerning the necessity of reading agricultural land as a midpoint between the "wilderness" and the "urban", and his reading of "The Exile" brings Moore's story in line with contemporary environmental concerns, focusing on the monocrop cause of the Great Famine and presenting the need for sustainable agriculture. Winston's reading of "The Wild Goose" is also notable for placing Moore in this tradition of place-based writing for its ability to subtly read the tension in Ned and Ellen's relationship through their relationship to the land. Additionally, reading Bowen in the context of Irish Modernism and not strictly through her "Anglo-Irish" heritage provides a much different view of her and her work. *The Last September* and *Bowen's Court*, Bowen's "Irish" texts, strongly fall into the category of place-based Irish Modernism. The decline of the Anglo-Irish in *The Last September* is figured with images of nature continuously penetrating Danielstown, which had tried so hard to cut itself off from the rest of the country: "To the south, below them, the demesne trees of Danielstown made a dark formal square like a rug on the green country" (66). The encroaching demise of the Big House tradition is aligned with the turnover of generations and subsequently, with the change of seasons and with Lois's interest and attention to trees, flowers and animals (206). Edwina Keown's essay "New Horizons: Irish Aviation, Lemass and Deferred Anglo-Irish Modernism in Elizabeth Bowen's *A World of Love*" also discusses the impact of the Shannon Airport – the Shannon Development Scheme – on 1950s ideas of Ireland (Keown and Taaffe 217-236).

(established in 1999)²⁹ move to include Ireland and form “ASLE-UKI”. The first books dedicated to Irish Ecocriticism, Tim Wenzell’s *Emerald Green: An Ecocritical Study of Irish Literature*, a collection of essays titled *Out of the Earth: Ecocritical Readings of Irish Texts*, edited by Christine Cusick, and Eamonn Wall’s *Writing the Irish West: Ecologies and Tradition*, were only published by Cambridge Scholars Publishing in 2009, Cork University Press in 2010, and The University of Notre Dame Press in 2011, respectively.

This slow introduction of ecocriticism to Ireland is indicative of larger issues related to Ireland and the environment. Though Ireland’s popular image may be “green”, as Andersen and Lifferink argue, it is certainly a “latecomer” in terms of European environmental policy (6). It is not just environmental themes in literature that are overlooked by contemporary Irish culture, but larger environmental issues in the country have also been largely overlooked. Michael Viney explains that, in fact, Ireland ranks very low in international conservation league tables, with “only 1 percent of the national territory given the strict protection of national parks and preserves, compared with an average of 12 percent in other developed countries” (2003, 308). Any reasons given for this are speculative, but there are a few possible explanations. Viney, in the final chapter of his *Natural History of Ireland*, explains that today, in Ireland, “nature conservation is still largely identified with an Anglo-Irish culture” (307-308). John Feehan, a lecturer in Environmental Resource Management at University College, Dublin, expresses a similar view in his essay “Attitudes to Nature in Ireland”, arguing how the Romantic movement did not have a similar impact on Ireland as it did in England except “within the walls of the demesnes”, and that “this identification of an interest and concern for natural and cultural heritage with the leisured class has persisted down to the present” (583). Though this breakdown is fairly reductive, its logic is sound: the Anglo-Irish landlords had the spare time to stroll about their estates, taking an interest in natural history and conservation, while the tenants tried to make their living and keep their family alive on this same land. What was “sublime” for one was Patrick Kavanagh’s “stony grey soil” for another. In order for any redefinition of this conception to occur,

²⁹ ASLE-US was the pioneer organization, established in 1992. There are associate organizations in Canada (ALECC), Continental Europe (EASLECE), Japan (ASLE Japan), Korea (ASLE Korea), Australia and New Zealand (ASLEC-ANZ), India (ASLE-India) and Taiwan (ASLE-Taiwan).

there must be a focus on the cultural representations of nature and their ideological origins during the period of English authority in Ireland.³⁰

The stereotype of the misty “Celtic Imagination”, combined with the hardships endured by so many on the Irish land and the general complexity of the relationship between the English, the Irish, and the Anglo-Irish, undoubtedly contributed to the post-Independence displeasure with and disinterest towards the land itself in Ireland. David Fitzpatrick argues, in the *Oxford History of Ireland*, that “in many respects the Irish rural economy remained archaic far into the twentieth century” (218), implying that, for many at least, Ireland’s agricultural legacy is still too recent to produce an idealized vision of the landscape. For many in other Western European countries (including England) and in North America, the “back to the land” urge is somewhat due to the fact that most current residents of these countries never had to work on the land, and most likely, neither did their parents. It is inarguably easier to idealize land when that land had not signified life or death for one and one’s family. With neither Romanticism nor the environmental movement catching on in nineteenth century Ireland as they did in England, the exploitative policies of the newly formed Irish Free State took hold much easier; Viney explains that “in the impoverished early decades of an independent Ireland, the popular view of nature was urgently utilitarian and land-hungry” (2003, 1). Joyce incorporates this “utilitarian and land-hungry” attitude of the Irish Free State in the *Wake*, referencing the planned destruction of the Bird Sanctuary on North Dublin’s Bull Island,³¹ the promotion of the burning of peat as an effort in energy independence, the methodical attempts at Irish afforestation, and the use of territorially charged rhetoric by *Sinn Féin*.

More recently, the Celtic Tiger brought Ireland into a sudden wave of prosperity. During this period, the nation previously perceived to be archaic by many Western nations witnessed the arrival of international financial organizations, an

³⁰ For example, Jefferson Holdridge’s essay on Lady Morgan’s *The Wild Irish Girl* and William Carleton’s *The Black Prophet* in the *Out of the Earth* collection seeks to explore the complexity of the relationship between the colonizer, the colonized and the land upon which this power dynamic was enforced. Holdridge presents a convincing reading of the ways in which landscape was politically inscribed in post-Cromwellian Ireland, focusing largely on ideas of “conquest”, both of the female and of the land. This idea has been discussed frequently in postcolonial readings of Irish texts, but Holdridge’s reading presents the ways in which this relationship created complicated webs concerning issues of land ownership, religious tradition, marriage and emigration. Holdridge sets an admirable precedent by addressing texts from a century often overlooked by literary critics writing of nature in Irish literature, opening up a space between early Christian nature poetry and the Druidic tradition and the Irish Literary Revival.

³¹ Cf. FW 479.18-22.

influx of workers and immigrants from all over the world, and, overall, a significant rise in the standard of living. During this period, the main interests for a large portion of the population were not environmental conservation, but electronics, vacation homes, luxury cars and designer clothing. Neither was the environment a chief concern for the Irish government, as conservation was seen as a hindrance to further development. The way in which the government responded to environmental concerns during the Celtic Tiger period was not dissimilar to its environmental record following the birth of the Irish Free State, another period in the country's recent history where it was struggling to define itself against an inglorious past.

John Elder, in his introduction to *Out of the Earth*, provides an advertisement for the potential benefits of ecocritical approaches to Irish literature. He writes of how the *Out of the Earth* volume introduces the "ecocritical lens" to Irish literature and uses this lens to try and subvert past conceptions of the relationship between Ireland, its people, its history and its landscape. Elder argues that the most successful readings to be found in the collection are those which focus on very precise aspects of the landscape, which "can remind us that particularity is the escape-hatch out of stultifying notions of history, culture, and the land" (4). In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce's focus on and breakdown of the particulars of the Irish landscape can lead to a rewriting of the traditional image of an Irish affinity with landscape and help to create a landscape intertwined with history and myth, but also with city and culture. An ecocritical reading of *Finnegans Wake* and of a writer so embraced by Dublin may help push the boundaries of Irish ecocriticism and of Irish attitudes to nature.

James Joyce and Ecocriticism

When visiting Denmark in 1936, the journalist Ole Vinding asked, "Do you like flowers, Mr Joyce?" to which Joyce replied "No. I love plants, green growing things, trees and grass. Flowers annoy me" (JJ 694). This love for "growing things" can be traced back to one of the most famous quotes of Joyce's early years in his identification of a mistranslation of one of Aristotle's tenets:

'Art is an imitation of Nature.' Aristotle does not here define art, he says only 'Art imitates nature', and meant the artistic process is like the natural process. (CW 145)

While this phrase was written when Joyce was very young, it is nonetheless a useful starting point for an examination of Joyce's relationship to the natural world. Buell's fourth criterion for an environmental text echoes this dictum from the adolescent

Joyce: “Some sense of the environment as a process rather than as a constant or a given is at least implicit in the text” (7-8). Throughout all of Joyce’s work, this sense of the environment as implicated in human life is in the background, whether it is in the alignment of Stephen’s moods and emotions with the weather in *Stephen Hero*, the snow that unifies Ireland in “The Dead”, or the “bird-girl” scene of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Joyce linked nature and climate with artistic inspiration and creation all throughout his life. In *Ulysses*, nature and climate become intertwined with issues of Irish nationalism and identity, with colonialism, with technology, with suburbanization, with gender, with questions of what it means to be human, with relationships with other non-human animals, and with entire outlooks on the world. *Ulysses* is without doubt a novel about the city of Dublin, but Dublin is a city whose very existence is contingent on its physical setting, a fact Joyce displays acutely in the text with the inclusion of the geography of Viking and Medieval Dublin, as well as the constant presences of Dublin Bay, Dublin Port and the River Liffey, all key components of the 1904 Dublin economy.

Despite these facts, Joyce has been almost unanimously declared an “urban” writer, a representative of the modern world and of the ever-increasing importance of the city in modern life. Joyce critics working in various different contexts, from different decades and different countries, all emphasize this urban quality of his work and generally frown upon any suggestion that Joyce could have been interested in anything relating to “nature”. Many critics have referred to nature in their arguments, but either subordinate it or seem unaware of the fact they have referred to nature at all.³² A salient example is that of Clive Hart, who wrote an article on the angles of the sun in *Ulysses*,³³ but who also, in his essay on the “Wandering Rocks” episode of *Ulysses*, openly encourages Joyce’s readers to ignore anything not explicitly “urban” in his texts:

³² For example, Derek Attridge, providing a list of possible biases with which to examine the ninth question from I.6, lists language, religion, family structure, etc., but chooses to add only as a parenthetical, “In that last phrase we also have the river flowing out to sea once more” (139). On the bottom of the same page, Attridge mentions “objects in the sky” as a possible trend to trace in the passage, referring to “night and dawn, nimbus clouds and the cloud in *Hamlet* III.ii, ‘in shape of a camel’, star in English and Greek (the *aster* of ‘disaster’), the storm in ‘oragious’ and the colours of the rainbow” (139-140). He places this theme dead last in his list, suggesting such a reading is an absolute last resort of interpretative routes.

³³ Harald Beck and Clive Hart, “Sunwise: The Sun in *Ulysses*”. *Papers on Joyce* 10/11 (2004-2005): 15-28. This paper has attempted to match the locations of the sun in *Ulysses* with “data regarding the apparent position of the sun in the sky as seen in Dublin on 16 June 1904” and contains “a table charting the solar angles of incidence on Bloomsday” (1).

Joyce was by temperament an urban man. However he might celebrate, in *Finnegans Wake*, the delights of river and mountain, field and flower, these were projections of fantasy, metaphors of the artistic imagination the tenor of which was always life as he knew it in the urban environment. (Hart and Hayman 181)³⁴

Nearly all Joyce scholars are responsible for confining Joyce within the canals of Dublin City, but it is perhaps scholars working to place him into an “Irish” context that are most emphatic about his urban quality, descending from the aforementioned discussion of current attitudes towards the environment in Ireland. For example, John Rickard, in his essay “‘A Quaking Sod’: Hybridity, Identity and Wandering Irishness” from the *European Joyce Studies* collection, *James Joyce and the Fabrication of an Irish Identity* creates an explicit binary between Joyce, the “urban, cosmopolitan writer” (83) and the “rural” concerns of Yeats and Synge. Perpetuating such reductive interpretations of both Joyce and the writers involved in the Irish Literary Revival is counterproductive, especially given the amount of scholarship proving that these divisions have been largely fabricated by the repetition of, for lack of a better term, “sound-bites”.

Many Joyce critics have not allowed for the interaction of nature and culture in Joyce’s work, choosing, instead, to construct a Modernist, Joycean city independent of external forces. Correspondingly, ecocriticism only recently began to incorporate the urban and built environments into its definitions of environment. Michael Bennett and David W. Teague, in the introduction to their book *The Nature of Cities: Ecocriticism and Urban Environmentalism*, note that although ecocriticism is a steadily growing area of cultural criticism, the movement has been “slow to survey the terrain of urban environments”, which they attribute to the general association of the ecocriticism field in literary studies with “the body of work devoted to nature writing, American pastoralism, and literary ecology” (1) and they identify the parallel tradition of studying “city” literature, pioneered by Blanche Housman Gelfant’s *The American City Novel*. *Finnegans Wake* is an ideal work for introducing urban studies into ecocriticism, and foundations laid by such texts as

³⁴ There are many other major studies and critics that focus on Joyce’s “urbanness”, ranging from much of the work done by Richard Ellmann to Jackson Cope’s *Joyce’s Cities: Archaeologies of the Soul* (1981), to Enda Duffy’s *The Subaltern Ulysses* (1994), to Michael Begnal’s collection *Joyce and the City: The Significance of Place* (2002).

Raymond Williams' *The Country and the City* or Robert Pogue Harrison's *Forests* provide valuable models for exploring the interdependence of city and environment.

Finn Fordham, in his *Lots of Fun at Finnegans Wake*, provides a brief overview of the various critical approaches to the *Wake*, ending with a call to action for the intersection of Joyce studies and ecocriticism. He writes that although this theory has not yet attached itself to the *Wake*, such an attachment is certainly possible as, after all, "*Finnegans Wake* tells the story of the planet – of mountains, rivers, the sky, and of the rubbish, the rivers and mountains of it" (20). Fordham, who has delved into ecocriticism and *Finnegans Wake* himself, is certainly correct about this possibility, and the increasing popularity of ecocriticism is slowly but surely being acknowledged by critics working on Joyce. At the most recent North American James Joyce Conference in San Marino, California, there were two panels titled "Joyce and Ecocriticism" and another specifically titled "Nature in *Ulysses*" and these papers are being collected into a volume by a student at the University of Alberta.

From the ecocritical side, the situation is largely the same, with Ursula Heise mentioning *Finnegans Wake* twice and *Ulysses* once in her *Sense of Place and Sense of Planet: The Environmental Imagination of the Global*. The most notable mention concerns John Cage's use of "hce", and Heise believes that HCE's designation as "here comes everybody" not only "invites a comparison between the artist and the work of art in the early and late twentieth century and their altered position in the media landscape but also evokes a character whose initials make him merge with an inescapable collective", celebrating "the merging of private space with a global landscape" (88). Richard Kerridge, writing in SueEllen Campbell's recent *The Face of the Earth: Natural Landscapes, Science and Culture*, provides perhaps the only significant mention of *Finnegans Wake* in any work of ecocriticism. Like Elder, Kerridge discusses the Thames of T.S. Eliot as "a river of time bearing fragments from the cultural past" (141) like "physical debris on the water" (142), and foregrounds the river in *The Waste Land*, speaking of the poem's ability to delicately combine "sacred and profane, and past and present". "The river", he continues, "with its dissolving and merging action, makes this possible. Its flow is the poem's flow". Kerridge then discusses the *Wake*, and since this is the only significant mention of *Finnegans Wake* in the work of any ecocritic, I quote Kerridge at length:

Another famous Modernist work, James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*, takes this literary imitation of a river's flow and merging even further.

In this extraordinary book – written in a style unlike any other, full of puns that make different kinds of language overlap and merge – the river is Dublin’s Liffey, which Joyce identifies with a great female principle encompassing lover and mother that he names Anna Livia Plurabelle. Suggesting with its initial lowercase letter that the story, like the water cycle, has no real beginning, the novel opens with ‘rivverrun, past Eve and Adam’s, from swerve of shore to bend of bay, brings us by a commodious vicus of recirculation back to Howth Castle and Environs.’ Joyce’s Liffey merges everything – mythical, personal, intellectual, carnal, learned, colloquial, sacred, and profane – in the constant punning and shifting of his sentences. It is the river of time and the river of language, image of the endlessly changing forms of language and the way words from the past are carried to us and into the future, with tributaries pouring in from all directions. The optimism, wit, and humour of the novel come from its joy in the vastness and endlessness of this great flux, and the river is the natural image for the whole process. (142)

Kerridge’s brief explanation of *Finnegans Wake* from an ecological perspective profitably spotlights the role played by Joyce’s manipulation of language. Much like Heise’s brief mention of the *Wake*, Kerridge focuses in on the democratic and levelling tendency of the *Wake*, the ability of the *Wake* to dissolve culturally inscribed boundaries and subsume everything into larger “currents”.

Other Joyce critics have mentioned environmental themes in passing, but largely, like Hart, relegating them to simple metaphors; the idea of language, time, history and life itself as a “river” that is “flowing” is the most common metaphor attached to the *Wake*. Derek Attridge, arguing against the reading of the *Wake* as a “dream”, explains that Joyce “points rather more clearly to the metaphor of the river and to Viconian cyclic history than to the idea of a dream” (144), and directs readers to Ellmann’s claim that Joyce told a friend that ‘he conceived of his book as the dream of old Finn, lying in death beside the river Liffey and watching the history of Ireland and the world – past and future – flow through his mind like flotsam on the river of life’ (qtd. in Attridge 144). However, these readings often end up being as thoughtless as Bloom’s mock-advertisement in “Lestrygonians”: “It’s always flowing in a stream, never the same, which in the stream of life we trace. Because life is a stream” (U 8.95). At this point, critics and readers of *Finnegans Wake* have largely

accepted this equation between different things that “flow”, and the role of nature in the *Wake* must be examined more comprehensively, not just for ourselves but for Joyce, too. Surely he must have been thinking of something more for the role of the Liffey in the *Wake* than a pedestrian analogy between water and prose? This thesis seeks to uncover what exactly Joyce was doing with nature in *Finnegans Wake* and why.

Methodology

This thesis uses genetic criticism to support the overall ecocritical approach to Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake*. In this section, I will first outline the benefits of a genetic approach to an ecocritical reading of *Finnegans Wake*, and then I will provide a brief introduction to genetic criticism itself, followed by an outline of the possible relationships between genetic criticism and ecocriticism, concluding with an example of the benefits of a genetic approach for an ecocritical reading. In addition to the positivist approach of providing concrete proof of environmental themes in *Finnegans Wake*,³⁵ a tactic necessitated by the aforementioned bias of Joyce studies toward urban themes, a genetic approach to a text with a textual history as complex as *Finnegans Wake* opens up a limitless number of possible readings, inevitably making any reading considerably more comprehensive and interesting.

This genetic study provides material evidence of Joyce’s interest in nature during the years he was working on *Finnegans Wake*, and allows the central concerns in this ecocritical reading to be framed in more enriching and substantive ways. Genetic criticism allows for a reading of the composition methods of *Finnegans Wake* and presents the ways in which material in the *avant-texte* was acquired from source texts, copied into notebooks, placed into drafts, revised over subsequent drafts, reconceptualised at different points in the composition process and interpreted in different contexts. It not only shows the presence of environmental subject matter in *Finnegans Wake*, genetic criticism also shows how these ideas developed and changed over the years. Genetic criticism provides textual terrain in which Joyce’s processes can be explored.

Dirk Van Hulle argues that “[a]rchives often arrange the manuscripts teleologically according to the final narrative structure. A genetic study, however,

³⁵ This idea of genetic criticism providing “proof” puts into question some of the foundational tenets of the practice, but is nonetheless accepted by most geneticists. Van Hulle explains that “by including the *avant-texte* in this research, genetic critics have a considerably larger amount of textual material at their disposal to check the probability of their interpretations, and to make them plausible” (2004; 6).

may require a chronological (re) arrangement of the manuscripts” (2004; 5). This thesis is presented chronologically in order to most clearly demonstrate the development of environmental themes in the *Wake*. Beginning with the first notes Joyce recorded for his *Work in Progress* following the publication of *Ulysses* and excavating the successive drafts, notebooks and revisions presents a far more different perspective of reading the *Wake*. For instance, examining the development of the text chronologically allows for small additions or revisions that occur across different chapters to speak to one another, providing an intertextual reading within the *avant-texte* of the same work.

Van Hulle also, no doubt with *Finnegans Wake* in mind, explains that the chronological arrangement of the *avant-texte* “reflect[s] the type of the writing process, ranging from a carefully planned strategy to a gradual expansion of the manuscript without apparent preconception” (5). It is for this reason that I have chosen to focus intently on the first five years of work on *Finnegans Wake*, for during this period, Joyce had little “strategy” but allowed his sources, notes and drafts to do a lot of the writing for him. If one attempts to read a *Finnegans Wake* notebook as a text independent of the published version of *Finnegans Wake*, or even independent of the drafts in which the notes were used, one can find narrative structures and intertextual links within the notebooks themselves. Such structures and links were created as much by the juxtaposition of source texts and their corresponding notes as by Joyce’s own intentions, and because of this, the first five years are imperative to understanding the way in which the text took shape.

Genetic criticism, or, *la critique genetique*, emerged in France in the late 1960s, partially as a reaction to structuralism³⁶ and partially as a result of new ideas of textuality promoted by post-structuralists including Jacques Derrida, Roland Barthes and Jacques Lacan (the view of the text as an infinite interplay of signs, the questioning of authorship, the decline in stability of the subjective ‘I’, respectively). Van Hulle explains genetic criticism as follows: “Genetic critics focus on the temporal dimension of writing and regard a work of literature as a process rather than a product. The end result remains inextricably bound up with its textual memory, that is, the numerous textual transformations that preceded its publication” (2). Van Hulle’s idea of “textual memory” is important to focus on with regard to Joyce’s

³⁶ Dirk Van Hulle also cites the emergence of genetic criticism as “a reaction *against* the structuralist approach to the text as a closed system, since it implied cutting off the text from its genesis” (2004, 3).

process, as many of the unused notes from the *Finnegans Wake* notebook find their way into the text conceptually. The “numerous textual transformations” comprise the *avant-texte*, which could consist of items such as diaries, journals, notebooks, workbooks, drafts, letters, proofs, etc. Genetic studies of Joyce began, in an elemental form, in the early 1960s and have become a major field of Joyce studies at present, largely due to the amount of *avant-texte* available, especially for *Finnegans Wake*. Recent acquisitions by the National Library of Ireland in 2002 and 2006 have contributed to this trend, providing new material to work with.³⁷ Genetic criticism confuses the boundaries of authorial intent, placing as much agency on the text itself as on the author, but also at times privileging “evidence” from the *avant-texte* over other readings.

This idea of the text’s “growth” can be traced back to Joyce’s correction of the Aristotle line from *Physics* from whence “mimesis” arose³⁸ and connected clearly to Buell’s criteria. Through the examination of the *Wake*’s *avant-texte*, there is a distinct relationship between Joyce’s experiences with the *Wake*’s development and the way he believed elements in nature grow and change over time. Though such a correspondence is problematic, the desire to find overlap between genetic criticism and ecocriticism is easily understood, with metaphors of “organicism” and “growth” dominating the discourse. Buell himself supports this comparison between the “artistic” and the “natural” in *The Environmental Imagination*, wherein he reads Thoreau’s *Walden* “genetically”:

To read the published text in light of antecedent drafts and journal material is to see Thoreau undergoing a partly planned, partly fortuitous, always somewhat conflicted odyssey of reorientation. (23)

Curiously, especially when taking into account that the writer here is Lawrence Buell, he chooses not to draw explicit connections between the subject of *Walden* and Thoreau’s composition process. Such an omission would be welcomed by critics of this type of analogy, represented most vehemently by Phillips, who warns that such parallels can be taken too far, using SueEllen Campbell’s “The Land and Language of Desire: Where Deep Ecology and Post-Structuralism Meet” as the scapegoat.

³⁷ For a comprehensive overview of genetic criticism, please refer to the collection *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Texts*, edited by Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

³⁸ (“Aristotle does not here define art; he says only, ‘Art imitates Nature,’ and means that the artistic process is like the natural process” [CW 104]).

Phillips diplomatically calls Campbell's attempt "admirable", but highlights her essay in support of his belief that there must be "lines of resistance" for an interdisciplinary enterprise such as ecocriticism. Phillips rejects the "realist" ecocritics "who argue that texts are like the world" and concomitantly, rejects Campbell's argument that "the world is like a text" (36-37). He calls for critics on both ends of the ecocritical spectrum to recognize the material existence of, in Campbell's case, deer, and to recognize the fact that these deer can "say no even to ecology" by failing "to conform to ecological models" (37). He argues for the necessity of splitting "ecology as a 'point of view' and ecology as a science" and rejects "organic metaphors" (44). Phillips disapproves of the general assumptions of "harmony, balance, unity, and economy in the day-to-day functioning of actual natural systems" (46), and argues that these simplistic models of ecology from the early twentieth century are outdated in the actual field of ecology and should not be used today to critique texts.

While Phillips seems to reject the ubiquity (not to mention inescapability) of metaphors in thought and communication, he is largely correct in his argument that adhering to outdated models of ecology is irresponsible scholarship as well as harmful to current environmental literacy. However, in the case of works written *before* modern breakthroughs in science, it is necessary to research the state of the sciences during the period in which the text was produced. In the case of *Finnegans Wake*, earlier ideas in ecology and ethology must be considered as influencing the text, though current understandings of these fields can be allowed to inform how readings of these texts are used in culture or in the classroom. Though there are many possible refutations of Phillip's argument,³⁹ it is for these reasons that this merging of genetic criticism and ecocriticism will be hesitant about theoretically aligning the two

³⁹ Looking back to Campbell's essay itself can serve as a refutation of this argument. She is correct in her use of postmodernism that certain concepts like "ecology", "wilderness", "nature" etc. are constructs. She does not argue that "nature" as we understand is not *there* (and cites Samuel Johnson's refutation of Bishop Berkeley as a pertinent example of this argument [1989; 205]). She tries to argue that the human mind and the world are inseparable, providing examples like that of Barry Lopez, who "replaces the distinction between humanized landscapes and uninhabited wilderness by paying attention to how the human imagination – as well as human action – has always interacted with the land" (1989; 203). She also equates ecosystems and language with Saussure's idea of a "structure" by arguing that in ecology, there is a "replacement of centers with networks" (1989; 207) that leads to the premise that "human beings are no longer the center or value of meaning" (1989; 208) and unites post-structuralism and deep ecology through their rejection of "underlying 'humanism'" (1989; 208). Though Phillips' overall argument is necessary to protect from the faulty assimilation of convenient science by ecocritics, his attack of Campbell is not quite justified.

and will only relate nature to texts in isolated, specific sections of the *Wake* and its composition.⁴⁰

The Notebooks

This section is intended to illustrate, using examples from the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks,⁴¹ the processes of genetic criticism and how such an approach benefits an ecocritical reading of *Finnegans Wake*. To provide an introduction to how these notebooks will be used, I will present a close analysis of three interwoven sources from two notebooks Joyce used in 1924, early on in the composition of the *Wake* and long before any environmental themes had crystallized in the text.

In the beginning of 1924, Joyce began drafting the Shem chapter, I.7, and the Anna Livia Plurabelle chapter, I.8. It is not possible to know for sure whether or not Joyce intended the environmental themes that pervade these two chapters, but a close

⁴⁰ The Deleuzian concept of the “rhizome” has often been invoked in an attempt to merge ecocriticism and poststructuralism, and the term itself seems useful due to its rejection of Romantic metaphors that adopt botanical terms to imply unity and wholeness. The “rhizome”, according to Deleuze and Guattari, applies to “acentered systems, finite networks of automata in which communication runs from any neighbour to any other” and wherein “the stems of channels do not preexist, and all individuals are interchangeable, defined only by their *state* at a given moment – such that the local operations are coordinated and the final, global result synchronized without a central agency” (16-17). “Rhizomatic” is opposed to the linear, vertical, and dialectical “arborescent”, and encourages multiplicity, decenteredness and plurality. In the Deleuzian context, the term applies more to systems of knowledge, power, philosophy, desire and the global economy, but the terms have often been co-opted in an effort to merge textual studies and ecocriticism (even though the critics doing this are often unaware that they could be classified as ecocritics). In botanical terms, the word “rhizome” has been in use since the early nineteenth century, and applies to root systems which grow horizontally and produce independent structures at various nodes on the root system. This would, in a reductive approach, be in contrast to the basic understanding of a tree wherein all the nutrients and energy are working for the one structure. However, this Deleuzian metaphor does not remain particularly steady if one attempts to delve deeper in this metaphor because it has not taken into account different types of either rhizome or tree, and also has neglected to discuss the various parts of a tree (the bud, the fruit, the seeds, the leaves). When applied to the process of the composition of *Finnegans Wake*, or really to any text, one can “fit” either the rhizomatic or the arborescent quite easily. In the case of *Finnegans Wake*, most would argue that the genesis is “rhizomatic”, with the development of various independent “nodes”, to borrow David Hayman’s term. However, what of when these supposedly independent “nodes” work together? What about when the drafts continue to expand and then a new chapter develops from an already existing chapter? Does not that imply an “arborescent” system? And where do the notebooks play into this, are they part of the rhizomatic structure, perhaps figuring as the external stimulus of sunlight or water? Or are they the chlorophyll that enables the production of energy for the growth of the tree or rhizome? Some of the terms Deleuze and Guattari employ to articulate their concepts of “rhizomatic” and “arborescent” may seem useful for a genetic critic, but for a genetic critic working with ecocriticism, their application is problematic.

⁴¹ Joyce’s manuscript material is catalogued in a quite a complex manner. The *Finnegans Wake* notebook materials (held in the University of Buffalo’s Poetry/Rare Books collection) are categorized with the prefix “VI” (*Ulysses* notebooks are designated with a “V”) and further broken down into “A”, “B”, or “C.” The “A” is only used for one particular notebook known as “Scribbledehobble” (VI.A), the “B” is used for all other of Joyce’s personal workbooks, and the “C” is used to designate notebooks transcribed by Joyce’s amanuensis, Mme Raphael, in the 1930s. The numbering system was initially created by Peter Spielberg in his 1962 catalogue of the materials at Buffalo and was initially believed to be chronological (beginning with VI.B.1), but over time, the chronology has been altered through genetic studies, and presently, the first *Finnegans Wake* notebook is actually “VI.B.10”.

look at the interdependence of two of Joyce's sources in one of the notebooks in use during this period, notebook VI.B.1, provides some possible answers. The relationships between environment, geography, and the production of narratives found in the first drafts of I.7 and I.8 are supported when one looks to Joyce's sources, the notes he recorded from these sources, the contexts from which the notes originated, and the contexts in which they were used in the drafts for *Work in Progress*. Additionally, there were many notes that Joyce did *not* use in the *Wake*, but looking at the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks as valuable texts in and of themselves demonstrates that a note does not necessarily have to be "crossed" for it to be influential to the *Wake*.

Van Hulle explains that "the discovery of a source text provides a context that does not only surround the work and delimit its meanings; it also opens it up" (2004; 6). This being said, the focus will now turn towards two specific source texts for *Finnegans Wake* with the intention of "opening up" more possible meanings. Starting on page thirteen of VI.B.1, Joyce copies a series of notes from J.B.S. Haldane's *Daedalus*. Geert Lernout explains the nature of Joyce's note-taking from this book and concludes that "it is not possible to deduce" the reasons for Joyce's interest in this book, but it is certain that the interest went beyond the title, as "scientific developments in all kinds of fields" were of interest to Joyce or "at least seemed to be relevant to his project, just as the link between anthropology and rivers was central to the next book [Léon Metchnikoff's text] he began to read and annotate" (6). Joyce's Haldane notes begin with a section on the changing perception of death in modern culture due to scientific advances ("death has receded", "vaccination" VI.B.6: 13), speculations on the future of science and populations ("Q strain of porphyrococcus escapes into sea, jellies atlantic, climate changes / fish food, sea red" [VI.B.6: 14]), reproduction and sexuality ("octogenic", "reproduction separate from sexual love" VI.B.1: 14) and ethics ("science magnify injustice till it is intolerable", "Π fluid ethics" [VI.B.1: 15]).

Lernout explains that Joyce then returns to page forty of the Haldane text, to a section on the mythical Daedalus figure in relation to Haldane's view of the contemporary scientist. One note, "fires { wood / peat / coal / boots } water (no)" (VI.B.1:16), derives from a passage defining the unique relationship of water to the human organism (whereas fires can be created from varied fuels, no other chemical substance can substitute for water), and exhibits an interest in sociological implications of water. Several subsequent VI.B.1 entries expand upon this with an

increasingly biological focus and Joyce takes notes on plant-life, the ability of plants to create their own food, and how animals break down such compounds with enzymes and bacteria. These systems are then translated to the human context in terms of food production, and Haldane explains the eventual downfall of the agricultural labourer (“strong farmer”, [VI.B.1: 17]) to make way for the “key industries” (VI.B.1: 17) that will, according to Haldane, “evolve a stable industrial society” (21-2). These people, he continues, will “inherit the earth” (from which Joyce notes “inherit E” [VI.B.6: 17]). Haldane then begins an analysis of the limitations of energy resources such as coal and oil, providing a brief vision of future alternative energy technology in Britain. He discounts waterpower as a major prospect because of its “small quality, seasonal fluctuation, and sporadic distribution”, and argues, “We shall have to tap those intermittent but inexhaustible sources of power, the wind and the sunlight” (23). He projects that in 400 years “the country will be covered with rows of metallic windmills working electric motors which in their turn supply current at a very high voltage to great electric mains. At suitable distances, there will be great power stations where during windy weather the surplus power will be used for the electrolytic decomposition of water into oxygen and hydrogen” and continues with an explanation of the logistics of the necessary storage system. “Among the more obvious advantages”, Haldane projects of such a scheme, “will be the fact that energy will be as cheap in one part of the country as another, so that industry will be greatly decentralized; and that no smoke or ash will be produced” (24). From these passages, Joyce takes down three notes: “tap wind & sunlight”, “ \square smokes?”, and “ \square H_cE chemical” (VI.B.1: 17). Wind and sunlight are reliable, infinite resources in Haldane’s scheme, capable of sustaining human life and industrialization. This would have been pertinent to Joyce at this time, as “water” has been recently cast as the renewing, maternal and life-giving source of “ Δ ” in the drafts of the “Anna Livia Plurabelle” chapter. \square spiralis cast as energy of a sort, either a fossil fuel (“smokes?”) or the water that will be electrolyzed into its component gases (technically, 2H_cE would become 2H_c and E_c). The surplus of power of \square would be decomposing Δ .

Two final notes from Haldane’s text revisit themes Joyce touched upon briefly in earlier notebooks as well as in his earlier works, though this knowledge is not essential: “Columbus / Newton/ Einstein} Signs in heavens” (VI.B.1: 17), and “night, distance, surdity / checks to human progress” (VI.B.1: 18). The first note relates to

the validation of scientific theories via cosmological “evidence”, deriving from Haldane’s assertion that:

A prophet who can give signs in the heavens is always believed. No one ever seriously questioned Newton’s theory after the return of Halley’s Comet. Einstein has told us that space, time, and matter are shadows of the fifth dimension, and the heavens have declared his glory. (13-14)

Phenomena hitherto attributed to divine origins are simultaneously reduced and elevated by science; given a place in the mechanics of the universe, their patterns become explainable, but their origins remain uncertain (and it is fitting that Haldane continues with a reference to Kantian idealism). The last note derives from a passage concerning the use and abuse of “light” and posits that, within fifty years “there will be no more night in our cities”. This is inevitable, Haldane explains, because “the alternation of day and night is a check on the freedom of human activity which must go the way of other spatial and temporal checks” (17-19). Joyce’s note lists three such “spatial and temporal checks” to “human progress” with “night”, “distance”, and “surdity”. Extending from Kant, “night” becomes a human construct, along with space and time (“distance” and “surdity”,⁴² respectively). The *Daedalus* notes end here, but Haldane’s influence extends to the next text, as it was because of Léon Metchnikoff’s writings that Haldane was nearly expelled from Eton (VI.B.1 4).

The next text to discuss is a major source for notebook VI.B.1, Léon Metchnikoff’s, *Les grandes fleuves et les civilisations historiques*. This text, discovered as a source by Ingeborg Landuyt, is part of the trend in environmental determinism and explores the development of different civilizations from the perspective of their geography and climate. Landuyt and Lernout provide a description of Metchnikoff and of this text, explaining that

This book by Léon Metchnikoff belongs to a genre that was of obvious interest to an author who was in the process of writing a history of the world and who had just completed the first version of the ‘ALP’-chapter. Joyce had an interest in historical and

⁴² Deane, Ferrer and Lernout only provide the information that “surdity” is “deafness” in their notes. However, within the context of this entry and of the source text, it seems that Kant’s definition of “surd” (irrational quantity, that which cannot be reduced to simpler terms) is more plausible a reference.

anthropological studies that transcended his interest in Irish history and mythology. (JSA 6: 99)

Landuyt and Lernout give a detailed outline of Metchnikoff's text, explaining the major role that the environment plays in his theories and his conceptions of human history. However, they ultimately decide that this is a work of "history", "sociology" or "anthropology", and that Metchnikoff is decidedly a "humanist", despite their explanation that this text may have been intended for Metchnikoff's own class on comparative geography. This interpretation of the Metchnikoff text has endured since this article was published in 1995, and perhaps this is indicative of the general bias that kept *Finnegans Wake* firmly directed away from ecocriticism. It is interesting that in the introduction to VI.B.1, published in 2003, Lernout's description is more generous to the environmental aspect of Metchnikoff: "Why Joyce would read this book at this point is not a mystery: the suggestion in the title of a connection between rivers and human culture must have been relevant for the man who had just written the first drafts of I.8 about the opposition between river and city, nature and culture" (7). Similar to the nonlinear reading of *Daedalus*, Joyce is erratic in his reading of Metchnikoff, suggesting a more directed, research-like quality for his method of using the source. The examination of Metchnikoff's text in conjunction with Haldane's text reveals a thread through VI.B.1 concerning the relationship between geography, science, progress and human history.

Joyce's notes from *La civilisation et les grandes fleuves historiques* begin on VI.B.1: 13 and continue until VI.B.1: 85, with occasional breaks to consult other sources. On the first page, the note "Mare Tenebrarum / Atlantic 1400" (VI.B.1: 13) derives from the passage:

Ainsi, pour citer l'exemple capital, l'Océan, qui rapproche maintenant toutes les nations et qui les fait une par le commerce et les idées, fut jadis le domaine de la Terreur, le chaos d'où s'élevaient les esprits méchants; cinq siècles ne se sont pas encore écoulés depuis que l'on donnait au redoutable Atlantique le nom de «mer des Ténèbres».

(xxi)

Metchnikoff explains how different phenomena and elements in nature have been interpreted differently by different people over time, and cites the fact that the ocean, responsible for commerce and for the transmission of ideas, was once seen as a vindictive force of evil and chaos. Joyce's note records the name by which the ocean had previously been called, and the approximate date at which this conception of the

ocean as a “Sea of Darkness”. The context of this note, Joyce’s translation of the text into his notebook, and the juxtaposition of this note with others in VI.B.1 together contribute to and construct Van Hulle’s “textual memory”.

The next note from *Les grandes fleuves*, “tropical & arctic rivers / extrastorico” (VI.B.1: 27), provides a summary of the origins of Metchnikoff’s theory. He argues that the success of a population is found in its ability to adapt to change, and that this adaptability is learned from the observations of their river throughout the year. People in the extreme climates, whether of the tropics, sub-Saharan Africa⁴³, or Arctic Siberia, experience the same thing throughout the entire year, and thus never learned to adapt and subsequently, never experienced the same “progress”: “les populations ne sont guère élevées au-dessus de l’état de nature”. The rivers (and the people) are “en dehors de la zone historique” (xxiii). The next section of the text deals with the cooperation of peoples in riverside civilizations in defending their society against the floods by building dykes and canals. Joyce translates their deluge to his own hometown: “Dublin on the Liffey”,⁴⁴ “dyke”,⁴⁵ and “canal” (VI.B.1: 28). The merging of historical cycles (or, in Metchnikoff’s text, “*spirales*” “^ zigzag v spiral / corsi ricorsi Vico”⁴⁶ [VI.B.1: 29]) with the cycle of the flood and the development of civilizations is a welcome synthesis for Joyce in this phase of *Work in Progress*.⁴⁷

Joyce’s attention to etymology is woven into the notes from Metchnikoff beginning on VI.B.1: 29, with Joyce seeming interested in instances wherein a paternal role is bestowed upon nature: “Jupiter Fluvius”, “Ararat / Solomon’s Throne”, and “Kohibaba” (VI.B.1: 30). Jupiter, the Roman God associated with thunder and lightning is also known as Zeus, or Jove; his name deriving from the Latin “*Jovis pater*”, or, “Father Jove”. He is also *Jupiter Pluvius*, or “giver of rain”, as he is referenced in “Eumaeus” (U 16.41). In this VI.B.1 entry, he is a companion to “Δ”, a “Father River”. “Ararat”, the volcanic peak in what is now Turkey, is said to be the resting site of Noah’s Ark after the Flood, also lends this note a patriarchal role, as does its association with Solomon’s Throne. The third entry, “Kohibaba”

⁴³ Cf. “Congo – classical river / of barbarism” (VI.B.1: 31).

⁴⁴ Though not concerned with the presence of these notes in the final text at this point, I will provide the references wherever applicable. This note was transferred to the drafts of I.7 in the spring of 1925 (BL 47473-133v, JJA 47: 45, FW 174.26).

⁴⁵ Transferred to the drafts of I.8 in March 1924 (BL 47474-119, JJA 48: 44, FW 202.31).

⁴⁶ Transferred to drafts of III.3§A in December 1924 (BL 47482b-78v, JJA 58:32, FW 481.2).

⁴⁷ For further information on this topic, see Wim Van Mierlo’s essay on Book III: 1-2 in *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake*, “Shaun the Post: Chapters III.1-2” (347-383).

means, literally, “the father of the mountains”, according to the editors of VI.B.1 (VI.B.1 56),⁴⁸ and refers to the “Koh-I-Baba”, an extension of the Hindu Kush mountains. Additionally, according to Brill’s *Encyclopedia of Islam*, “[t]he culminating peaks of Koh-I-Baba overlook the sources of the principle rivers of Afghanistan” (1056), strengthening the relationship between patriarchy and geography. Shortly thereafter, this idea is expanded with “Δ Eg.” (VI.B.1: 31); the Delta of the Nile was named as such because of its resemblance to the Greek letter.

Before beginning a series of increasingly anthropological notes, Joyce summarizes, what he has garnered thus far with the simple note “river = synthesis” (Metchnikoff’s “*synthèse géographique*”), deriving from the passage in the chapter titled “Territoire des civilisations fluviales” : “Le fleuve, dans tous les pays, se présente à nous comme la synthèse vivante de toutes les conditions complexes du climat, du sol, de la configuration du terrain et de la constitution géologique” (185). Joyce notes Metchnikoff’s phases of the development of civilization (“1st period fluvial / 2 – maritime”, [VI.B.1: 31]), and then writes a set of notes with various versions of creations: “primitive / rivers no mouths”,⁴⁹ “Noah’s ark”, “Moses cradle”, “lakeborn”, and “sources of Nile” (VI.B.1: 32). With regard to the context of the “primitive / rivers no mouths” note, Metchnikoff argues that in primitive times, “les grand cours d’eau... n’avaient pas de débouché du tout”, which Joyce translates into “mouths” instead of “ends” or “outlets”, suggesting that “aux temps primitifs”, rivers, like people, were unable to “speak”. Noah and Moses have been appearing consistently in VI.B.1, and their appearance here places the “flood” in close proximity to the development of speech and with writing (Moses). Moses, however, has a “cradle”, which links him with “lakeborn”, which links him, perhaps, with the earlier מן או מן water baby” (VI.B.6: 127), which links everything back to the river as “origin” (or, extending this farther, as *logos*). The notes that follow, “sources of Nile / caput Nili”, “mouesi / = lune ou / voleur (qui travaille / à l’aide de la lune”, and “only the Pharaoh or chief priest knows ‘Head of Nile’” (VI.B.1: 32), expand the river/speech relationship (“chief priest”), return to the “Δ” theme (moon, tide, woman), and to an earlier series of notes from VI.B.11 concerning Salomé and the veil. The belief that only the Pharaoh (or “*le scribe sacré*”) knows the location of the

⁴⁸ When the notebook citation contains a colon, such as “VI.B.1:30”, this means I am referring to Joyce’s own note in the notebook. When the notebook citation does not contain a colon, such as “VI.B.1 30”, this means I am referring to the editorial commentary.

⁴⁹ Transferred to drafts of I.4 in spring 1924 (BL 47472-288, JJA 46: 10, FW 101.30).

Nile's source begins to explain the necessity of tyranny in early river-centred civilizations and the importance of the "chief priest" or "scribe", as well as introducing the premise that the male "unlocks" the voice of the female.

The next major series of entries concerns how rivers themselves physically develop, beginning with the formation of "*embarrasses*" (obstacles/hindrances) that become small wooded islands and force the river underground. In the case of the Nile, this evolution resulted in the creation of the Lower Nile and its floods, which resulted in the birth of Ancient Egypt; or, as Joyce records it: "Upper Nile made Lower Nile / Lower Nile made history"⁵⁰ (VI.B.1: 033). Metchnikoff also explains that the Nile could have diverted and turned towards the Red Sea at Lake Nasser instead of making the long journey towards the Mediterranean Sea, to which Joyce responds, "if Liffey had turned back?"⁵¹ (VI.B.1: 33), i.e., could the Liffey have been as grand as the Nile, fostering one of the world's greatest civilizations on its banks? Could it have been, like the Nile was under the pharaohs, "Tsaf-en-Ta (Nourrisseur du Monde)" or "Abou-el-Baraka (Père de la Bénédiction)", or "Nourisher of world/benefactor"? (VI.B.1: 34) Maybe so, Joyce concludes, with "Ingredient of whisky" (VI.B.1: 34) one of the things that makes the Liffey a contemporary "Nourisher of world".

Joyce takes a break from Metchnikoff for a few pages, a couple of which explore the application of Metchnikoff's ideas to Ireland: "Iverna / Ierna / Erú Earú land / Irlandia / Ireland", "Suir / Nore / & Barrow } sister", "Brendan's sea", "no earthquake", and "thunder 1 a year" (VI.B.1: 38). With the earlier entry, "tropical & arctic / rivers / extrastorico" (VI.B.1: 27) in mind, this sequence does not shed very positive light upon Ireland's place in civilization. The first entry also suggests, "Hiver / Iver" with "Iverna", placing Ireland into the category of places where the flow of the river is "complètement interrompu par les glaces de l'hiver" (Metchnikoff xxiii). While this is not true for Ireland, and does not support the argument on its own, the "no earthquake" and "thunder 1 a year" entries (which are currently true) add to the categorisation of Ireland as a place "extrastorico". The notes cease with this implication that Ireland's climate has no variance and another direction is taken with this theme (in this case, towards more ancient Irish history and Giraldus Cambrensis's *Topography of Ireland*).

⁵⁰ Transferred to drafts of I.8 in June 1924 (BL 47474-132, JJA 48: 65, FW 206.31).

⁵¹ Transferred to drafts of III.3§A in November or December 1924 (BL 47482b-106, JJA 58: 79, FW 546.32).

These notes move to Lough Neagh, whose catchment area includes both Northern Ireland the Republic of Ireland, (“stick pole in Neagh” [VI.B.1: 40]), the Liffey (“*Avonliffey*” (VI.B.1: 40), with “*abhan*” the Irish for “river”),⁵² and Saint Patrick’s Purgatory (“S. Patrick Purg” [VI.B.1: 41]) in addition to Lough Erne (“fishful Erne” [VI.B.1: 40]) and the River Shannon (“shannon / old river” [VI.B.1: 41]). The Shannon, Ireland’s longest river, derives its name from the Irish *Sionainn*, meaning “ancient goddess”, but is very close to “*sean abhainn*”, the Irish for “old river”. These four bodies of water straddle different points on the map of Ireland, with St. Patrick’s Purgatory in Donegal’s Lough Derg, the Shannon passing through eleven counties from Cavan to Limerick, Lough Erne in Fermanagh, Lough Neagh in five of the six counties of the North, and the Liffey in Wicklow, Kildare and Dublin. Then, from Cambrensis, Joyce writes “navel” (VI.B.1: 40), derived from the description of a stone in Meath near the castle of Kyllari that “is called the navel of Ireland, because it stands in the middle of the country” (qtd. in VI.B.1 71). (This explains the “cf SD” before “Meath” on the same page, as “navel” is *omphalos*, returning us to the opening of *Ulysses* [1.176]). Together, these notes translate an individual body onto the map of Ireland.

The interest in Irish waterways and geography continues, eventually merging with the historical and ecclesiastical notes on VI.B.1: 42-46. One note, “esker (gravelly hillocks) / ridge – Dub – Gal” (VI.B.1: 46), revisits a VI.B.6 note from Gwynn’s *History of Ireland*: “Conn C & Mog Nuadat divide I. / by eskers (Dub to Gal)”, and with the reference to the “navel”, these notes certainly suggest a reading of the landscape of Ireland as a body. The passage in Gwynn from which the two notes derive reads: “Conn’s great opponent in Ireland was Mogh Nuadat, and tradition relates that after many battles they decided on a division of Ireland, following the Esker Riada or line of gravelly hillocks (still called eskirs) which runs across the central boggy plain from near Dublin to Maaree on the bight of Galway Bay (qtd. in VI.B.6 209). The difference between the two notes suggests that Joyce returned to Gwynn to look specifically for this note on the esker ridge. We can speculate that this interest derived from the note “Ota w of Turgesius / on high altar / Clonmacnois” (VI.B.1: 45), as Clonmacnois was founded where the major land route through the bogs, along the esker ridge, crossed the Shannon River. Four notes

⁵² The notes “She was drowned” (VI.B.1: 41) and “river in house” (VI.B.1: 41) may also belong to this category.

shortly thereafter, “Eblani”, “Dinas Devlin / Doolin Dub” (VI.B.1: 46), “Amnis Lifnius” (VI.B.1: 47), and “Liffeside” (VI.B.1: 48), continue referring to the relationship between Ireland’s development as a civilisation, its history, and its waterways, as do the notes from an article on Dublin’s water supply in the 25 February 1924 *Freeman’s Journal*: “Water Supply / How Dublin and Districts Are Provided For / Visit to Roundwood”. In conjunction with the passage in “Ithaca” wherein the water is traced from Roundwood Reservoir to Bloom’s tap (17: 93-95), the notes “Roundwood” and “Varty – Callary, Rdwood, Ashford, Broad Lough, Sea” (VI.B.1: 48) are given a heightened significance in this context due to their evocation of a catchment area (and later, Joyce notes “catchment / -- basin” [VI.B.1: 123]).

Joyce’s Metchnikoff notes begin again on VI.B.1: 51 and explore the interrelation between history, religion and nature. “City founded after flood”, “32 counties under 1 umbrella”, “milk cows of heaven”, “drought famine”,⁵³ “Manmade parts of Brahma”, and “destiny cyclon in Panjab = desolated – tiger = crops eaten by rodents”, (VI.B.1: 51-52) all fall into this category. Metchnikoff argues that religions were necessitated by the need to revere nature for the success of the harvest, “Roudra, le chef souverain des vents (Marouts), qui à la voix tonnante de l’orage, vont traire les nuées, les “vaches célestes”, pour arroser les semailles des Aryas” (308-9). This also explains the note “stagnant (cow)?” (VI.B.1: 53); clouds are cows which “need to be milked” for rain (which follows with the note “drought famine”, for where the weather benefits one society’s harvest, it wreaks havoc upon the ecosystem of another).⁵⁴

⁵³ Transferred to drafts of III§3A in November or December of 1924 (BL 47482b-106, JJA 58: 79, FW 539.36).

⁵⁴ Between this section of notes from Metchnikoff and the next set of notes from this text, Joyce explores ways in which he can use this information in his work and expands upon themes Metchnikoff introduced. There are too many notes here for individual analysis, and they will be best reserved for discussion of their entry into the drafts and subsequent development in the text. Some relevant entries include: “gutter”, “drain”, “basin”, “laundry”, “Liffey = coaster”, “Δ has robbed her gifts”, “Jordan”, “Salt Lake = Dead Sea”, “MacKenzie”, “Tiberias” (VI.B.1: 53), “shallows / (Tchad)”, “sudden / shivers in rivers / (undergrd spring)”, “S. Laurence O Toole”, “Thousands of islands”, “fresh”, “Victoria & Albert”, “7 Nilefalls”, “rainproof colander”, “lit majeur / lit mineur”, “Blue Danube” (VI.B.1: 54), “Ni Yenessy”, “swimming sphinx”, “blue Mississippi”, “raft(er)”, “regatta / river race”, “trees look at Δ nude / legs in the air / a whole grove is / looking on”, “Ice begins at banks” (VI.B.1: 55), “charrie”, “embacle / debacle (dynamite)”, “torrent”, “navigable”, “current swiftest in middle & [??] at bends near concave shores”, “R at walking pace”, “Π dowser”, “rapidshooting” (VI.B.1: 56), “whisky water / cruelty to minerals”, “if you don’t like it get out of the boat”, “grottoes”, “origin before source”, “foss (cascade)”, “lakeborn pure”, “lake R’s response”, “R. Kander thrown into Thunersee”, “R deposes gift at feet of Sea (6)”, and “Δ seven tongues of R” (VI.B.1: 57). Joyce also notes “Feb 26 –1903” from the *Freeman’s Journal*; this date marks the “twenty-first anniversary of the most violent storm experience in Dublin city and country for a whole generation” (qtd. in VI.B.1 90) or, “the Night of the Big Wind”, as it was locally known.

Beginning on VI.B.1: 61, we come across several notes exploring tree-related themes: “walnut gunstock”, “beetle to rive wood”, “poplar match”, “slenderleaved [willow]” (VI.B.1: 61), “pear brush”, “sycamore bread platter”, “beechmast saw”, “(ash is elm)”, “chesterfield elm”, “Ph Park”, “spindle tree toothpick”, and “Czd poplars” (VI.B.1: 94) until the Metchnikoff notes commence again. The notes in this section are directed towards familial relationships in *La Civilisation*, stemming from the argument concerning the necessity for authority (whether tyrannical or religious) from which notes were taken in the previous section. Here we find “Fils du Ciel”, “no surnames” and “dictated by toothless grandfather to girl” juxtaposed with “1) written tonge / 2) spoken” (VI.B.1: 64), aligning the development of speech and writing in ancient cultures with the voice of the heavens. This idea is developed by a phrase in one of Metchnikoff’s footnotes, wherein he develops the idea that the names of the rivers, “Hawng-Ho” (“Blue River”) and “Yangtze” (“Yellow River”) are closely linked with Chinese cosmogony:

Hoang-ho signifie littéralement «fleuve Jaune», et ce nom s’applique très bien à ses eaux...Mais l’épithète de «fleuve Bleu» n’est donnée au Yangste-kiang que par égard à certaines notions fondamentales de la cosmogonie et de la philosophie naturelle des Chinois. *Yang*, le principe mâle, actif, éthéré, lumineux, est un équivalent ou une attribution du ciel (*tian*); *Yin*, le principe femelle, est passif, opaque, et par excellence, terrestre. Le Hoang-ho est le fleuve de la Terre (*ti*); le Yangtse, la progéniture du principe mâle, est de la nature du ciel.
(343-344n1)

Joyce reduces this to “yellow E / blue H” (VI.B.1: 65), but the note signals a movement towards an association of rivers and language, as the next notes, “skygrey” and “Fleau des Fils de Han” (VI.B.1: 65), derive from a section on Chinese language, and “monosyllable” describes the way in which, descending from the Chinese cosmogony, “le monosyllabisme, en effet, place cette nation absolument à part de toutes les autres nations historiques” (357). The final note in this section, “flowing water = Govt” (VI.B.1: 65), succinctly outlines Metchnikoff’s thesis; the Chinese are intrinsically linked to their rivers (“la formation des États est rattache avec ‘au courant des fleuves’”), and “l’Eau qui coule figure le Gouvernement” (357).

In conclusion, social institutions, language and government develop and are born from the path of the society's rivers ("delta = pubic Δ " [VI.B.1: 65]).⁵⁵

Then, Joyce copies the quote from Edgar Quinet's *Introduction à la philosophie de l'Histoire de l'Humanité*.⁵⁶

Aujourd'hui comme au temps de Pline et de Columelle la jacinthe se plait dans les Gaules, la Pervenche en Illyrie, la marguerite sur les ruines de Numance et pendant qu'autour d'elles les villes ont changé de maîtres et de noms, que plusieurs sont entrées dans le néant, que les civilisations se sont choquées et brisées, leurs paisibles générations ont traversé les âges et se sont succédé jusqu'à nous, fraîches et riantes comme au jour des batailles. (124)

In a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver, Joyce explained:

E.Q. says that the wild flowers on the ruins of Carthage, Numancia etc have survived the political rises and falls of Empires. In this case the wild flowers are the lilies of children. Note specially the treatment of the double rainbow in which the iridic colours are first normal and then reversed. (LI: 295)

This quote from Quinet synthesizes many motifs Joyce had been exploring up to this point, and following the Quinet quote and the culmination of notes from

⁵⁵ A few more Metchnikoff notes are followed by another list of climate/water related entries: "bank", "runoff", "dredge trudge", "riprap" (VI.B.1: 80), "spurdike", "Eddy", "red rise (Arkansas)", "matter in suspension – solution",⁵⁵ "backwaters", "profile of R", "blow nose in R" (VI.B.1: 81), "snags = drift", "leaves fall", "boil = vertical eddy", "W bank more eroded cause E's rotation", "field ice", "icegorged", "splash dams" (VI.B.1: 82), "stand in flood", "trees roll over flood", "clouds / thunder", "Eddy Lawless", "navigate by day", "bar channel", and "rubble" (VI.B.83).

⁵⁶ Almost all book-length studies of *Finnegans Wake* discuss the importance of this quote to the *Wake* and I will not dwell on it too much in this thesis. This quote appears, in some form, six times throughout the *Wake* in varying contexts and added at different points in the composition process. For example, this passage is used in *transition* 1 and placed into the fair copy of II.1 §2 (November 1930), to appear in the finished text, later quoted in full in "Nightlessons" (FW 281.4). J.S. Atherton, in *The Books at the Wake*, cites Quinet (*Introduction à la Philosophie de l'Histoire de l'Humanité*) as one of the "structural books" (34), providing Vico as Joyce's vehicle for learning of Quinet. However, Atherton's study appeared before the location of Metchnikoff's study by Ingeborg Landuyt, and the juxtaposition of the Quinet quote with *Les civilisations et les grandes fleuves historiques* provides a direct relationship. Following the Quinet quote in VI.B.1 there are, fittingly, several entries from Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Atherton's description of Quinet's relevance to the *Wake* is a bit exaggerated, but suggests how this passage is often read into the *Wake*'s larger structure: "This is the way in which Joyce is writing his 'ideal eternal history', for *Finnegans Wake* can be taken as being the story of one man, or one family, or of one city or country, or of all humanity and the entire course of history, since all these are progressive expansions of one story" (35).

Metchnikoff, we find no less than 75 separate entries expanding the history-environment theme.⁵⁷

The remainder of the notebook is inundated with water notes, and, to avoid repetition, many entries will be skipped over. I will turn now towards the end of the notebook, to VI.B.1: 177, wherein a series of notes linking civilizations to their water supplies appears: "Maya civilization" and "drought" are the final entries of VI.B.1: 177, with "gorgemaking", "R {Soak in soil/ seeps in river/ springs feed stream/ swing R to L", and "Yellow River/ China's sorrow" beginning the next page.⁵⁸ The rest of VI.B.1: 178 addresses the breaking of enforced boundaries by water: "overflows levees", "lakes equalise flow", "flood de S. Lawrence / impossible" and "drowned river valley". The next two pages, the final in the notebook, derive from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and are almost all related to water. Joyce appears to have looked up "river" and recorded "River Brethen / Jacob Engle / trine immersion" from the first interesting entry. From the category "River Engineering", Joyce records "slope", "rainfall", "gentled fall", and "shingle gravel/ sand silt". The latter entry originates in the subsection "Transportation of Materials in Rivers", from a description of forceful currents that can "carry down rocks, boulders and large stones, which are by degrees ground by attrition in their onward course into shingle, gravel, sand and silt" (qtd. VI.B.1: 213). This process of siltation leads to thoughts of bogs and their formation, hence, "bog black rock/ spring bright streams", which leads Joyce to the encyclopaedia's listings on Ireland's physical geography. The next two notes from this listing, "Foyle" and "Bog of Allen", are followed by more general notes from the listing "Geography": "ekumene = habitable O", "rubbish", "rain wash", and the last entry from the Encyclopedia, "Talweg / deepest line along valley". The word "rubbish" and the entry just prior, "R on windward face", come from a passage describing, it seems, the process whereby streams are created. The rainwater, intent on returning to the sea, is "more mobile and more searching than ice

⁵⁷ Beginning around VI.B.1: 122, we find approximately eight pages of short entries that are almost all copied to the Raphael notebooks and are unsourced. The entries are largely related to bodies of water, timber or earth: "river dragged", "slackwater", "ditchwater", "rippled", "catchment / -- basin", "timber", "drift", "raft", "float", "shallow", "ferry", "crawl upstream", "lapping", "caged rainbow", "forbidden rainbow", "sandstorm / lava / meteoric dust / pollen", "the log there", "heart of wood", "sap", "dead men (anchors)", "embankment", "sod", "unfrozen", "muck", "ALP hair turns / white (ice)", "Seine & Oise", and "Sweetwater R (Ca)", to name a few. This list is intended purely to demonstrate Joyce's continuing interest in material relating to "natural" elements such as water, trees, weather and the human interaction with these elements.

⁵⁸ Mme Raphael did not transfer the entries on pages 178 and 179 to VI.C.3, and a few of the uncrossed entries are not located in the British Library papers or in the final version of *Finnegans Wake*, a fairly rare occurrence.

or rock rubbish”, (VI.B.1 214) and the water, guided by the contours of the land, forms lines that eventually converge into a stream which will “carve its channel deeper and entrench itself in permanent occupation” (VI.B.1. 214). The notes listed here were not all used by Joyce in *Finnegans Wake*, but have been presented as a demonstration of Joyce’s continuing interest in the question of nature and its relationship to human civilization. At this stage, it is not important to discuss which notes were used and which were not used, but merely to display Joyce’s methods of notetaking and of approaching a topic from a verity of angles.

This examination of just a couple of the VI.B.1 sources demonstrates how valuable a genetic reading can be for any interpretation of *Finnegans Wake*, not just an environmental approach. With specific regard to ecocriticism, genetic criticism uncovers embryonic environmental themes in this early notebook, revealing preoccupations with engineering, rivers, the impact of geography on history, renewable energy, the dependence of religion on nature, etc. During Joyce’s time, there was a significant shift in the way the relationship between humans and their environment was perceived and discussed, and examining the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks and their source texts reveals a concerted interest on Joyce’s part in these shifts.

By way of conclusion, one of the most important reasons to look at Modernist works like *Finnegans Wake* from an ecocritical perspective is the need to link current environmental concerns with their origins in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The modern “environmental” movement is usually seen as a post-War product, going hand-in-hand with other issues concerning civil rights. While this may be partially true, recent scholarship has been striving to create continuity from the Modernist period to the present in terms of our anxieties about the environment and its future. For example, a recent study by a senior editor of *The Atlantic*, Alexis Madrigal, titled *Powering the Dream: The History and Promise of Green Technology*, seeks to demonstrate how the idea of “green” technology is not new, but originated in the late nineteenth century. Madrigal’s history of entrepreneurs interested in what we today know to be “renewable energy” covers the last century and a half and proves that the new ideas of the past twenty years really are not as new as we think.

In the introduction to their recent volume *The Environment and World History*, Edmund Burke and Kenneth Pomeranz set out to merge the disciplines of environmental history and world history. They argue that such a merger would help

in “reframing the relationship between parts and wholes” (xiii), and ultimately hope to work towards “a more global environmental history and a more environmentally conscious world history” (xiii), arguing that such a redefinition of perspectives would have a lot to offer us in our era of globalization and international environmental crisis. This thesis argues that “natural history” becomes a principal component of the “universal history” Joyce presents in *Finnegans Wake*,⁵⁹ and that such a reorientation of a major twentieth century text could contribute to a more “environmentally conscious world history”.

⁵⁹ However, this thesis does not try to argue that the entire text is about the environment, nor does the genetic approach attempt to assert authorial intent. Derek Attridge provides a concise explanation of this in *Joyce Effects*:

The intentional fallacy may be susceptible of demolition by theoretical argument, but as Joyce knew, direct authorial comments have a habit of dominating the text in a way that no theory can dislodge. As we have already noted, one of the striking features of Joyce’s two big books is their lack of metatextual signposts; in the *Wake*, apart from the two words of the title and the Paris dateline at the end, all words are equal – none offers itself as a more secure term by which to explain all others. (147)

Chapter One

Rewriting the Landscape: The First Sketches

From 1923-1925, *Finnegans Wake* was on its way to becoming the first major Modernist text expressing profound engagement with the environment. Joyce did not necessarily commence the writing of *Work in Progress* with this idea in mind, but, as was shown in the examination of VI.B.1, Joyce was interested enough in the environment, in a capacity not yet clear even to him, to record dozens of notes from a wide variety of sources and in very different contexts. This chapter seeks to tease out early environmental themes in the first sketches for *Finnegans Wake* and then to apply these themes to the emergence of two significant motifs, the hunt and the letter, that appear in the first five years of composition. Through the four major themes I articulate below, Joyce begins, in this early stage of *Finnegans Wake*, to unite Ireland with the rest of the world through a shared natural history.

When Joyce began working on *Finnegans Wake*, one intention, in the tradition of Ezra Pound and T.S. Eliot, was to rework elements of Irish mythology for the twentieth century. Though reassessing the Irish relationship to nature may not have been an original goal of Joyce's, the juxtaposition of the settings of Chapelizod and the Phoenix Park with stories from Irish mythology and legends of early Irish Christianity slowly fused to suggest to Joyce that the *Wake* could not proceed without a clear engagement with how the natural world and natural history fit into his idea of a "universal history".

The first theme to be examined is the relationship between mythology and landscape. Joyce usually portrays the Irish Revival and its proponents quite negatively in his work, but this should not imply that he rejected all of their ideas. Due to the association between the Irish Revival and Irish myth, Joyce's relationship with Irish myth has often been overlooked. Gregory Castle's *Modernism and the Celtic Revival* has argued, through recourse to anthropological approaches to folklore, that Modernism and the Irish Revival should not be considered as mutually exclusive as they typically are.¹ This chapter seeks to support Castle's reading of the

¹ Castle's chapter on Joyce, however, is traditional in its claim that Joyce was critiquing the Revivalist project of modernizing folklore.

continuity between the Revival and Modernism, but seeks to read Joyce's use of myth in the early sketches of the *Wake* as an extension of the Revival's project. Looking back to some of Joyce's earliest notes in the 1903 notebook which Joyce began in Paris,² one can find lengthy lists of Irish poets and myths including, under the heading "Modern Literature", the stories of Diarmuid and Grainne, the Children of Lir, the Children of Usnach, and the Life of St. Patrick, all of which appear in *Finnegans Wake*.³ These early lists also contain the titles of major works of Irish history essential to the Revival and which later became sources for *Finnegans Wake* such as Geoffrey Keating's *History of Ireland* and *The Annals of the Four Masters*. For *Portrait* and *Ulysses*, Joyce turned to "European" sources for his models, but for *Finnegans Wake*, begun long after the major works of the Revival were published and performed and thus, providing enough distance from it, Joyce returned to this early interest in Irish myth and legend with a new "continental" approach supported by contact with other Modernists.

Another way in which *Finnegans Wake* is continuous with elements of the revival is through its incorporation of land into Irish historical narratives.⁴ Due largely to Yeats, the Irish Revival is regularly characterized as presenting a Romanticized, idealized landscape from the point of view of the Anglo-Irish. However, this generalization has resulted in the unfair relegation of some Revivalists, such as J.M. Synge⁵ or George Moore,⁶ and though efforts are being made to re-

² This notebook is now held at the National Library of Ireland (NLI MS. 36,639 / 02 / A). Luca Crispi has done an extensive analysis of this notebook in his article "A Commentary on James Joyce's National Library of Ireland 'Early Commonplace Book': 1903-1912". *Genetic Joyce Studies* 9 (2009): n. pag. Web. 3 Nov. 2010.

³ See Frank Callanan, "James Joyce and *The United Irishman*, Paris 1902-3". *Dublin James Joyce Journal* 3 (2010): 51-103. He traces these lists to the 7 March and 4 April 1903 editions of Arthur Griffith's *United Irishman* (51-52).

⁴ In one of the earliest *Finnegans Wake* notebooks, VI.B.6, many of Joyce's notes from Gwynn's *History of Ireland* are related to Irish mythology and derive from Irish topography, displaying a relationship between the course of Irish history and the country's geography. These notes include: "Conn C & Mog Nuadat divide I. / by eskers (Dub to Gal)", "this Slighe Mor (Highroad)", "divides I into Conn's Half / & Mog's Half", "Leath Cuinn", "Usnach hill centre of I --", and "10 miles W of Mullingar" (VI.B.6: 180-181) all fall in this category. These notes derive from a passage reading: "Conn's great opponent in Ireland was Mogh Nuadat, and tradition relates that after many battles they decided on a division of Ireland, following the Esker Riada or line of gravelly hillocks (still called eskirs) which runs across the central boggy plain from near Dublin to Maaree on the bight of Galway Bay. From that time onward the northern half of Ireland, marked off by this natural way, along which ran the Slighe Mor, chief road from east to west, was called Leath Cuinn (Conn's Half), and the southern Leagh Mogha" and "Tuathal extended [Connaught's] frontier across the Shannon to the Hill of Usnach, the central point of Ireland, about ten miles west of Mullingar (qtd. in VI.B.6 209).

⁵ Joyce himself admired much of Synge's work, such as *Riders to the Sea*, which he staged in Zürich (See JJ 124 and 440-441).

⁶ It is actually not as uncommon as it often seems for Joyce to be placed in the context of the Irish Revival. For example, the very title of G.J. Watson's 1979 study is *Irish Identity and the Literary*

contextualize these writers, the progress is slow. Works such as Synge's *Riders to the Sea* or Moore's *The Untilled Field* present a landscape altered significantly by famine, agriculture and emigration, a landscape that is deeply intertwined with the lives of the characters. The essays on these two texts that appear in the collection *Out of the Earth: Ecocritical Readings of Irish Texts* portray the work of these two writers in terms quite unfamiliar to common assumptions about the Celtic Revival, focusing on the harsh and unforgiving qualities of the landscape. Greg Winston, in "George Moore's Landscapes of Return" focuses on the implications of the title *The Untilled Field* and convincingly argues for the necessity of reading agricultural land as a midpoint between the "wilderness" and the "urban". Winston's reading of "The Exile" brings Moore's story in line with contemporary environmental concerns, focusing on the monocrop cause of the Great Famine and presenting the need for sustainable agriculture. Joy Kennedy-O'Neill's essay on Synge depicts a very different Synge from the one usually mocked over his naïveté while staying on the Aran Islands; he is depicted as a figure very conscious of the fragility of lives dependent on the land. Instead of presenting the Irish people as somehow communing with their surroundings, Synge and Moore depict their subjects as entirely subject to the vagaries of nature, leading into the works of Liam O'Flaherty (with, for example, "Spring Sowing") or Patrick Kavanagh in the following decades. The discussions of agriculture, famine and the politics of land in *Finnegans Wake* place this text firmly in such a category.

The early sketches of *Finnegans Wake* examine these interpretations of the relationship between Ireland and its landscape through Joyce's reworking of Irish mythology. *Ulysses* had already succeeded in providing a "cognitive map" of the city of Dublin, of making the city "legible" according to the vocabulary of Kevin Lynch in *The Image of the City* (3), and *Finnegans Wake* strives to bring such "legibility" to the nation on a larger scale. Kent Ryden, in his study *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place*, explains that "literary cartographers" aim to portray both the visible and the "invisible" landscapes. This "invisible" landscape is not a new idea, but Ryden's description is particularly effective: "a world of deep and subtle meaning for the people who live there, one that

Revival: Synge, Yeats, Joyce and O'Casey (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press). Seamus Deane's essay, "Irish Poetry and Irish Nationalism: A Survey", in Douglas Dunn's *Two Decades of Irish Writing: A Critical Survey* (Chester Springs, PA: Dufour, 1975) argues that the four major Revivalists are Moore, Yeats, Synge, and Joyce (4).

can be mapped only with words. Their writings, their stories, thus echo the purposes and functions of place-based folklore” (52). He expresses the common belief that “stories – and folklore in general – are inextricably linked with landscapes” and are a “central means by which people organize their physical surroundings” (56). Folklore is used throughout the *Wake* as one of the earliest forms of narrative, one of the earliest attempts of ordering space and nature through language, and as the *Wake* develops, the relationship between the structure of narrative and the physical landscape begins to inform the creation and recreation of folklore.

The second theme examined in this chapter is the relationship between language and nature. Einar Haugen’s *The Ecology of Language* (1972) led to the development of “ecolinguistics”, which he defined as “the study of interactions between any given language and its environment” (Fill and Muhlhauser 57). Parts of *Finnegans Wake* are themselves early exercises in ecolinguistics as they explore the ways in which aspects of many languages can be linked to their environmental contexts. This does not necessarily imply a logocentrism (or, perhaps, a “topologocentrism”) on Joyce’s part, as many of the examples of these links found throughout the *Wake* also focus on the way in which the language has changed due to the influence of environmental and geographical factors.

This relationship can be traced to the earliest *Finnegans Wake* notebooks, particularly VI.B.6, wherein Joyce took notes from the work of linguist Otto Jespersen’s *Growth and Structure of the English Language* while also taking notes on the geography of Irish mythology from Gwynn’s *History of Ireland*. From Jespersen, Joyce records several etymological relationships that are of interest: “Thunresday” (VI.B.6: 67), “holm (ocean)” (VI.B.6: 67), “windeye” (VI.B.6: 67) and “sky (cloud)” (VI.B.6: 68). The latter entry, in its source context, reads: “It is noticeable, too, that the native word *heaven* has been more and more restricted to the figurative and religious acceptance, while the Danish *sky* is used exclusively of the visible firmament; *sky* originally meant cloud” (Jespersen 75). Joyce also records: “haven (garden)”, “havet (sea)” and “sloot dry stream” (VI.B.6: 73), with the first two entries from a passage in Jespersen wherein the English language is depicted as cannibalistic; it is “more inclined” than other tongues “to swallow foreign words raw” (VI.B.6 84), an idea that Joyce later incorporates to merge the history of Irish invasions with Irish geography and language. *Haven* and *havet* are Danish, and the “-n” and the “-t” are suffixes designating gender, making *haven*, “garden”, a feminine noun while *havet*, “sea”, is neuter. The words were chosen because of their meanings

of “garden” and “sea” and because the Danish gender rules end up linking these two concepts orthographically.

The third entry, “sloot dry dream”, also relates to the issue of language, nature, and history. The note is from a discussion of the Dutch in South Africa who, “finding there a great many natural objects which were new to them, designated them either by means of existing Dutch words [...], or else by coining new words, generally compounds. Thus *sloot* ‘ditch’ was applied to the peculiar dry rivers of that country” (qtd. in VI.B.6: 84), an example not only of the ingenuity of the Dutch language, but of the way in which new words arise out of pre-existing structures.⁷ At the bottom of the page in VI.B.6, notes from *Criterion* evoke mountainous images (“craggy slope”) and bring us to the “Teuton” (VI.B.6: 88), a portmanteau word signalling “Teutonic” as well as “Teton”, the American mountain range that takes its name from the archaic French for “three breasts”.⁸ Jespersen also notes the odd pairing of native nouns and foreign adjectives in English, citing “sun” and “solar” as an example, which Joyce records on VI.B.6: 91.⁹ Overall, Joyce copies a considerable amount of nature related examples and terms from Jespersen’s study. There appears to be no theme guiding the copying of these entries, only an interest in the natural world’s relationship to language. As this exploration of the notebooks continues, however, there becomes an increasing interest in fusing the temporal aspect of etymology with these nature related entries as well as aligning artistic creation with natural creation.

Much of Joyce’s use of Giambattista Vico’s *New Science* and the presence of the “thunderwords” in the *Wake* can be related to ideas present in ecolinguistic theory as, according to Vico, the first words were reactions to the natural environment, to the thunder. In 1912, Edward Sapir published an article titled “Language and Environment” in the journal *American Anthropologist*. Considered to be the foundational text of ecolinguistics, this article argues for how a language’s vocabulary “clearly reflects the physical and social environment of its speakers” (Fill

⁷ The words which Joyce takes note of in this section relate to bodies of water and shortly thereafter, Joyce writes down the name of three Dublin rivers: “Dodder,” “Tolka” and “Poddle” (VI.B.6: 87).

⁸ This page continues with this theme, and we find the notes: “main sea”, “river Finn / --- valley”, “level with W in / inches”, “bailing out water”, “snowflakes on R”, “make a detour of ---,” and “river blotted out”, and a bit later, “cross the stream to look for water” (VI.B.6: 90). The last entry derives, again, from Jespersen, from a passage describing how the English language looks to other tongues for its words and expression, it (borrowing a Danish idiom), must “cross the stream to look for water”, the water, in this case, being language.

⁹ A subsequent note is derived from this section of the source text, “a kingly monarch of / royal line, regally robed,” and perhaps, this accounts for the “Roi Soleil” (VI.B.6: 93).

and Muhlhauser 14). Eric McLuhan's study *The Role of Thunder in Finnegans Wake*, though a peculiar combination of detailed exegesis of the individual thunders in the *Wake* and a reading of the *Wake* as Menippean satire, does delve somewhat into this ecolinguistic territory. He explains that, according to the "Viconian progression from things to written words, the thunders operate both at the level of things (experiences) and at that of words-as-things" (37); i.e., they are both the initial gestural reaction to the thunder and the ensuing symbolic connotations of thunder. The role of prophecy in the *Wake* may also derive from the thunder of Vico, for whom divination and prophecy were deemed as the first languages. Robert Harrision argues that Vico "insists that the celestial auspices – signs in the sky, such as the lightning or the flight of birds – were the first of all languages, preceding even human phonetic language" (5). Throughout the *Wake*, divination and prophecy play an important role in developing the relationship between language, nature and religion.

Extending from this Viconian connection between language, nature and religion, a third theme that Joyce presents is the relationship between nature and divinity. Joyce seems to suggest throughout the *Wake* that religion, like language, was developed from the contact between the human and the environment. A critical detail to note here is that Joyce does not necessarily fall into the trap of idealistically linking "primitive" cultures to an earth-focused spirituality. While this idea is certainly present in the *Wake*, Joyce seems to agree with Derrida's later critique of Claude Lévi-Strauss, arguing against the belief that any one structure of beliefs is in any way superior to another. Though many contemporary ecotheologists¹⁰ oppose the primitivization of any religion, it is important to mention that even some prominent ecotheologists like Thomas Berry still adhere to this idea of "native peoples" being close to a so-called "gospel of the earth" (xiii-xiv).¹¹ In the introduction to their

¹⁰ Some major texts on ecotheology include Theodore M. Ludwig's *The Sacred Paths: Understanding the Religions of the World* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2001); David Landis Barnhill and Roger S. Gottlieb, eds., *Deep Ecology and World Religions: New Essays on Sacred Ground* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001); John Grim and Mary Evelyn Tucker, eds., *Worldviews and Ecology: Religion, Philosophy, and the Environment* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994); Dietrich Hessel and Rosemary Radford Ruether, eds., *Christianity and Ecology: Seeking the Well-Being of Earth and Humans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Larry L. Rasmussen, *Earth Community Earth Ethics* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996); Denis Edwards, *Ecology at the Heart of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2006); Sallie McFague, *Life Abundant: Rethinking Theology and Economy for a Planet in Peril* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) and John Chryssavgis, *Beyond the Shattered Image: Insights into an Orthodox Christian Ecological Worldview* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, 1999).

¹¹ Tom Hayden's *The Lost Gospel of the Earth* unintentionally continues to evoke this demeaning attitude towards cultures and faiths other than his, but he does make an interesting point about how the "location" of our gods has changed. "We have abandoned the rivergod", he writes, "for a skygod that

collection *Deep Ecology and World Religions*, Barnhill and Gottlieb provide an overview of what religion “is” and how it functions, and provide a picture of a new “spiritual deep ecology” that applies to all religions and “challenges the (now) conventional notion that human beings are essentially different than, separate from, and superior to the natural world” (18). Though Barnhill and Gottlieb do also tend towards the idealization of Buddhism, wilderness and Native American spirituality, all of which fall into this category of primitivism, they do attempt to locate a common ground in the human relationship with the environment for all world religions. *Finnegans Wake* also links the world religions through their biocentric mythologies and presents an image of all religions growing, like language, from the earliest human responses to natural phenomena.

The fourth major point also partially stems from Joyce’s use of Vico’s *New Science*. Vico’s theories lead to a development of the role nature plays in historical cycles, with nature slowly beginning to stand in for the role of Viconian “providence” as the *Wake* develops. In his study of Vico and *Finnegans Wake*, Donald Phillip Verene argues for the expanded role of providence in Joyce’s use of Vico, explaining that Joyce transforms Vico’s tripartite structure into a fourfold structure with the addition of “providence” (8). Verene argues that “Vico’s providence” is Joyce’s “golden bough”, and that “providence”, here, is defined as “the divine perceived or heard within history” (8). I will argue that, through the symbol of the thunder, the workings of nature become a twentieth century substitute for “providence” as the *Wake* develops. The vicissitudes of the weather become a determinant of events and their outcomes. Verene is not remotely concerned with the environment in his study, but in his discussion of providence and “ideal eternal history” he presents an argument that proves useful for an environmentally focused reading of Joyce:

History begins in the thunderous sky, in Jove’s appearance to the gentile giants. The descendents of Noah, roaming the great trackless forests of the earth for generations after the flood, without language, customs, or cities, without religion, marriage, or burial, suddenly experience the sky full of thunder and lightning. They hear and see for the first time a thing of a different order, because until now the

is separate from the earth” (2). Berry’s reference to the Judeo-Christian god as a “skygod” actually unravels his own assertions, putting forth the idea that the Judeo-Christian god’s origins are just as environmentally determined as the gods of the so-called “native peoples”.

atmosphere has not been dry enough for the occurrence of such a
'phonemanon' (Verene 191-192, FW 258.22)

In summation, what causes the thunder is the fact that the waters of the flood have finally evaporated. "Providence" is replaced by meteorology.

As I will demonstrate, the earliest sketches and drafts for *Finnegans Wake* generally inhabit the classic "man vs. nature" binary, but as Joyce continues to work on the *Wake*, this binary quickly collapses. The four major themes that I have articulated above are united through the larger relationship between nature and civilization itself. During the first years of work on *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce continues with the narratological experimentation of *Ulysses* and turns towards a new type of novel which will use such techniques to paint a "universal history" not just of humanity, but of the space which humanity inhabits and shares. In *Finnegans Wake*, "universal history" and "natural history" are inextricable. In this context, *Finnegans Wake* becomes an even more remarkable work for it is one of the first novels to attempt to represent the fundamental relationships between civilization and nature. On the whole, examining these environmental themes during the first five years of composition not only presents a much different Joyce than we are used to, but also gives valuable insight into the changing aims of *Finnegans Wake* as a whole. Tracking the development of these themes shows Joyce's interest in finding a common ground for humanity's histories, languages and institutions.

The First Sketches

This section examines the drafts of the first *Finnegans Wake* sketches, highlighting the presence and development of the environmentally inclined themes identified above. These first sketches for *Finnegans Wake* each demonstrate one of these themes, and do so in an almost exclusively Irish context; the very first sketch, "Roderick O'Connor",¹² introduces, in the "place-lore" tradition of the *dinnsheanchas*, the pre-Norman relationship with the land and "Tristan and Isolde" introduces invaders arriving to Ireland by sea as well as the Irish pastoral. "Mamalujo" introduces the relationship between Irish history and landscape, "Saint Kevin" introduces the link between Irish Christianity and landscape, and "Saint Patrick and the Druid" explores the relationship between nature and aesthetics. There is also the

¹² Cf. 11 March 1923 letter Weaver: "Yesterday I wrote two pages – the first I have written since the final *Yes* of *Ulysses*" (LI 202).

unused early sketch, “St Dymphna”, the subject of which is a sixth century Irish saint who, in continuing with the theme of “Roderick O’Conor”, was, at least according to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, the “daughter of a pagan king of Ireland” (Kirsch, par. 4) as well as the “patroness of lunatics” (Benstock 83).

Looking at the first-drafts of these sketches without knowledge of the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks, it would be easy to cast aside the environmental references as purely ornamental. However, keeping in mind the themes and trends that grew out of the examination of VI.B.1 or VI.B.6 when examining these early sketches, one can easily see the gradual emergence of themes built around nature. It is important to look closely at these five sketches, as they not only contain within them the seeds for the way Joyce will engage with nature throughout the *Wake*, but they also provide an invaluable insight to how Joyce merges his experience of composition with the material in the text. The influence of both ecological “organicism” and chaos influenced many Modernist works, and in *Finnegans Wake*, as Joyce’s composition becomes increasingly complex, so do the occurrences of natural elements in the *Wake*.

Roderick O’Conor

The first two sketches drafted for *Finnegans Wake*, “Roderick O’Conor” (March 1923)¹³ and “Tristan and Isolde” (April 1923), continue the work of *Ulysses* and the Irish Revival by translating ancient heroic Irish figures into the context of twentieth century Dublin. From the very first notebook used for *Finnegans Wake*, VI.A (or “Scribbledehobble”), Joyce was creating a male protagonist (eventually evolving into HCE) who would be closely linked to the environment and to the attempt to control this environment. In his essay on II.3 (the chapter wherein this sketch finds its final resting place), in *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake*, David Hayman refers to the heading “A Painful Case” in the “Scribbledehobble” notebook for an “early” look at the figure of HCE who was then embodied in “Pop”.¹⁴ Hayman

¹³ Joyce announced this to Harriet Shaw Weaver in a letter dated 11 March 1923: “Yesterday I wrote two pages – the first I have written since the final *Yes of Ulysses*. Having found a pen, with some difficulty I copied them out in a large handwriting on a double sheet of foolscap so that I could read them” (LI: 202). The typescript was not returned to again until September 1938.

¹⁴ There are many other relevant notes in the first entries of VI.A that, for the sake of space, cannot be mentioned in the body of this thesis. For example, under the heading “The Sisters”, Joyce has written the first mention of what may become the “hen” in the *Wake*: “there was a certain convent full of fowls” (VI.A: 21). Under this same heading, there is also “a bowl of merest pine”, “fish stinks first at

aligns both “Roderick” and HCE with this “Pop” figure from the first-draft of the sketch, and suggests that some of the early notes pertaining to “Pop” contribute directly to the development of HCE. Hayman cites the first entries under the heading “A Painful Case” in support of this argument:

Pop sits back to sea: Naturfreund: saving daylight: the noise of the explosion was so disagreeable that the night polishman retired to his box and slept; his Anglican ethics. (VI.A: 121 qtd. in HJW 251)¹⁵

Pop sitting with his back to the sea calls to mind the end of Eliot’s *The Waste Land*, published shortly before these notes would have been recorded. *Naturfreund* is German for “Friend of Nature”, and may be referring to the tourism and conservation group, *Naturfreunde*, established, in conjunction with the developing field of ecology, in 1895 in Austria (but which existed, with the same name, in Germany as well as, most important in the context of Joyce, Switzerland) (Lauber 93). “Saving daylight” likely refers to the recently established Daylight Savings Time (Steel 275). Together, the three fragments set up a character concerned with controlling nature in differing manners. In the first, Pop refuses the sea’s disorder; in the second, he wishes to organize nature in an ideological and consumable way and in the third, he wishes to impose an order on time so as to maximize the efficiency of the earth’s resources (Germany and Britain were the first countries to establish DST to regulate the burning of coal and to increase yields of agricultural products) (Steel 275).

Three other notes on this page of VI.A include “sleeps in park”, “publishes description of Is.” and “protected by beechtree umbrella” (VI.A: 121). The note “sleeps in park”, in conjunction with the heading “A Painful Case”, locates the developing *Wake* in the Phoenix Park, and “protected by beechtree umbrella” may be the tree under which Mr. Duffy pauses in “A Painful Case”. Joyce may have already had the figure of Roderick O’Conor in mind when making these VI.A notes, as O’Conor also has associations with the area; just outside the Knockmaroon Gate to Phoenix Park lies a ruined tower on a hill marking King Roderick O’Conor’s headquarters in 1171 (Moriarty 12).

The heading of “A Painful Case” and the note concerning “Is.”, or Isolde, also suggests Chapelizod. These two notes are particularly important for the development

head, oak withers at top” (VI.A: 21) and “She sat on the face of many a smiling countryside” (VI.A: 21).

¹⁵ Hayman dates these entries in VI.A as January-February 1923 (HJW 250) whereas Thomas Connolly had only suggested “from 1922 to 1923 approximately” (ix).

of the *Wake* not only because they identify a particular location, but because that location is *outside of Dublin*. This shift in focus from Dublin city centre to a rural village on its western fringes, in conjunction with the notes concerning Pop, is not insignificant. Having conquered Dublin city in *Ulysses*, Joyce decided quite early on that the *Wake* would situate itself at a distance from the urban centre.

Chapelizod was a place with which Joyce was quite familiar. Barry McGovern's essay "Joyce's 'A Painful Case and Chapelizod'" explains that "Joyce himself got to know Chapelizod well from early childhood as the family often went for picnics to the Strawberry Beds" (45). As discussed in the introduction, many Joyce critics choose to present a Joyce that never strayed beyond the confines of Dublin City Centre, but several accounts of his childhood peregrinations and subsequent letters and memoirs suggest otherwise. Chapelizod, in Joyce's mind, would have been primarily connected with his father, who was once a financial partner in the Dublin and Chapelizod Distilling Company (JJ 16)¹⁶ and David Norris, in his introduction to Motoko Fujita's recent collection about Chapelizod notes how "[i]n the company of Joyce senior, the young James visited various places of refreshment around Chapelizod" (44). Prior to *Finnegans Wake*, Chapelizod had its only starring role as the residence of Mr. Duffy in the *Dubliners* story, "A Painful Case". In the beginning of this story, Joyce has written:

Mr. James Duffy lived in Chapelizod because he wished to live as far as possible from the city of which he was a citizen and because he found all the other suburbs of Dublin mean, modern and pretentious. He lived in an old sombre house and from his windows he could look into the disused distillery or upwards along the shallow river on which Dublin is built. (D 82)

Chapelizod was, and is, a suburb of Dublin. It was not urban in Joyce's day, and it is not urban now.¹⁷ Additionally, one can see seeds of *Finnegans Wake* in the final line of the above passage, which figures Dublin's economy and its very existence as contingent upon the river. Towards the end of "A Painful Case", Mr. Duffy walks the "lonely road which leads from the Parkgate to Chapelizod" (D 86), a distance of

¹⁶ McGovern's essay, "Joyce's 'A Painful Case' and Chapelizod", provides a brief overview of the history of the Dublin and Chapelizod Distillery Company as well as other evidence of Joyce's familiarity with Chapelizod and its presence in Joyce's earlier works (Fujita 45-47).

¹⁷ John Gordon also makes this point in his *A Plot Summary of Finnegans Wake*, pointing to both Chapelizod, a "gentle, leafy settlement" and the Phoenix Park as creating a "sense of pastoral" for the *Wake* (9).

approximately 4 kilometres. Chapelizod is chosen as Mr. Duffy's residence because of its *distance* from urban life, and the choice of Chapelizod — not Dublin City — as the centring locale for *Finnegans Wake* at this early stage suggests that Joyce, from the very inception of the *Wake*, was going to be working on a much different type of novel than *Ulysses*.

A couple of notes in VI.A under “A Painful Case” appear clearly in the first drafts of Roderick O’Conor (“this year made up of anniversaries”¹⁸), while others are integrated conceptually, such as “protected by beechtree umbrella” (VI.A: 121). The latter note is expressed in O’Conor’s designation on the fair copy as “the auspicious waterproof monarch”,¹⁹ and may also be referring to the Irish tradition of inaugurating a chief or king under a tree on a hilltop (Frawley 20, MacCoitir 5), since in the first-draft Roderick is “all alone by himself in his grand old historic pile”.²⁰ The strange thing about this is the choice of “beech”, as this tree, like the sycamores that will be associated with Mamalujo, are not native Irish trees (Hickie 111), introducing themes of invasion and colonization into the text from an ecological perspective that will be developed during Joyce’s work on the *Wake*²¹ and are discussed at length in this thesis. Though such a minor detail may appear insignificant at this stage, throughout the *Wake*, Joyce incorporates non-native trees such as the beech and the sycamore to explore issues of invasion, colonialism, race and immigration.

Turning now to the first drafts of “Roderick O’Conor”, there is an early version of the “midden heap” with the presence of the “grand pile”²² which becomes, on the 1923 fair copy, the “grand old historic pile”,²³ composed of the “colonizers” of Ireland that had preceded Roderick O’Connor: “the unimportant Parthalonians with the mouldy Firbolgs and the Tuatha de Danaan googs and all the rest of the notmuchers”.²⁴ These mythological races of Ireland are traditionally credited with the

¹⁸ The “year made up of anniversaries” appears in the fair copy, right at the beginning of the first draft of the sketch: “So anyhow after that to wind up that long to be chronicled get together day, the anniversary of his first holy communion [...]” (BL 47480-269, JJA 55: 446b, FDV 203.13, FW 380.9-11).

¹⁹ BL 47480-269, JJA 55: 446c, FDV 203.29, FW 380.34

²⁰ BL 47480-269, JJA 55: 446b, FDV 203.35, FW 318.12.

²¹ “Beech-trees”, specifically, are referenced quite a few times in *Finnegans Wake*: I.3 (FW 42.20), I.4 (FW 77.16), I.6 (FW 160.1, 6), III.1 and III.3 (FW 503.31). Cf. also: “[L]arix o’tourist whetawhistling in astuntedness & tamboys a beeches tittertattering his tendronym” (VI.B.46: 207).

²² BL 47480-267, JJA 55: 446a, FW 318.12.

²³ This is from the fair copy of 1923 (BL 47480-269, JJA 55: 446b). The first draft (BL 47480-267, JJA 55: 446a) has “grand pile” only.

²⁴ BL 47480-269, JJA 55: 446b, FDV 203.30-31, FW 381.5-8.

establishment of Celtic society. The Partholonians were responsible for many “firsts”: from the first foundations of the Celtic legal system to the first adultery to the first beer, they gave Celtic society many of its defining features. They also laid the foundations of the Celtic relationship with their environment. Marie Sjoestedt explains that the Partholonians take their name from their leader “Partholón”, thought to be a God of vegetation, and, according to the Irish annalists, arrived in Ireland precisely 268 years after the Flood (4). Partholón, as alleged god of vegetation, was believed to have introduced agriculture to Ireland, as, according to Sjoestedt’s use of the 11th century *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (The Book of the Taking of Ireland), “he found no tiller of the soil before him”, and “cleared four plains” (qtd. in Sjoestedt 4). Due to their association with agriculture, the Partholonians were also shapers of the landscape: “When Partholón landed in Ireland”, Sjoestedt continues, “he found there only three lakes and nine rivers, but seven new lakes were formed in his lifetime” (4). Partholón and his wife, according to the *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, lived on an island in the River Erne estuary in northwest-Ireland (Macalister 4: 138), presenting a very early possible link between Celtic paganism and Irish Christianity. The Partholonians died of a plague on 1 May (the *Bealtaine* festival), and it is believed their remains were buried in the Moy Elta plain, said to be near Howth, according to one of Joyce’s sources for *Finnegans Wake*, P.W. Joyce’s *A Short History of Ireland* (124).

After the Partholonians came the Nemed, and then the *Fir Bolg*. Of relevance to the *Wake* and more specifically, to the “Roderick O’Conor” sketch’s association with the Chapelizod area, Carmel McAsey, in a 1959 paper to the Old Dublin Society, though not genetically relevant to the *Wake*, explained the the *Fir Bolg* were the first people believed to have lived in the Chapelizod area (37). She explains that this belief is due to two Cromlechs discovered in the area in the nineteenth century, “one on Knockmary Hill, overlooking Chapelizod, and the second in a sandpit near the village” (37). The *Fir Bolg* was not a particularly successful race, but their mixture of possible provenances and varied linguistic influences serves to complicate the lineage of the Celtic tribes. Patricia Monaghan explains that the same Celtic tribes that gave their name to Belgium (*Builg*, or *Belgae*) may be related to the *Fir Bolg*. These tribes, Monaghan posits, “may have traced their descent from a hypothesized ancestral divinity named *Bolg* or *Bulg*, possibly the ruler of thunder, thus their name would mean ‘sons of the god/dess Bolg’, or ‘sons of the ruler of thunder’” (Monaghan 194). One of Sjoestedt’s accounts of the *Fir Bolg* would support this idea

of the tribe as believing themselves descendants of the thunder god and in control of nature:

It is said of their king *Eochaid mac Eirc* that ‘no rain fell during his reign, but only the dew; there was not a year without harvest’. For [...] ‘falsehood was banished from Ireland in his time. He was the first to establish there the rule of justice’. Thus there appears with the establishment of the first Celtic communities in Ireland the principle of association between the king and the earth – the king’s justice being a condition of the fertility of the soil – which is the very formula of the magic of kingship. (7)

A “pasture loving race” (McAsey 37), the *Fir Bolg* were not agrarian like the Partholonians, but did believe themselves to have a certain amount of control over nature, a theme that becomes important throughout the *Wake* due largely to the relationship between kingship, fertility of the soil and agricultural productivity.

These “pasture loving” *Fir Bolg* were then driven to “unproductive lands” (McAsey 37) by the next wave of invaders, the *Tuatha Dé Danaan*. This race also had the ability to summon nature to their aid, so much so that they purportedly arrived in a “dense cloud upon the coast of Ireland” (Squire 79). The *Tuatha* were the first sorcerers in Irish history, and their power over nature was explained by their affiliation with the supernatural. The *Tuatha* defeated their aggressors in this way, spreading “‘druidically-formed showers and fog-sustaining shower-clouds’ over the country, causing the air to pour down fire and blood upon the *Fir Bolgs*” (Squire 79), and inciting storms against the Milesians.

Looking more directly to the “Roderick O’Conor” sketch, the *Tuatha* left behind many relics of their fights, preserved in the “grand old historic pile” of the landscape, such as circles, tumuli, cairns and stones. Following from this, it is also important to note that McCahey (in a 1962 paper on the history of Chapelizod) designates the *Tuatha Dé Danann* as the inventors of Ogham writing (37). Lastly, with regard to these ancient Irish races, Jessie L. Weston’s *From Ritual to Romance* expands the context of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* and aligns them with the story of King Arthur, explaining in her famous source for Eliot’s *The Waste Land*, that the “treasures of the Tuatha de Danann and the symbols of the Grail castle go back to a common original” (74). Throughout the *Wake*, HCE is often aligned with Arthur, specifically in terms of fertility, supporting this use of *From Ritual to Romance*.

With this history of the Partholonians, *Fir Bolg* and *Tuatha Dé Danann* in mind, the “Roderick O’Conor” sketch revisits parts of each of their histories. “King Art MacMurrough Kavanagh” is aligned with the *Tuatha* through “Arthur”, but is also aligned with the Partholonians, for Joyce adds, “with weeping eczema”,²⁵ to make the line, “took to his pallyass with the weeping eczema”, with “eczema” being a symptom of a plague. He eventually died “the year the sugar was scarce and himself down to three cows that was meat and drink”,²⁶ suggesting the first famine in times of the agrarian Partholonians, and providing a link with the fertility rituals in Frazer and Weston. Then, like Eochaid mac Eirc of the *Fir Bolg*, who always oversaw a productive harvest, there is “Roderick O’Conor Rex, the auspicious waterproof monarch”.²⁷ Supported by the natural world, the King Roderick/HCE figure assumes his patriarchal role over his ancestors: presiding over the harvests, preserving history, providing liquor.²⁸

Tristan and Isolde

Joyce famously told his friend George Borach in 1918: “There are indeed hardly more than a dozen original themes in world literature. Then there is an enormous number of combinations of these themes. *Tristan und Isolde* is an example of an original theme” (qtd. in Borach 326). This “original theme” became one of the foundational structures for the *Wake*, and Sam Slote argues that the importance of this story for Joyce lies in the fact that “it is an Irish story, but with resonances throughout many other countries, and it is a story that exists in numerous different variations across the ages, from Arthurian legend to Wagner, with no one single definite vision” (Fujita 48). The composition history of “Tristan and Isolde”²⁹ and “Mamalujo” begins with a composite version of the two sketches, a detail not known until the acquisition of these papers by the National Library of Ireland in 2006. In an article for the *James Joyce Quarterly*, Slote discusses these recent acquisitions and their impact on our understanding of the early textual history of *Finnegans Wake*,

²⁵ BL 47480-269, JJA 55: 446b, FDV 203.24, FW 380.25.

²⁶ BL 47480-267, JJA 55: 446a, FDV 203.25-26, FW 380.26-28. This comes from the note, “She died the year the sugar was scarce” (VI.B.10: 30).

²⁷ BL 47480-267, JJA 55: 446a, FDV 203.29, FW 380.34.

²⁸ For information on the historical Roderick O’Connor, see the exhaustive study *Irish Kings and High Kings* by John Francis Byrne (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004).

²⁹ There has been a significant amount of attention paid to the composition of the “Tristan and Isolde” sketch and to the inclusion of this story in the *Wake* with the first major study being David Hayman’s “Tristan and Isolde in *Finnegans Wake*: A Study of the Sources and Evolution of a Theme” (*Comparative Literature Studies* 1 (1964): 93-112).

explaining that these 2006 papers presented “three unknown unknowns, that is, drafts no one suspected ever existed” (2004-2006, 21). He explains that we now have 1) An early version of the “Tristan and Isolde” sketch very different from the one previously understood to be the first draft, which is actually now the third version;³⁰ 2) An entirely unknown sketch about a “Young Isolde” that is “not directly used in the *Wake*” and 3) Another version of the “Tristan and Isolde” sketch, but one “in which Mamalujo makes its first appearance” (2004-2006, 21). This newly discovered “first” version of “Tristan and Isolde” is very different to the third with which many are already familiar; it does not contain King Mark and primarily is a strange love scene between the two figures.

The next version is the composite sketch of “Tristan and Isolde” and “Mamalujo” and, according to Slote, “[t]he draft is a telling of ‘Tristan and Isolde’ through the perspective of purblind narrators called the Four Waves of Erin” (25), an important revision of the previous understanding of the “Four Waves” as emerging in the “Mamalujo” sketch. The third version of “Tristan and Isolde” will be briefly discussed in terms of the introduction of the Irish pastoral, the importance of “invasion” to Irish history, and, through Bakhtin’s *chronotope*, the appearance of the providence/nature relationship. The inclusion of this story in any of its forms in *Finnegans Wake* will be discussed in terms of Isolde’s relationship to Chapelizod and the presence of the Tristan and Isolde story in Weston.

The belief that the name “Chapelizod” derives from an Anglicization of the French *Chapelle d’Iseult*, the “Chapel of Isolde”, is commonly known, and this relationship between place-name and history is an important fact to note for this stage of the *Wake*. While it is unfeasible to determine which idea came first for Joyce, the setting of the new text in Chapelizod or the decision to include a piece on Tristan and Isolde, it is important to note here the interdependence of place, name, and story.³¹ For Joyce, the relationship between “Isolde” and the name “Chapelizod” provided an interesting crossing of two axes, and from this, Joyce’s interest in the origin of place-names (and names in general) continues to develop. This interest also influences

³⁰ BL 47481 94-94v, JJA 56: 2-5.

³¹ However, Sam Slote does argue that “Joyce’s interest in the legend of Tristan and Isolde led him to Chapelizod, Isolde’s chapel, where she is reputed to have lived and is perhaps the oldest village in the Dublin environs, the ur-Dublin as it were”. Slote also argues for the importance of Chapelizod throughout the composition of the *Wake*, remarking that “[a]t one point in 1930 Joyce considered naming chapter II.1 of the *Wake*, the chapter of children’s games, ‘Chapelle D’Izzied’” (Fujita 48).

Joyce's treatment and representation of "place" throughout the *Wake* as he becomes increasingly interested in the "literal" translations of various names.³²

Similar to the "Roderick O'Connor" sketch, "Tristan and Isolde"³³ refashions assorted versions of the Tristan and Isolde story and molds them into a contemporary Irish framework.³⁴ The note under the *Chamber Music* heading from *Scribbledehobble*, "write T&I in Eden, S.P. in 19—" (VI.A:13) does not mean that the story of Tristan and Isolde should be rewritten in an even earlier time period, but, suggests that a new "Eden" (or perhaps several versions of a new "Eden") will be designated; one, most likely, being the Phoenix Park. The way Joyce relies on the "Tristan and Isolde" story in the *Wake* may also partially take its cue from Weston's *From Ritual to Romance*, as she writes of the similarities of the relationships between Gawain and King Arthur, "Cuchullinn" and "Conchobar", Diarmuid and Finn, Tristan and Mark, and Roland and Charlemagne (191). In *The Wake in Transit* (60), Hayman argues for the similarities between the early Roderick O'Connor figure and King Arthur, providing a possible support for a closer relationship between the first two seemingly autonomous sketches.

The revised fair copy of the sketch, taking its suburban location into consideration, begins with Isolde, the "belle of Chapelizod",³⁵ described in clichéd pastoral language reminiscent of "Nausicaa". Though at times Joyce is serious in his alignment of the feminine and the natural, in the "Tristan and Isolde" sketch this treatment is highly ironized. Isolde is aligned with the sea, the moon, and the flowers, due to notes like "revelled in the beauty of—" and "(Is) love of nature" (VI.B.3: 124), which are also extended to her relationship with Tristan on the next page: "one can enjoy art/ two nature" (VI.B.3: 125). Then, Joyce clothes Isolde in "oceanblue brocade with iris petal sleeves",³⁶ and:

³² Though not related to such "literal" translations, chapter three of Vico's "Poetic Wisdom" section, "Names and Descriptions of Heroic Cities", provides a larger context for this interest in the relationship between the name of a place, its history and its geography (348-351).

³³ Cf. Letter of 28 March 1923 (LIII: 73).

³⁴ There are quite a few studies that address the varied sources Joyce used for his versions of "Tristan and Isolde". For example, Geert Lernout's article "Richard Wagner's 'Tristan und Isolde' in the Genesis of *Finnegans Wake*" (JJQ 38 (2000-2001): 143-156).

³⁵ BL 47481-94r, JJA 56: 2, FW 384.22.

³⁶ BL 47481-94r, JJA 56: 2, FW 398-399.

She murmurously asked for some but not too much of the best poetry reflecting her situation her reason being that by the light of the moon the silvery moon she loved to spoon before her honeymoonmoon.³⁷

The connection between the female and the moon is not a particularly innovative idea, but the emphasis on the “oo” syllable expands this connection by implying a linguistic alignment between the moon and female speech. This concept prefigures the future rhythms of ALP, as well as the association of ALP with the letter “O” and with larger images of the circular and of cyclicity.³⁸

A second quotation from this early “Tristan and Isolde” continues the association between the feminine and the natural, with the waves now a major focus of the narrative:

The sea looked awfully pretty at that twilight hour so lovely with such wellmannered waves. It was just too gorgeous sensation he being exactly the right man in the right place and weather conditions could not possibly have been improved on. Her role was to roll on the darkblue ocean roll that rolled on round the round roll Robert Roly rolled round. She gazed while from an altitude of 1 yard 11 1/2 inches his deepsea peepers gazed O gazed Odazedcrazedgazed into her darkblue rolling ocean orbs.³⁹

Isolde’s relationship to the sea is both Byronic and Wagnerian,⁴⁰ but with the emphasis on them as being “both together in the most fashionable weather”,⁴¹ this suggests a more complex role for the sea, one akin to the narrative of the “Four Waves of Erin” in the first version of “Tristan and Isolde”. The weather possesses a certain agency and an alliance with Isolde, suggesting, in conjunction with “Roderick O’Conor”, a pagan “magical” belief in nature’s manipulability. Conversely, this may be in line with the Celtic pre-Christian view of nature that, according to John Wilson Foster, is one wherein nature is “vital, autonomous” and “at times inhospitable” (“Encountering Traditions” 33). Isolde’s belief that the natural world is sympathetic

³⁷ BL 47481-94r, JJA 56: 2. FW 385.28-399.3.

³⁸ Isolde’s relationship to the sea also foreshadows the other casting of women as forms of water, including ALP as the river and Issy as Nuvoletta, the cloud.

³⁹ BL 47481-94r, JJA 56: 2. FW 385-386.

⁴⁰ This passage is partially derived, as Edmund Epstein points out, from Byron’s *Childe Harold* and from *Punch* magazine (EFW 160).

⁴¹ BL 47481-94r, JJA 56: 2. FW 396.25.

to her may be Joyce's setting the stage both for Isolde's edification and for the chaotic indifference of nature.

The fact that the weather "could not possibly have been improved upon" and is "most fashionable" is a traditional narrative technique, as the reader knows that this beautiful weather will eventually become stormy again, indicating, here, the tragedy that will befall Tristan and Isolde. In Bakhtinian terminology, such phrasing establishes the sea as a *chronotope* in "adventure-time", and Bakhtin points to the use of storms in such narratives as phenomena required to move the plot forward (93). The weather then is an active agent, assuming providential power over the fate of the two lovers. The outcome of this specific event depends largely on the unseen forces of the environment and on the "author"; i.e., on chance, on the serendipitous arrangements of time, place, character, weather, setting, etc. (the "right man in the right place"). As Bakhtin argues, in "adventure-time", the moments "are controlled by one force – *chance*" and this "'chance time' is the specific time during which irrational forces intervene in human life: the intervention of Fate [Tyche], gods, demons, sorcerers" (94). In this context, the weather in "Tristan and Isolde" becomes a substitute for "fate" and a twentieth century modernization of the Viconian "providence" that effected order, civilization, nations and laws (Vico 87).

One of the primary themes of the *Wake*'s engagement with nature appears in this sketch, the way in which humans perceive nature as opposed to the way in which nature perceives the human. In the third version of the "Tristan and Isolde" sketch, Joyce includes what Hayman declares to be "the earliest available version of the 'seaswan' poem, which now opens the chapter" (FDV 211n10):

So sang seaswans:

--Three quarks for Muster Mark

Sure he hasn't got much of a bark

And sure any he has it's all beside the mark

But O Wreneagle Almighty wouldn't we un be a sky of a lark

To see that old buzzard whooping about for uns shirt in the dark

And he hunting round for uns speckled trousers around by Palmerston Park.

Hohohoho moulty Mark

You're the rummest old rooster ever flopped out of a Noah's ark

And you think you're cock of the wark

Fowls up Tristy's the spry young spark

That'll tread her and wed her and bed her and red her
Without even winking the tail of a feather
And that's how that chap's going to make his money and mark⁴²

In this rhyme, the sea birds, or "seaswans", laugh at Mark's cuckolding as they watch the love story unfold between Tristan and Isolde. In the next line, Joyce extends the birds present beyond seabirds, listing birds of the sea, the shore, and the wood: "Over them the winged ones screamed shrill glee: seahawk, seagull, curlew and plover, kestrel and capercailize. All the birds of the sea they trolled out rightbold when they smacked the big kiss of Trustan with Usolde".⁴³ Nature here laughs at human vanity and at the human attempt to align itself with nature, and the choice of so many different species of bird suggests the complexity of nature so often reduced to pathos by human endeavour.

These early drafts of the first two sketches for *Finnegans Wake* establish several ways through which the *Wake* will engage with the environment. "Roderick O'Connor" introduces the role of nature in comparative religion and mythology, the role of nature in Irish history, and the role of nature in kingship and agriculture. "Tristan and Isolde" introduces the "Four Waves of Erin" and nature's disinterest in human affairs, as well as the Bakhtinian narratological role of the weather and its possible implications for eventual rewritings of Victorian providence.

Mamalujo

The second version of "Tristan and Isolde", now held at the National Library of Ireland, was written in conjunction with the first version of "Mamalujo", and Slote explains that, in subsequent drafts of these sketches, "the text from the composite draft was bifurcated: the passages concerning the fourfold narrator were split off into a separate sketch altogether (now formally christened 'Mamalujo')". (2004-2006, 25). The "Mamalujo" sketch⁴⁴ introduces the four "historians", the "Four Waves of Erin", who, in addition to introducing the role of geography in history, guide the reader through history and through *Finnegans Wake* itself. Jed Deppman, in his essay

⁴² Simplified. BL 47481-98v, JJA 56: 18-19, FDV 212.1-15, FW 383.1-13.

⁴³ Simplified. BL 47481-98v, JJA 56: 18, FDV 211.27-30. FW 383.14-17.

⁴⁴ Slote explains that II.4§3 (using VI.B.2: 133, 136) was first drafted in September 1923 (JJA 56: 57, Buffalo VI.B.2: 136, 133, FDV 213-216, FW 388.01-398.30) and that a second draft followed almost immediately. Then, in October 1923, Joyce drafted II.4§2-3A (JJA 56: 26-36, BL 47481-2r, 2v, 3r, 3v, 4r, see LI, 9 October 1923). Then, the fair copy was completed shortly after (JJA 56: 39-48, BL 474781-13r, 14r, 7r, 8r, 9r, 10r, 10v. Cf. LI 17 October 1923 and 23 October 1923).

on the composition of II.4, notes of the early “Mamalujo” drafts that their “aggregate database is dominated by Irish geography, history, and local culture” (HJW 321). Perhaps influenced by his recent reading of travel guides (VI.B.25), Joyce’s “history” in “Mamalujo” begins with a version of natural history. The four historians (also the four Gospellers and the four Annalists, among other avatars) are cast as the “four master waves”⁴⁵ early in the composition of the *Wake*, foregrounding the relationship between nature and history.

The “four waves” of Ireland correspond to different geographical locations on the island of Ireland, and from this early stage, the four historians are each aligned with a specific province of Ireland. This designation of the historians as the four “waves” equalizes the story told in the Annals, the story told in the Gospels and the story told by the sea itself. These three “voices” of history are weighed equally, but each tells a story very different in content, structure, medium, and form. The idea of the “waves” themselves “speaking” is supported as the “history” which “Mamalujo” recount is actually described *as* water; they are described as listening “with their mouths watering”, “listening & watering” and “all their mouths making water”.⁴⁶ Moreover, when the four narrate Ireland’s history, it is largely dominated by water (the words relating to this topic are in bold):

And now that reminds me of poor Marcus Lyons and poor Johnny and the four of us and there they were now listening right enough the four **saltwater** widowers and all they could remembore long long ago with Lally when my heart knew no care the **landing of Sir Arthur Casement** in 1132 and the coronation of Brian by his grace bishop J.P. Bishop senior in his shovel hat and then there was the **drowning of Pharaoh** and they were all **drowned in the sea the red sea** and then poor Martin Cunningham out of the castle when he was **drowned off Dunleary in the red sea** and thank God there are no more of us. Ay, ay. So he was. and then there was the **Flemish Armada all scattered and all drowned off the coast of Cunningham** and St Patrick & St Kevin & Lapoleon **our first marents** and all they remembored and then there was the French fleet in 1132 [...]⁴⁷

⁴⁵ JJA 56: 26, BL 47481-2r, JJA 56: 26, FDV 213.2-6, FW 384.6.

⁴⁶ JJA 56: 27, BL 47481-2, FDV 213.23-28, FW 385.34-386.11.

⁴⁷ Simplified. BL 47481-2v, 3r, JJA 56: 29-30, FDV 214.18-28, FW 387.14-388.10.

The accuracy of the events described here is slightly off, but underlying this passage there is the story of Roger Casement (who tried to arrange a weapons deal with Germany for the Easter Rising but was caught while landing in Kerry); the story of Matthew Kane, a government official drowned off Dun Laoghaire in 1904, and a confused version of two other events: the scattering of the Spanish Armada by a storm off the West Coast of Ireland, and a Flemish invasion of Ireland. The significance of this passage is not the actors or the events, but the fact that Joyce focuses on the recurring role of the sea in the course of Irish history. John Gordon, in *A Plot Summary of Finnegans Wake*, explains that “[t]he sea adventure of Johnny’s monologue becomes, in Marcus’s section, emblematic of Ireland’s history of invasions and the resulting troubles” (216), and here, the sea is the vehicle for key events in Irish history (and especially, its colonial history). Consequently, when “Mamalujo” is placed alongside the other first sketches for the *Wake*, it is clear that Joyce is deliberately establishing the importance of Ireland’s physical landscape in the course of its history.

One trend in VI.B.6, concurrent with this “Mamalujo” draft, is Joyce’s recording of any climate or nature related descriptions in his source texts. One of these source texts is Emily Lawless’s *Ireland*, and when translating the information on Dermot McMurrrough’s exile into VI.B.6, Joyce writes “Mts or clouds” and “spends winter in Ferns” (VI.B.6: 172). On Strongbow and Waterford, Joyce writes “prisoners with limbs / broken cast into sea” (VI.B.6: 174), and on Henry II and the Church of Ireland, “wind in Irish sea” (VI.B.6: 176). The last note aligns the outcome of Henry II’s visit in Ireland with the weather and derives the passage in Lawless which reads:

The weather that winter was so rough that hardly a ship could cross the channel, and Henry in his new kingdom found himself very practically cut off from his old one. About the middle of Lent, the wind veering at last to the east, ships arrived from England and Aquitaine, bearers of very ill news to the king. (202)

This relationship between weather, history, and chance provided by Lawless further supports the relationship between “Tristan and Isolde” and “Mamalujo”.

Another topic linking these two sketches is the presence of trees. In VI.B.3, there were “tree” notes related to Tristan and Isolde; there was the note “his acorn”, qualified by “(Trist)” (VI.B.3: 125), and at the top of the following page Joyce wrote “tree bisexual / m form fem gend” (VI.B.3: 126). The Latin word for tree

(*arbor/arboris*) is feminine, but over time, the rules of “form” (in the case of Latin, the rule that “-or” nouns are masculine) has resulted in tree names becoming largely masculine (i.e., French *l’arbre*, Italian *l’albero*, German *der Baum*) while the “fruits” are feminine. If Tristan is the tree, “his acorn” becomes Isolde. In the language of the mythical Tristan and Isolde, however, the “tree” would still be “bisexual” with its “libido (Is)” (VI.B.3: 123) being feminine (“libido” is generally a feminine noun). The association of characters with trees is extended to “Is – mind’s eye / view of Dub Bay” (VI.B.3: 127), “sprigged gown” (VI.B.3: 127), “Is climbs tree” (VI.B.3: 133) and “treefeller” (VI.B.3: 133). The “Mamalujo” sketch also provides one of the earliest instances of Joyce’s use of trees in *Finnegans Wake*, as some of the audience listening to their historical tale are “[t]he sycamores and the mistlethrushes”.⁴⁸ As briefly mentioned with regard to the presence of the beech-tree in “Scribbledehobble”, sycamores are also non-native Irish flora, and thus, an *invasive* species. It is appropriate that Joyce should have chosen an “invasive” tree in this discussion of Ireland’s invasions, as this tree itself is an example of what Alfred Crosby Jr. would call “ecological imperialism” (1986).

In addition to the parallel movements of non-native species of flora with the movements of non-native species of fauna (including humans), trees are a significant intersection of the role of the environment and the process of writing in *Finnegans Wake*. The Irish Ogham alphabet (which plays a significant role in the *Wake* and will be discussed at length as it appears in Joyce’s *avant-texte*) was composed of various Irish trees and each held a specific place in Irish culture, folklore and law. The introduction of trees at this early phase in the *Wake* presents their multifaceted roles as political tools, mythological symbols, aesthetic muses, and linguistic constructs and constructors. Their presence in Mamalujo’s audience, in conjunction with their presence in Mamalujo’s versions of Irish history itself, also underscores their role in the construction of the narrative.

Saint Kevin

The next sketch to be drafted, “Saint Kevin”, is a retelling of the story of the sixth-century founder of the monastery at Glendalough, County Wicklow. The sketch, drafted during the summer of 1923, introduces a significant interest of *Finnegans Wake*: the connections between a country’s geography and its religion.

⁴⁸ JJA 56: 30, BL 47481-3, FDV 213-216, FW 384.1-3.

Many notes in VI.B.3 find their way into the first draft of this sketch (which itself appears in VI.B.3), but there are many other notes not transferred to the drafts that still provide substantial clues into Joyce's interests for "Saint Kevin". These notes include references to Saint Patrick ("(Focluth [wood of])" [VI.B.3: 9]), more references to trees preserved in bogs ("bog oak" [VI.B.3: 11]), the name of artificial islands built in bodies of water ("lake dwellings / crannogs" [VI.B.3: 25]),⁴⁹ a note concerning the idea of Ireland (Tara) being a new post-diluvian Eden ("Itself (Tara) centre of world – Ararat Noe" [VI.B.3: 27]),⁵⁰ a note linking the HCE figure to St Kevin ("Earwicker's bath" [VI.B.3: 38]), a note suggesting the imagery of a post-diluvian Eden "grass grows on the ark" (VI.B.3: 38), and lastly, a note describing an early religious structure constructed out of natural materials ("church of hewn oak & reed roof" [VI.B.3: 40]). Together, these notes demonstrate the interdependence of nature and religion (and, more specifically, in the common motif of nature and the rebirth of nature throughout Christian tradition) in Joyce's mind during this period of composition.

The first draft of "Saint Kevin" gives geography a principal role in the development of early Irish Christianity, simultaneously glorifying the power of water and mocking the romanticization of it:

St Kevin born on the Island of Ireland ^in the Irish ocean^ goes to lough Glendalough to live on an Island in the lake and as there is a pond on the island and a little island in the pond he builds / his hut on the islet and then ^most holy K[evin]^ scoops out the floor to a depth of one foot after which ^venerable Kevin^ goes to the bank of the /

⁴⁹ O.J.R. Howarth, in his *Geography of Ireland*, also explains that, in general, building "artificial islands in lakes" for the purpose of erecting dwellings was a common method for ensuring safety in ancient Ireland (145).

⁵⁰ The notes relating to Noah's Ark from VI.B.3 also continue into the next notebook, VI.B.2, with the note "Lough Neagh = Dead Sea" (VI.B.2: 17) suggesting that Lough Neagh is meant to hold a prime spot in the development of Irish civilisation, as the Dead Sea did in Abrahamic religions. Lough Neagh is formed by the convergence of six rivers, and according to the legend, the lough is the water-filled hollow left after the hero Finn MacCool lifted a piece of land and hurled it into the sea, where it became the Isle of Man. Perhaps it is supposed to be HCE (VI.B.2: 11, 13, 16, etc.) who is cast as Finn MacCool here, a "king of nations" (VI.B.2: 17), or a Noah ("Tree = Ark = Temple = Cross," VI.B.2: 14), "HCE drunk" (VI.B.2: 16), "play old Ham," (VI.B.2: 17), or "primogeniture / 'Israel' – family" (VI.B.2: 18). Joyce's notes concerning the role of the patriarch are also infused with notes concerning the possible figure of the "son". Beginning with VI.B.2:14, more Noah/flood related notes begin to appear: "Tree=Ark=Temple=Cross", "give him of the tree" (VI.B.2: 14), "flood" (VI.B.2: 15), "ark = museum" (VI.B.2: 15), "riverworthy" (VI.B.2: 15), "ship HM himself" (VI.B.2: 15), "ark of shittim wood" (VI.B.2: 16) and "Liffey" (VI.B.2: 16). Together, these notes suggest that Joyce is toying with the idea of placing a Biblical "flood" in an Irish context, using the Liffey or Lough Neagh as the body of water.

pond and fills his tub with water which he emptys time after time into a cavity of his hut thereby forming a pool having done which he ^blessed K^ half fills the tub lets it in the / middle of the pool blessed K pulls up his frock and St Kevin seats himself in the tub and doctor Kevin meditates with burning zeal the sacrament of baptism of regeneration by water.⁵¹

Saint Kevin founded the monastic site at Glendalough, the “Glen of Two Lakes”, because of its isolation. In Joyce’s version, Kevin ensures this seclusion by encircling himself with water as many times as possible; already on an island, he seeks another island in a lake on that island, and so on. When visiting Glendalough or upon viewing an image of the site, one can plainly see that the ecclesiastical site is not so dramatically placed; in fact, it is not “in” the lake at all.⁵² Many other saints discussed in one of the source texts for “Saint Kevin”, J.M. Flood’s *Ireland: Its Saints and Scholars* established monasteries proximal to lakes, including St. Gall who established a monastery by Lake Constance (Flood 5). Regardless of which Saints contributed to this composite version of Saint Kevin, it is obvious that Joyce is emphasizing the relationship between geography and Irish Christianity. The specific importance of water in this sketch also extends to the baptismal wells of Saint Patrick and Saint Kevin. Kevin’s continual fabrication of another body of water to perform “the sacrament of baptism”, his “regeneration by water” comments on the unavoidable human imitation of nature in their creative acts as well as a concretization of the relationship between ancient pagan traditions and Christianity.⁵³

This first draft of Saint Kevin was followed by “a more sophisticated draft”⁵⁴ to which Joyce added “between rivers” and “with 5 watercourses”⁵⁵ to the first lines of the sketch. The first fair copies, of July 1923, develop the juxtaposition of

⁵¹ VI.B.3: 42-45. A note on the transcriptions: Carrots (^) indicate an addition made by Joyce onto the manuscript.

⁵² Many other Irish Saints did in fact erect sites in lakes. For example, Joyce may be referring to St. Finbar of County Cork, who founded a hermitage on an island in the lake Gougane Barra (Croker 210).

⁵³ Cf. Joyce’s correction of the mistranslation of Aristotle: ‘Art is an imitation of Nature.’ Aristotle does not here define art, he says only ‘Art imitates nature’, and meant the artistic process is like the natural process (CW 145). For example, Dedalus crafted “wings” to fly in imitation of a bird’s flight, and today, reductively, airplanes fly because of the imitation of aerodynamic forces exhibited by birds in flight.

⁵⁴ JJA 63: 38a-38b, BL 47488-24r-v. After this draft, there are two fair copies from July 1923, as well as a third (unrevised) fair copy of August 1923, which Joyce had asked Harriet Shaw Weaver to type.

⁵⁵ BL 47488-24, JJA 63: 38a, FW 605.19.

hagiography and landscape, adding “river Slaney and Liffey River”⁵⁶ as well as several lacustrine elements, the locating of Kevin in the “circumfluent⁵⁷ watercourse”,⁵⁸ and an extension of the baptism/regeneration motif by the addition of “recreated”⁵⁹ twice into the final sentence. In the second fair copy,⁶⁰ Kevin becomes “Hydrophilus”,⁶¹ pointing the reader back to Stephen Dedalus in the “Ithaca” episode of *Ulysses*,⁶² and Kevin’s sacrament becomes “affusion”.⁶³ The third fair copy⁶⁴ contains additions from VI.B.25, and its sources provide insight to the direction Joyce was hoping to take the “Saint Kevin” piece. Notes from *The Ward Lock Guide* (to Bognor) provide information on fishing, suggesting a possible link to an abandoned passage in the second draft of the sketch,⁶⁵ wherein Kevin writes “a prize essay on kindness to fishes”. In conjunction with Saint Kevin, the “essay on kindness to fishes” also evokes the story of St Kevin and the blackbird, placing Kevin in the line of Saints, both Irish and non-Irish, who are famous for their particular kindness to members of the non-human world.⁶⁶ The use of a travel guide as a source is important to note here, as it shows Joyce is concerned with transferring specific topographical information to the drafts. Specificity of place is one of the defining features on current ecocritical discourse, and Joyce’s attention to the detail of place is crucial to placing him in and ecocritical context. From the map-like precision of *Ulysses* to the attention to bird species in the above section of the “Tristan and Isolde” sketch to his reliance on travel guides in the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks, Joyce’s attention to the question of place places him alongside D.H. Lawrence and Katherine Mansfield in terms of Modernism.

⁵⁶ BL 47488-25, JJA 63: 38c, FW 605.12-13.

⁵⁷ BL 47488-24, JJA 63: 38a, FW 605.19. The “circumfluent” was added on the second draft (July 1923, Cf. Letter from 9 October 1923 [LI: 203]) but the “watercourse” was not added until the next draft, the July 1923 fair copy.

⁵⁸ BL 47488-25r, JJA 63: 38c, FW 605.19.

⁵⁹ BL 47488-25r, JJA 63: 38c, FW 605.7.

⁶⁰ BL 47488-26, JJA 63: 38d.

⁶¹ BL 47488-26, JJA 63: 38d, FW 606.5

⁶² Cf. U 17.1990.

⁶³ BL 47488-26, JJA 63: 38d, FW 606.11.

⁶⁴ BL 47488-27, JJA 63: 38e

⁶⁵ BL 47488-24, JJA 63: 38a

⁶⁶ In John Wilson Foster’s essay “Encountering Traditions”, he discusses the interaction of “saints and beasts” in the Irish hagiographical tradition. He cites a story involving Saint Kevin as being one of the most famous examples of this tradition: “One of the best known concerns St Kevin whose hand outstretched to heaven was chosen by a blackbird for her nest. The bird laid eggs and hatched young before the saint would bring himself to move, for fear of disturbing it” (36). Foster also discusses the influence of the Franciscan tradition on St Ciaran and St Cainnic (36).

Saint Patrick and the Druid

The “Saint Patrick and the Druid” sketch, immediately following “Saint Kevin”, introduces questions of nature, art and representation. Drafted in July 1923,⁶⁷ this sketch, like “Saint Kevin”, also relies on notes from VI.B.3, VI.B.25 and VI.B.2. Van Hulle, in his essay on the composition of Book IV (where this sketch eventually winds up in the *Wake*), observes that the “Patrick and the Druid” piece is the first to be written in the linguistic style that comes to dominate the *Wake*, and suggests that “possibly, the mysticism of the archdruid’s theory may have prompted Joyce to find a mystic way to express it and thus influenced the first *Wakean* linguistic distortions” (HJW 443). The combination of Irish mythology, early Christian nature traditions and the “Four Waves of Erin” influence these “first *Wakean* linguistic distortions” and with this sketch, Joyce begins to attempt the linguistic representation of the non-human world.

The basic event Joyce works with for this sketch is the encounter between Saint Patrick and King Leary’s druid at Slane,⁶⁸ following Saint Patrick’s lighting of a fire on Holy Saturday in defiance of the King’s order. Joyce links Leary’s “archdruid” with Bishop Berkeley, and the first draft of this sketch is dominated by Berkeley’s theory as it relates to colour. The sketch begins:

The archdruid Barkeley in his heptachromatic sevenhued
roranyellowgreeblandigo topside joss pidgeon man then explained to
siltent whiterobed Patrick the illusiones of the colourful world of joss,
its furniture, animal, vegetable and mineral, appearing to fallen men
under but one reflectionem of the several iridial gradations of solar
light, that one which it had been unable to absorbere while for the seer
beholding reality, the thing as in itself it is, all objects showed

⁶⁷ The first draft was sent to Harriet Shaw Weaver on 2 August 1923 with the following explanation: “I send you this as promised – a piece describing the conversion of S. Patrick by Ireland” (LIII 79). A letter to Weaver from 9 October 1923 reads: “I am sorry that Patrick and [?] Berkeley are unsuccessful in explaining themselves. The answer, I suppose, is that given by Paddy Dignam’s apparition: metempsychosis. Or perhaps the theory of history so well set forth (after Hegel and Giambattista Vico) by four eminent annalists who are even now treading to the typepress in sorrow will explain part of my meaning. I work as much as I can because these are not fragments but active elements and when they are more and a little older they will begin to fuse of themselves” (LI 204).

⁶⁸ This dialogue between Patrick and the Druid also, on a formal level, corresponds to the ancient tradition of “a poetry of masks”, which Oona Frawley explains as a dialogue wherein “a well known figure is adopted by the author as the speaking ‘voice’ of the poem: the recognizable persona of a hermit, for example, expresses gratitude for a simple, solitary life in nature, and praises nature’s beauties” (9).

themselves in their true coloribus, resplendent with sextuple Gloria of the light actually retained within them.⁶⁹

In Berkeley's philosophy, the primary qualities of time, space and motion are known only through the secondary qualities of colour, sound, etc. In Joyce's sketch, Berkeley is the pagan "archdruid" representing pre-Christian Ireland, while Patrick is, naturally, standing for Christian Ireland. The archdruid is in a "heptachromatic sevenhued roranyellowgreeblandigo" costume and is confronting "whiterobed Patrick". What the archdruid tells Patrick is that the two really are not so different: The white light of Patrick's Christianity contains the seven hues of the pagan's religion; white light, when refracted, reveals the prism. "Fallen men" see only one colour when they look at an object, but for the "seer beholding reality", the absorbed colours appear alongside the one reflected ("resplendent with sextuple Gloria of the light actually retained within them"). The druid continues his argument, and the sketch continues (with deletions and additions transcribed):

^In other words^ to eyes so unsealed King Leary's fiery locks appeared of the colour of sorrel green, ^while of his six-coloured costume,^ His Majesty's saffron kilt of the hue of brewed boiled spinach, the royal golden breasttorc of the tint of curly cabbage, the verdant mantle of the monarch as of the green ^viridity^ of laurel boughs ^leaves^, the commanding azure eyes of a thyme and parsley, the enamelled ^Indian^ gem of the ruler's ^maledictive^ ring as a rich ^once^ ^an olive^ lentil, the violet ^violaceous^ ^warwon^ contusions of the prince's features tinged uniformly as with an infusion ^a brew^ of sennacassia.⁷⁰

This passage relates clearly to the note, "Culter of the thing in itself see the grass (r+o+y+b+i+v)" (VI.B.3: 64). The "thing in itself" is, of course, derived from Berkeley's idealism, and Kant's "*Ding an sich*" or "*noumenon*". With this sketch, Joyce is merging the philosophies of Berkeley and Kant in an attempt to comment on their theories of perception (through colour and vision).

This debate over competing modes of perception, over "vision" (in addition, probably, to relating to Joyce's own optical problems) is also the debate between

⁶⁹ JJA 63: 146a, BL 47488-99, FDV 279.15-24, FW 611.4-611.23.

⁷⁰ JJA 63: 146a, BL 47488-99, FDV 279.24-32, FW 611.33-612.15.

Christianity and paganism; a debate won, according to accounts of this historic meeting, by Saint Patrick. Rose and O'Hanlon explain the above passage as follows:

To eyes so unsealed, the druid claims, the king's red hair appears the colour of sorrel green, whereas his orange kilt seems to be that of spinach, his breast-torc of gold that of cabbage, his green cloak that of laurel, his blue eyes that of parsley, the indigo gem in his ring that of lentils and the very violet bruises and contusions of his features that of sennacassia: in short, all appear green. (UFW 303)

The visible colour (the fiery red, the saffron, the "commanding azure") is just an illusion, and, as Epstein explains, "to the eye of true wisdom, the sage asserts, all the colours really reduce to one inward colour - green, as befits an Irish king! - green as vegetables or herbs" (EFW 265). In the "darkness" brought by King Leary's druid, everything appears green; all knowledge is focused on Ireland. However, when Patrick brings back the "light" to the people (or, as it becomes in 1938, the "dayleash"⁷¹), revealing the colours of the world, he also exposes Ireland to a wider (Christian) culture.

When examined together, these first few sketches for *Finnegans Wake* demonstrate a broad, if not yet entirely formulated, interest in and focus upon nature. From the history "buried" in the land in "Roderick O'Connor", to the providential role of the weather in "Tristan and Isolde", to the speech of the waves in "Mamalujo", to the watery Christianity of "Saint Patrick", to the representation of nature in "Patrick and the Druid" these early sketches present a *Work in Progress* seeking to understand the relationship between humans, nature and perception.

First Revisions of the Early Sketches

With first drafts of five sketches completed, Joyce had some material to work with as he determined what precisely his new book was going to be "about". During the first series of revisions of these sketches, the themes articulated at the beginning of this chapter continue to develop, and from these, other clear motifs, such as "The Hunt" and "The Letter", begin to form.

Throughout the fall of 1923, Joyce was continuously working on drafts of the "Tristan and Isolde" sketch, and in October 1923, both "Tristan" and "Mamalujo"

⁷¹ BL 47488-113, JJA 63: 171, FW 613.08. David Hayman has this present in the *First Draft Version* at FDV 280.12, but the passage is not located in the drafts until the mid-1938 typescript.

were combined for their first fair copy. Continuing with themes developed in the “Saint Kevin” and “Patrick and the Druid” sketches, these drafts display additions that further extend the link between Ireland’s geography and history. In “Mamalujo” Joyce qualifies the “universal flood” in the “Flemish Armada” passage, changing this line to “on a lovely morning, after the universal flood, at about eleven thirty-two”,⁷² and establishing, through “Tristan and Isolde”, a connection between Ireland’s history and the changeability of the weather. The “lovely morning” addition echoes the conditions specified in “Tristan and Isolde” and develops the role of providence and chance in the course of history. This fair copy addition contributes to the unification of the two sketches, emphasizing historical contingency through the indifference and unpredictability of nature. On the fair copy for Saint Kevin, Joyce introduces this “universal flood”, qualifying the time “before the flood”⁷³ and “after the flood”.⁷⁴ Like the comment made to Borach concerning the universality of the Tristan and Isolde story, the “flood” is another recurring story across almost all cultures.⁷⁵ With the “love-triangle” story of Tristan and Isolde and the motif of the flood as defining features of cultural narratives in place, Joyce locates two more recurring narratives, the creation of hierarchy and the desire to communicate, with “The Hunt” and the “The Letter”.

The Hunt

In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce uses hunting to communicate issues of power, instinct, and survival. Hunting becomes a metaphor for the critical attacks on Joyce, a way to discuss English imperialism, and a way to explore universal behaviour

⁷² BL 47481-7, JJA 56: 41, FW 388.12.

⁷³ BL 47481-15, JJA 56: 49, FW 386.27-28.

⁷⁴ BL 47481-15, JJA 56: 49, FW 387.14. This “flood” condition is translated to Saints Patrick and Kevin as well, with Patrick depicted as an “anabaptist” (BL 47481-15, JJA 56: 49, FW 388.14), while Kevin is a “lacustrian”, or, “lake-dweller”. On this fair copy, Joyce also adds, to Mark’s section concerning the “Welsh waves”, two more watery additions: “to see more rain water on the floor” and “raining water laughing” (BL 47481-9, JJA 56: 43, FW 390.22). Referring to Patrick as an “anabaptist” is incorrect in hagiographical terms, but Joyce’s designation of Patrick as such serves to classify Patrick as a religious radical. “Anabaptist” translates to “re-baptize”, and it seems more logical that Joyce would have cast Kevin as such, but, Kevin is only a “lacustrian”, an anthropological term describing ancient lake habitations. Another addition, towards the end of the piece, builds on the “seafaring” and “invasion” motif, uniting seafaring and pilgrims in their mutual wandering, with “all say oremus prayer for navigants et peregrinantibus in all the old sea”, (BL 47481-21, JJA 56:55, FW 398.12-16), echoing the prayer for sailors and travellers, “*pro navigantibus et peregrinantibus*”. This merging of Saint Patrick, seafaring and colonization will be developed more significantly in the later stages of *Finnegans Wake*.

⁷⁵ Joyce’s focus on China throughout the *Wake* may be traced to a 26 July 1927 letter he writes to Weaver concerning the fact that the Chinese have “no record of a deluge”.

patterns and instincts throughout the animal kingdom (inclusive of humans). The role of the hunt in the *Wake* is influenced by the Phoenix Park, originally established as a royal hunting ground (McCullen in Fujita 71),⁷⁶ and Joyce uses this relationship between hunting and land to articulate concerns about the politics of land use as well.

The histories of “hunting” and of animal life are inextricable. Before there was religion, or villages, or language, or politics, there was hunting, for the simple fact that animal life needs to sustain itself through eating (excluding, obviously, herbivores). “Hunting” primarily means “the action or practice of chasing game or other wild animals, either for profit or sport” (“Hunting”, Def. 1a), but also means “the chasing of their prey by animals” (“Hunting, Def. 1b) and has adopted the metaphorical implication of “the action of chasing, pursuing, or searching” (“Hunting”, Def. 1d). Depending on the environment and its particular foodstuffs, hunting decided who lived and who died; it is a basic mechanism of natural selection. The successful hunter inevitably grew stronger, had more children, and was envied by other less able hunters, leading to the formation of regional hierarchies and power struggles. Contemporary use of the word “hunt” with the connotations of “pursuit” or “search” retain the primary definition of the act, and the enduring popularity of hunting as a sport preserves the memory of these instincts.

Hunting is a topic addressed by almost all disciplines as the act of hunting, in addition to raising central questions about what it means to be “human”, is also politically, philosophically, ethically, mythologically, anthropologically, ecologically, historically and theologically charged. From David Hume to Freud’s *Totem and Taboo*,⁷⁷ to any recent issue of *Field and Stream*, hunting is a widely debated topic; in some contexts, hunting is “primitive” and regressive, while in others it is a mark of wealth and nobility. The impulse to chase and to kill is one humans share with all other animals, and this fact is used to both support and condemn hunting as “sport”. Hume extols hunting, pairing it with the practice of philosophy as “two passions” united by the necessary interaction of mind and body (*Philosophical Works* 2: 208-209). For Hume, the unifying factor is the act of pursuit; the kill is just an afterthought. A more recent comprehensive study of hunting is José Ortega y

⁷⁶ For more information on the history of the Phoenix Park, see John A. McCullen’s *An Illustrated History of the Phoenix Park: Landscape and Management to 1880* (Dublin: Celtic Press, 2009) and Brendan Nolan’s *Phoenix Park: A History and Guidebook* (Raheny, Dublin: Liffey Press, 2006).

⁷⁷ Freud uses the “hunt” to describe a characteristic of “primitive” peoples (2) and to discuss the restrictions placed upon totems (i.e., the rule that the totem of a particular clan cannot be killed or eaten) (104).

Gasset's 1942 *Meditations on Hunting*,⁷⁸ wherein he explores the universality of this desire in human history and argues that early men, the "hominoids", "the most ancient that we have glimpsed, did not invent hunting but rather received it from their prehuman past, free from that which people call reason and to which they so glibly refer, as if it were a very clear matter" (58). He defines the hunt as a type of natural creation of species hierarchy, focusing on the idea of possession: "Hunting is what an animal does to take possession, dead or alive, of some other being that belongs to a species basically inferior to his own" (62).⁷⁹ The ideas of hunting as "free of reason" and revolving on "possession" also relate directly to the unruly spaces where the hunt is traditionally enacted, such as the establishment of Royal Forests for the king's hunts.

Ortega y Gasset also explains that hunting has changed little throughout the entirety of human history (58) and that "throughout universal history, from Sumeria and Acadia, Assyria and the First Empire of Egypt, up until the present unraveling, there have always been men, many men, from the most varied social conditions, who dedicated themselves to hunting" (30). Like "Tristan and Isolde", the narrative of the hunt recurs throughout all cultures and all time periods. Matt Cartmill's *A View to a Death in the Morning: Hunting and Nature Through History* traces the cultural role of hunting from Ancient Greece to the present, seeking to answer fundamental questions about the role hunting has played in environmental degradation, imperialism, and, on the larger scale, the evils enacted by humanity. His chapters on hunting in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are useful for providing a context for what "hunting" implied, culturally and socially, during the Modernist period.⁸⁰ Hunting was slowly becoming stigmatized as the late nineteenth and early twentieth

⁷⁸ Other recent studies of hunting include Jan E. Dizard's *Going Wild: Hunting, Animal Rights, and the Contested Meaning of Nature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), Daniel Justin Herman's *Hunting and the American Imagination* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 2001), Ted Kerasote's *Bloodties: Nature, Culture, and the Hunt* (London, New York and Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1993), and James A. Swan's *The Sacred Art of Hunting: Myths, Legends, and the Modern Mythos* (Wisconsin: Willow Creek Press, 2000).

⁷⁹ However, Ortega y Gasset also discusses the need to *not* have this boundary become too definite. He explains that as technology developed and killing became easier, man "imposed more and more limitations on himself as the animal's rival in order to leave it free to practice its wily defenses, in order to avoid making the prey and the hunter excessively unequal" (59).

⁸⁰ It is a well-known fact that Ernest Hemingway was an avid hunter, and a recent collection edited by Sean Hemingway, titled *Hemingway on Hunting*, provides valuable insight into the attitudes towards hunting during what we now call the Modernist period. Additionally, Kevin Maier's "Hemingway's Hunting: An Ecological Reconsideration" (*The Hemingway Review* 25.2 (2006): 119-122) provides a useful example of an ecocritical critique of the Modernist period. P.T. Whelan has also written an essay on D.H. Lawrence and hunting, "The Hunting Metaphor in *The Fox* and Other Works" (*D.H. Lawrence Review* 21.3 (1989): 275-290).

centuries brought the dawn of modern animal welfare and environmental protection movements, but conversely, Cartmill explains in his preface how Darwinism legitimized hunting, imperialism and capitalism during the Victorian period, united through themes of “struggle”, “survival” and “competition” (xii). However, this divided approach to the killing of other animals for sport is indicative of the Victorian period; the edification of hunting and the admonishment of hunting go together hand-in-hand. Due to the influence of evolution, psychoanalysis, ethology, anthropology, and the declining power of the British Empire, hunting acquired an even more complex status during the Modernist period.

According to David Evans in his *A History of Nature Conservation in Britain*, hunting with hounds became an increasingly popular pastime during the reign of King John (1199-1216), shortly after the Norman invasion of Ireland (15-16). In Ireland during the early twentieth century, the enduring relationship between hunting and the Anglo-Irish complicated this relationship even more, a debate still prevalent today in relation to the banning of stag hunting in the country.⁸¹ However, the importance of hunting in Irish culture and literature also pre-dates the Anglo-Irish. Oona Frawley, in *Irish Pastoral*, looks at hunting through the literature of the *fian*, the warrior tribes of Ireland led by Fionn MacCool. The *fian*, though living in an organized society, still *chose* to live as hunters, a detail that would have confounded many early twentieth century anthropologists. Frawley argues that hunting “can be seen as a primeval, basic way of life that existed primarily when humankind had not yet mastered settled agriculture”, and that the choice of the *fian* to hunt “tells us that they are *consciously* attempting to create an existence in nature” (11). To the *fian*, the hunt, Frawley explains, “is a royal endeavour reliant on cultural resources and domesticated and trained – not wild – animals” (12), implying, in Jean Baudrillard’s terms, a simulation of the hunt. There is no need to hunt, the hunter is not actually pursuing a wild animal but an animal bred for the specific purpose of being hunted, and the space being hunted in is not a wild space, but a highly regulated area of land designed to maximize the realistic appearance of the hunt.

In the next section of *Finnegans Wake* drafted, Joyce aligns King George IV with the *fian* through hunting, enacted in a space where nature and culture, the “primitive” and the “civilised” intersect. Harrison, in his *Forests: The Shadow of*

⁸¹ Cf. “Stag Hunting Ban Debated in Dáil”. *RTÉ News*. 25 June 2010. Web. 24 September 2011. <<http://www.rte.ie/news/2010/0624/hunting.html>>.

Civilization argues that “[t]he hunt ritualizes and reaffirms the king’s ancient nature as civilizer and conqueror of the land. His forests are sanctuaries where the royal chase may re-enact, in a purely symbolic way, the historical conquest of the wilderness” (74). The setting of the hunt in Phoenix Park, an organized, planned “wilderness”, further corroborates the implications of these two versions of the hunt. In this context, the king is also put on the same plain as the *fian*, levelling these two contrasting structures of authority.

The association between the king and the hunt also parallels other relationships in English and Anglo-Irish society, such as the restrictions on land ownership of the Penal Laws and the relationship between landlord and tenant. In *The Country and the City*, Raymond Williams argues for the similarity between the establishment of parks and the actions of landlords: both attempt to make “nature move to an arranged design” (124). The park is established as an isolated, separated space for the preservation and maintenance of “prey”. Often stocked with game, the hunting “park” pretends to recreate the dynamic present in an uncontrolled natural space, but this is an illusion maintained for the upholding of power. In Williams’ Marxist discourse, the landlord re-enforces his/her power over the designated space through fear, a modern economic redefinition of the “hunt”.

The first revisions of the “Tristan and Isolde” sketch bring the introduction of this theme, as the relationships between the three central figures in the story can be characterised by a “hunt” or a “pursuit”. A seemingly simple addition of “from the Curragh”,⁸² referring to the famous centre for horse racing in County Kildare, incorporates Williams’ link between parks and landlords into the “Tristan and Isolde” story. A seventeenth-century account of Kildare, from the Ordnance Survey papers now held at the Royal Irish Academy, describes the Curragh as a place where all “the nobility and gentry of the kingdom” came for “hawking and hunting” (*Proceedings* 353). The relationship between the *fian* and hunting was redefined after the Norman invasion; once representative of the heroism of an ancient Celtic race, hunting became emblematic of England’s authority over Ireland. At this stage in the *Wake*, hunting is a useful subject as it provides an illustration of English dominion over Irish land and becomes a significant point of departure for Joyce’s inclusion of the politics of land in the *Wake*.

⁸² BL 47481-30, JJA 56: 72, FW 387.1.

Joyce was not a hunter, though his admiration for Hemingway,⁸³ Modernism's most famous hunter, surely led to a heightened awareness of the subject.⁸⁴ The appearance of "hunting" in the *Wake* arose directly through a piece on "Reynard the Fox" from a 1922 issue of the *Quarterly Review*. This particular issue of the *Quarterly Review* was obtained because of the exceptionally critical article on *Ulysses* by Shane Leslie, who, according to Geert Lernout, was himself the son of an Anglo-Irish landlord (164), which may have influenced Joyce's alignment of hunting with Anglo-Irish landlords. From this, it can be inferred that Joyce aligns himself with the figure of the fox, as well as the Irish land and the Irish peasantry against the force of English rule. The name "Reynard", the red fox anthropomorphized as a "trickster" figure, is now the French for fox, "*renard*", but likely derives from both the French and the Germanic words for *to reign*, *règner* and *regieren* ("Renard"),⁸⁵ etymologically linking the fox with monarchical rule and disturbing the hierarchical relationship.⁸⁶ In VI.B.10, one finds two full pages, totalling seventeen entries, from this October "Reynard" article. There are a handful of other hunt-related entries scattered across the notebook, including some that derive from a 1922 *Daily Mail*, a technique indicative of Joyce's style of note taking.⁸⁷ The issue of the *Daily Mail* whence these entries originate is from November 1922, suggesting that Joyce continued to be interested in hunting after the initial chance encounter in the *Quarterly Review* and recorded any possibly related terms and phrases.

The first typescript of "Mamalujo" and "Tristan and Isolde" (September 1923), along with the first drafts of "Here Comes Everybody" and of I.4 present the

⁸³ The two first met in 1921 through Sherwood Anderson (JJ 515). Ellmann provides an account of one instance wherein Joyce praises Hemingway while speaking to Ole Vinding in Denmark (JJ 695).

⁸⁴ In a letter Hemingway wrote to Bernard Berenson, he described a conversation he had with Joyce. Joyce told Hemingway that "he was afraid his writing was too suburban and that maybe he should get around a bit and see the world" to which Nora had said "Ah, Jim could do with a spot of that lion hunting". Joyce then replied, "The thing we must face is that I couldn't see the lion" (789).

⁸⁵ According to the *Online Etymology Dictionary*, the French "*renard*" derives from "Reginhard", the name of the fox in old Northern European fables which, originally meant "strong in council" or "wily" ("Renard").

⁸⁶ Etymologically, there is also a connection between "to rain" and "to reign", a pun that finds itself present throughout the *Wake* and perhaps, most notably, in the Prankquean episode of I.1.

⁸⁷ The *Daily Mail* is not a source directly related to hunting, but if hunting was an interest of Joyce's during the time he was looking at the *Daily Mail*, he would record any related terms, regardless of context, building up the necessary vocabulary. This technique succeeded in building up the necessary vocabulary by providing vocabulary about the subject in different contexts, i.e., Joyce could have found an article on the history of hunting, on a hunting festival, on a hunting jacket, on the dogs used in hunting, on a court case wherein the victim was "hunted", on someone "hunting" for a perfect gift, or someone "hunting" for a mate, etc. A lot of the intertextuality in *Finnegans Wake* derives simply from Joyce being an open-minded reader and note-taker.

first appearances of the hunt in *Finnegans Wake*.⁸⁸ In the first draft of “Here Comes Everybody” (September 1923), Joyce introduces the royal hunt, uniting it with Adam’s “naming” of the creatures in Genesis. In the first drafts of this sketch (the first draft and the first two fair copies) a king, a composite of King George IV, the “sailor king,”⁸⁹ William IV, and William the Conqueror, the initial progenitor of the English Forest Laws, arrives with his “royal hunting party”⁹⁰ in Chapelizod. This composite king confronts the male protagonist, H.C.E., “the G.O.G. (grand old gardener)”⁹¹ who was out “following his plough for rootles in the rear garden”.⁹² HCE’s surname derives from his response to the king, who asks him if he “had been engaged in lobstertrapping”. HCE replies: “No, my liege, I was only a cotching of them bluggy earwigs”,⁹³ resulting in the king’s bestowal of the name “Earwicker”.

The rear garden of the Earwicker household extends to the Phoenix Park, and this re-enactment of Adam’s “naming” of the creatures in the first chapter of Genesis⁹⁴ further demonstrates that Phoenix Park was intended to be a modern Edenic space in the *Wake* from the earliest stages. Adam’s “naming” of all the earthly creatures has often been blamed as the source of many of the world’s evils; Karla Armbruster, under the influence of Ursula LeGuin’s “She Unnames Them”, refers to this Biblical story as “one of the dominant myths grounding Western culture’s anthropocentrism” (Gaard and Murphy 119). Derrida describes this “naming” in *The Animal That Therefore I Am* as a kind of sacrifice, relating this story to that of Cain and Abel. Derrida explains that Abel’s animal sacrifice derives from God’s granting Adam the freedom to name the animals, and that this transfers to the rhetoric of Cain being “hunted”, “tracked” or “persecuted” after his enactment of the “second original sin” (42-43). HCE is both namer and named; the “Adam” role is also transferred onto him, for his name derives from a suppression of nature, the ridding of earwigs from his attempt at maintaining an ordered natural space, his garden. Conversely, the

⁸⁸ A letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver from Paris from 17 October 1923 reveals that “hunting” was on Joyce’s mind; Joyce writes that “[t]he wild hunt still continues in the Paris jungle” (LI 205) in reference to flat-hunting. In VI.B.5, Joyce took three pages of notes from a story by Chateaubriand called “*Les Chasseurs*”, or “The Hunters” (VI.B.5: 135-138).

⁸⁹ FW 31.11.

⁹⁰ BL 47472-98r, JJA 45: 4, FDV 62.14-15, FW 31.2.

⁹¹ BL 47472-97, JJA 45: 002, FW 30.13. From VI.B.2: 14, “grand old gardener”.

⁹² BL 47472-98r, JJA 45: 5, FDV 62.6-7, FW 30.15-16.

⁹³ BL 47472-97, JJA 45: 2, FDV 62.18-19, FW 31.7-11.

⁹⁴ “And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air; and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field” (Gen. 1: 19-20).

king's "naming" of HCE has placed him in the same position as the animals which the king is entering the park to hunt.

Throughout the *Wake*, Joyce uses "spaces" such as woods, forests and parks to further explore the relationship between nature, hunting, kingship and imperialism. Early distinctions between these types of landscape were defined by John Manwood in his 1592 *Treatise of the Forest Laws*.⁹⁵ These particular Forest Laws were introduced by William the Conqueror, whose passion for hunting altered the English landscape dramatically through the establishment of the "New Forest". In his history of England, Hume paid particular attention to the ways in which the king established this forest:

There was one pleasure, to which William, as well as all the Normans, and ancient Saxons, was extremely addicted; and that was hunting: But this pleasure he indulged more at the expense of his unhappy subjects, whose interests he always disregarded, than to the loss or diminution of his own revenue. Not contented with those large forests, which the former kings possessed in all parts of England; he resolved to make a new forest near Winchester, the usual place of his residence: And for that purpose, he laid waste the country in Hampshire for an extent of thirty miles, expelled the inhabitants from their houses, seized their property, even demolished churches and convents, and made the sufferers no compensation for the injury. At the same time, he enacted new laws, by which he prohibited all his subjects from hunting any of his forests, and rendered the penalties much more severe than ever had been inflicted for such offenses. The killing of a deer or boar, or even of a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes. (241)

From Hume's passage, there is a clear relationship between the king's treatment of the landscape, its animals, and his subjects.

Arising from the references to kingship, and particularly to William the Conqueror in I.2 (in addition to his presence as a note in VI.B.10: 21, "William the

⁹⁵ In this text, Manwood goes to great lengths trying to articulate what constitutes a park, what constitutes a chase, a warren, a forest etc. A park, Manwood writes, is largely the same as a chase, except a park is enclosed (49). A park is a space in which animals become property (202), and in which any man (unless decreed otherwise by the king) is allowed to kill any wild animal (149). The construction of a park can only be granted by the king (442), but a park can exist within an already established forest (153).

Conk”) and his “Forest Laws”, the next drafts address the relationship between law and nature. A note on VI.B.3: 107 reads “tree murderer = woodsman”, referring to laws concerning the felling of trees. David Hickie’s *Native Trees and Forests of Ireland* explains how in Irish Brehon Law there were specific sanctions for felling trees, much like the present Forestry Act, and that Brehon Law divided trees into four distinct categories, each of which had different rules for felling.⁹⁶ Three specific terms relating to the management of forest and parkland can be found in I.2, with “woodwards”, “regarders”, and “vert”.⁹⁷ The term “woodward” originates in the eleventh century and described the office of managing woodland and growing timber (“Woodward”, def. 1). In the nineteenth century, this title was used in the Ancient Order of Foresters, an organization that later evolved into the Irish National Foresters, a nationalist-leaning organization with no actual connection to forestry. A “regarder” was also an officer responsible for the management of forest-land, but this term was Anglo-Norman (“Regarder”, def. 1). “Vert” is either “green vegetation growing in a wood or forest and capable of serving as cover for deer” (“Vert”, def. 1a) or “the right to cut green trees or shrubs in a forest” (“Vert”, def. 2). The first definition derives from Manwood’s 1592 treatise, which also appears in I.4, with HCE trying to hide from his pursuers “close in covert” (FW 97.14). Overall, the hunt in *Finnegans Wake* centers around the Phoenix Park that serves as a space to combine the Book of Genesis, the history of English imperialism, criticism of *Ulysses*, human manipulations of nature, forest management, invasion, the idea of “naming”, instinct, and the intersections between the human and the non-human. The idea of HCE as a “hunted animal” because of his “crime” universalizes and eternalizes the crime and aids in the integration of several different narratives in *Finnegans Wake*.

The Letter

Another development at this stage of *Finnegans Wake* is that of “The Letter” and the corresponding themes of communication, interpretation, writing and obfuscation. From its first appearance, the Letter is an analogue to the *Wake* itself, and the difficulty of its interpretation is emphasized through the focus on the

⁹⁶ An excellent source of comprehensive information about the relationship between trees and law is H.M. FitzPatrick’s *Trees and the Law* (Naas, Kildare: Incorporated Law Society of Ireland, 1985), which goes into detail concerning the association between Irish trees and the Irish legal system.

⁹⁷ FW 34.25.

uncovering of the Letter in the “dump”. Like the “grand old historic pile” of “Roderick O’Conor”, the earth in which the Letter was buried tells as much of a story as the Letter itself. The burial of the Letter paralleled work Joyce was also doing on I.4 and on the burial of HCE; this topic of “burial”, particularly when conceived in terms of HCE’s various names and accusations being “buried” with him, contributes to the way in which the Letter is discovered in I.5.

Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson’s *Skeleton Key*, though often unreliable, accurately refers to the beginning of I.4 as “the prehistory of HCE” (Campbell and Robinson 81), and as I.4 develops, this prehistory expands to encompass a kind of prehistory of Ireland. The first draft of I.4 (also composed in November 1923)⁹⁸ introduces two new figures, Kate Strong and “Festy King” (Shaun), as well as the third Viconian institution, the burial of the dead (here, of HCE). The second paragraph of the first draft reads:

The coffin was to come in handy later & in this way. A number of public bodies made him a present of a grave which nobody had been able to dig much less occupy, it being all rock. This he blasted and carefully lined the result with bricks & mortar, encouraging public bodies to present him over & above that with a stone slab.⁹⁹

HCE peculiarly creates his own grave by “blasting” through the rock and building a structure in the resulting hole with “bricks & mortar”,¹⁰⁰ which are also evocative of HCE building a wall or a house. The “stone slab”, along with “the other spring offensive”,¹⁰¹ in the next paragraphs, aligns HCE with Christ and prefigures an eventual resurrection.¹⁰²

The Christian imagery of the “spring offensive” continues in I.4§1 as Joyce returns to the Phoenix Park as the location of the “original sin” and to HCE’s “rise” and “fall”. The Phoenix Park itself was walled in in 1663 to ensure that the deer and fowl intended for hunting were not poached (Nolan 7), and extending from the discussion of HCE and the hunt, HCE’s grave/wall is another representation of the

⁹⁸ Bill Cadbury cites VI.B.11 as being used for additions to the first draft of I.4§A.

⁹⁹ BL 47471b-8v, JJA 46: 3, FDV 75.6-11, FW 76.11-77.25.

¹⁰⁰ The designation of “bricks & mortar” also evokes the building of a wall, casting HCE as a great patriarchal figure, as the construction of a wall is often represented as a first action in the establishment of a civilisation and the demarcation of a city’s boundaries.

¹⁰¹ BL 47471b-8, JJA 46: 4, FDV 65.12, FW 78.15.

¹⁰² The “other spring offensive” line is also seen as a renewal in Bill Cadbury’s essay “The March of a Maker: Chapters I.2-4” (77). The Christ imagery is also noted in Campbell and Robinson who write of I.4, that “[o]ne gets the impression that HCE’s trial and incarceration are intended to symbolize the crucifixion and entombment of Christ” (SK 79n1).

power of his accusers (and of Joyce's own critics). This connection between HCE's grave, Christianity and the Phoenix Park becomes clearer as the draft continues. Joyce specifies that the events in question occur "on that resurfaced spot",¹⁰³ telling the reader that the spot itself was buried, and has just now "resurfaced", and also implying that the history of what had happened on that particular spot had been buried along with the spot itself. "Resurfaced" implies a Christ-like resurrection, but also applies to the prior description of Kate Strong, who

[L]eft, as scavengers will, a filth dump near the dogpond in the park on which fossil bootmarks, elbowdints, breechbowls, kneecaves & fingerprints were all successively found of a very involved description.¹⁰⁴

Joyce explains that the physical land in the Phoenix Park has preserved past events and records of earlier people, as all the artefacts discovered are unequivocally human. The "dogpond in the park" is the Dog Pond, otherwise known as the Citadel Pond, alongside Chesterfield Avenue in the Phoenix Park.¹⁰⁵ According to the Office of Public Works Ireland, the body responsible for overseeing the Phoenix Park, this pond is "partly located on the site of the former Star Fort (also referred to as Lord Wharton's fortifications) from the early 18th century" ("The Phoenix Park" 101). The Phoenix Park's landscape is replete with remnants of its past; it is a repository of its own historical waste. Though there have been earlier intimations of the "dump" (such as the "grand old historic pile" this is the *Wake*'s first explicit reference to the "dump").¹⁰⁶

Before continuing with the dump, the next element of "the Letter" to discuss is the focus on weather that develops in the first drafts of I.5. Continuing with the earlier discussion of weather as a twentieth-century version of Vico's "providence", Joyce may also rely on weather heavily in the *Wake* because it is one natural force that had thus far resisted technology. Though recent attempts have been made at technologically controlling weather, ideas such as "cloud seeding" (noted in the final

¹⁰³ BL 47471b-17, JJA 46: 5, FDV 75.27, FW 81.12-13.

¹⁰⁴ BL 7471b-17, JJA 46: 5; BL 47471b-24, JJA 46: 15, FDV 75.20-27, FW 80.4-12.

¹⁰⁵ Throughout Sullivan's introduction to *The Book of Kells*, he briefly forays into Christian animal iconography (7-8, 13) as well as non-Christian animal iconography (15). Sullivan explains that "[t]he dog in the Bible had a notoriously evil reputation" (8n) and perhaps, with this in mind, we read the presence of the "dogpond" in the Phoenix Park as a version of the serpent in Eden.

¹⁰⁶ In fact, Bill Cadbury argues that this entire section was intended to be the introduction to "The Letter" and demonstrates this by showing that the revision stages for this piece place it as the beginning of I.5 (HJW 82). As we move into the draft of I.4§2, this link with ALP and "The Letter" becomes clearer.

Finnegans Wake notebook, VI.B.47) were still in their early stages during Joyce's lifetime. In the rapidly changing and uncertain world of the Modernist period, "weather" may have been one thing that seemed still impervious to human interference. References to the weather and climate can be found in all sections of the *Wake*, but I.5 is particularly replete with weather as it plays a considerable role in the Letter's composition, delivery and eventual unearthing.

The sketch known as "The Revered Letter" (I.5§2), ALP's letter defending the character of HCE, was the first section of I.5 to be drafted (December 1923). In the first draft, Joyce ends the Letter in the same fog that pervades I.3: "Hoping the clouds with soon dissipate you will enjoy perusal and completely".¹⁰⁷ With the composition of I.5§1, 3 and 4 shortly following I.5§2, this cloudy atmosphere remains and the weather conditions surrounding The Letter and its composition take precedence. Key examples of this include the fact that the letter may have been written while being "rained upon or blown around, by a regular racer from the soil",¹⁰⁸ as well as an addition of another "cloudy" to the line, "Has anyone, it might be with profit some ^cloudy^ evening be quietly suggested, ever looked sufficiently longly upon a stamped addressed envelope?"¹⁰⁹ Developing from the "cloud" of witnesses obfuscating the story of HCE (I.3) and the "winds" carrying Hosty's ballad (I.2),¹¹⁰ the letter's composition during meteorological recalcitrance is appropriate. On the second draft of I.5§2, Joyce adds one more "cloud" addition, "we think of him looking at us yet as if to pass away in a cloud", as well as another addition linking writing with weather: "once you are balladproof you are unpercable to haily, icy and

¹⁰⁷ BL 47471b-33, JJA 46: 259, FDV 83, FW 453.30-31.

¹⁰⁸ BL 47471b-17, JJA 46: 5, FDV 84, FW 108.5.

¹⁰⁹ BL 47471b-29, JJA 46: 232, FDV 85, FW 109.1-8.

¹¹⁰ A note from Joyce's reading of Jules Michelet's *Vico* in VI.B.12, "enemy = stranger" (15), may provide some insight into the meaning of "Hosty" in I.2, as well as provide a key to a recurring play on words in the *Wake*. The context of the note is as follows: "Cet petites sociétés étaient essentiellement guerrières (polis, polemos). *Etranger (hostis)*, dans leur langage, est synonyme d'*ennemi*" (Michelet 295 qtd. Treip 70). ("These small communities were essentially military. Foreigner (*hostis*), in their language, is synonymous with *enemy*". [Translation mine]). Accordingly, it seems one of the reasons for the name "Hosty" in I.2 is this element of foreignness. In Irish, foreigner is *gall*, and from here, Joyce begins to develop a relationship between *gall*, gale and Gael. This relationship may also help to explain the connection between Hosty and wind. In the lead up to Hosty's ballad, wind becomes an important medium for the transmittance of the ballad: "This on a slip of blue paper headed by a woodcut soon fluttered to the rose of the winds from lane to lattice". The wind is a force of both creation and destruction, and it causes the message on this blue paper to be separated from its origin and subsequent destination, but it also causes the message to be ultimately preserved, albeit in an altered state. The relationship between atmospheric phenomena and the transmitting of messages continues with the next section to be drafted, I.3§1, in November 1923 (FW 48-50.32, 57.16-61.27. Drafted in red-backed notebook). As the reader tries to understand the accusations levelled against HCE, the testimonies are increasingly confusing due to their obfuscation by clouds (BL 47471b-10, JJA 45: 141, FDV 69.1-12, FW 48.05).

missilethroes”.¹¹¹ Here, ballads and treacherous weather are equally harmful. In summary, clouds are invoked as a universal way of confounding visibility and understanding, and the other weather elements (rain, hail, ice, wind) create an unstable atmosphere that conceals the validity of any information surrounding the Letter. In addition to these implications for Joyce’s use of “weather”, the “coldness” throughout the passages relating to the Letter’s composition, transmission, transportation, burial and discovery may refer to the coldness of the universe before creation, before the sun. This astral view provides a necessary macrocosm for the everyday weather patterns Joyce uses in this section of the *Wake*.

The opening passage of the first draft of I.5§2 describes not only the location but also emphasises the cold weather conditions in which the letter itself was discovered:¹¹²

About that hen, first. Midwinter was in the offing when a poorly clad Shiverer, a ^{the} ~~mere~~ ^{merest} bantling, observed a cold fowl behaving strangely on the fatal dump at the spot called the orangery when in the course of its deeper demolition it ^{unexpectedly} threw up certain fragments of orange peel, the remnant of an outdoor meal of some unknown sunseeker *illico* in a mistridden past. What child but little Kevin would ever ~~in such a scene despondful weather~~ ^{in the despondful atmosphere of such biting cold} have found a motive for the future ~~sainthood~~ ^{saintity} by euchring the discovery of the Ardagh chalice by another innocent on the seasands near the scene of the massacre of most of the jacobiters.¹¹³

The source for some of this material is J.M. Flood’s *Ireland: Its Saints and Scholars*, where Flood provides an account of the discovery of two of Ireland’s most famous artefacts: “A child playing on the sea-shore near Drogheda found the Tara Brooch, and a boy digging potatoes near the old Rath of Ardagh in Limerick found the Ardagh Chalice” (Flood 112). The “jacobiters” and the proximity of Drogheda to the Boyne explain the inclusion of the “orangery” and the “orange peel”, and also adds another layer of the geographical preservation of history. The Shem-figure is cast as

¹¹¹ BL 47471b-37, JJA 46: 263, FDV 281, FW.615.22; FW 616.31-33.

¹¹² Simplified, meaning that not all the revisions are transcribed here, only the ones relevant to this argument. This “weather” element is also noted by Mikio Fuse in his chapter on I.5 in *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake* (HJW 115), but no conjecture is set forth concerning the purpose of this coldness.

¹¹³ BL 47471b-28v & 26v, JJA 46: 235-236, FDV 86, FW 110.22-111.4.

the boy who found the Ardagh Chalice, and the Shaun-figure, Kevin, is hoping to find another artefact to outdo his brother.

In subsequent drafts, the additions of “standlooper” and “beachwalker” also link this to the Stephen of “Proteus”, reading history in the sands and examining the decaying matter washing ashore. For Stephen, sand is where “tide and wind have silted” (U 3.298), where flux ceases and where memory becomes history. The link between this scene in the *Wake* and the language Joyce uses in “Proteus” is important to note, as “Proteus” is crucial to an understanding of Joyce’s portrayal of nature prior to *Finnegans Wake*. A brief detour to discuss “Proteus” will help provide a background to this scene in the *Wake*. Upon showing Frank Budgen “Proteus”, Joyce asked him “You catch the drift of the thing?” and continued with the explanation that, “It’s the struggle with Proteus. Change is the theme. Everything changes – sea, sky, man, animals. The words change too” (49).¹¹⁴ Stuart Gilbert notes this relationship between nature and language in “Proteus”, arguing that “language is always in a flux of becoming, ebb or flow” and that “by the study of language we can often diagnose the processes of change operating in the world about us; for the written signs remain” (129). The fact that the discovery of the Letter in the *Wake* and the “Proteus” episode take place on the seashore is also an important feature as the seashore, obviously, is a transitional space. Sand becomes a microcosm for the flux of history as Stephen walks along the strand in “Proteus” with “the grainy sand [which] had gone from under his feet” (U 3.147). The “seasands” of I.5 emphasizes this intermediary placement of sand itself, existing both in the sea and along the shore.

Using “Proteus” to inform a discussion of I.5 strengthens the role of geography in the discovery of the Letter and as well as the relationship between nature and language in Joyce. In “Proteus”, Stephen’s acceptance of his teeth as “shells” (U 3.495) and of his foregrounding of the “seaspawn and seawrack, the nearing tide, that rusty boot”, in the “signatures” (U 3.2-3) he is reading provides a clear correlation to the discovery of the Letter buried along the seashore in a “dump”. Joining this with the context provided by Flood’s book, the greatest artefacts of Irish history are, on the one hand, detritus, garbage (the word “Mist” also means “trash” in German). On the other hand, they are found embedded in the landscape, and the fact

¹¹⁴ Joyce gives a similar explanation in reference to Stephen’s “I am almosting it” (U 3.366-367), telling Budgen: “That’s all in the Protean character of the thing. Everything changes: land, water, dog, time of day. Parts of speech change, too. Adverb becomes verb” (qtd. Budgen 55).

that what appears is a “sheet of letterpaper”¹¹⁵ creates the sense that within the land, quite literally, history lies buried.¹¹⁶ During this period, Joyce was also using Sullivan’s *The Book of Kells* as a source for VI.B.6,¹¹⁷ and the note “Stolen 1006 / found in bog – gold cover” (VI.B.6: 56), concerning the gospel of “Colm Cille”, though not directly transferred into the drafts, unquestionably supports Joyce’s placement of the Letter in the ground and of the alignment of the Letter with *The Book of Kells*.

Then, Joyce follows with a reference to the “heated residence” and to the “orange-flavoured mound”.¹¹⁸ The “mound” is a “heated residence” because of the biological process of decomposition (which accompanies the burial of almost anything) occurring in the midden heap. The mound is an “orange-flavoured mound” because of the Orangemen and specifically, because of Sir Robert Peel, nicknamed “Orange Peel” by Daniel O’Connell (D’Alton, “Daniel O’Connell”). Before Irish Independence, anti-Unionists would gather in the Phoenix Park and eat oranges to agitate the Unionists. The orange peels buried in this mound in the Phoenix Park also tell the story of the Irish struggle for Independence, further supporting the idea of history lying “buried” below the earth’s surface. The orangepeels would be emitting heat as they decomposed in the ground, and the equation of the orangepeels with the Letter suggests that the Letter’s decomposition (as, after all, it is written on paper made of trees) provides the “heat” of the “heated residence” that is in stark contrast to the cold, icy conditions under which the Letter has been discovered.

Having established the Letter’s presence, Joyce next drafts the sketch known as “The Delivery of the Letter” (I.5§4, drafted from December 1923 – January 1924). The “Delivery of the Letter” became the basis for Book III, and the relationships between I.5, I.7, I.8 and Book III that develop at this point in the composition are of greatest consequence for the maturation of ecological themes in the *Wake*. Continuing with the preoccupation about the atmospheric conditions in which the Letter was both written and discovered, this sketch is largely concerned with Shaun’s attempt to deliver the Letter in a snowstorm: “The unerring zeal with which amid a blizzard with low visibility and on everevenground he sorted & secured for

¹¹⁵ BL 47471b-26v, JJA 46: 236, FDV 86, FW 111.9.

¹¹⁶ In Howarth’s 1911 *Geography of Ireland*, he cites the many “magnificent gold ornaments of great antiquity, which have been accidentally dug up in various localities” that are on display in the National Museum in Dublin (190).

¹¹⁷ For a basic introduction to Joyce’s use of this text, see Atherton, *The Books at the Wake* (62-67).

¹¹⁸ BL 47471b-25v; JJA 46: 238, FDV 86, FW 111.26-33.

immediate home delivery all packages”.¹¹⁹ Details of the Letter materialize; its lines run from East to West and from North to South, these “ruled lines along which the traced words can run, march, walk, stumble in comparative safety seem to have been first of all drawn in a pretty checker by using lampblack & a blackthorn”.¹²⁰ Found in a sort of compost heap, the Letter is also written with organic matter: lampblack,¹²¹ or “soot”, as ink, and a blackthorn branch. This also appears with the addition “for which some blame the cudgel and more blame the soot”,¹²² referring to legendary accounts of the writing of giants in Celtic myth. With these details, Joyce incorporates Sullivan’s focus upon the integration of “nature” into the *The Book of Kells* both materially (in terms of the ink and of the vellum upon which it was written) and ornamentally (with regard to the various leaf and animal designs).¹²³

“Such crossing”, the draft of I.5§4 continues, “is antechristian though the explanation may be geographical quite as easily as domestic economic”.¹²⁴ “Antechristian” could mean either “opposed” to Christianity or “before” Christianity, and both meanings are plausible for this passage. One detail that this line may refer to is Sullivan’s description of the Celts professing an “extraordinary aptitude for picking up ideas from the different people with whom war or commerce brought them into contact” (x) and his subsequent examples, translated by Joyce to “spiral from Scandinavia” and “amber route” (VI.B.6: 62). The transmission of the information, of the “Letter”, of the writing of the *Book of Kells* is partially “antechristian” (in the sense of both “ante” and “anti-”) in that a significant amount of the artwork derives from Celtic pagan influences (“domestic”), but also derives from Celtic interactions with other cultures (“economic”).¹²⁵ Together, this implies *oikos*, the Greek word

¹¹⁹ BL 47471b-34v, JJA 46: 293, FDV 90.15-18, Not in FW.

¹²⁰ BL 47471b-40v, JJA 46: 299, FDV 87.12, FW 114.10.

¹²¹ Cf. Sullivan 47.

¹²² BL 47471b-58v, JJA 46: 317, FW119.33-34.

¹²³ For example, in his preface to third edition of *The Book of Kells*, Sullivan discusses how animals are a main feature of early Irish art and how the presence of certain birds and animals helps pinpoint the provenance of certain manuscripts (ix). He also enumerates the “patterns derived from natural forms – foliage, birds, reptiles, fish, quadrupeds, imaginary or monstrous animals, and man” (15) present in *The Book of Kells*. Sullivan also offers an apposite example of the interdependence of nature and writing, describing the “general scheme in the foliage panels on the crosses is the long established one of the undulating scroll” (x), with a direct correspondence between the scroll and the leaves (both of a tree and of material to write upon) which compose it. Cf. Joyce’s note “trefoil” (VI.B.6: 62).

¹²⁴ BL 47471b-41v, JJA 46: 298, FDV 87.13-14, FW 114.11-12.

¹²⁵ The “domestic economic” also applies to Jean François Lyotard, who, in his essay “Oikos”, chosen for inclusion in Lawrence Coupe’s formative *Green Studies Reader*, explains that the word ecology is “made up of oikos and logos” (qtd. 135). The “oikos” is the domestic, the private – the female voice, the buried letter, or as Lyotard describes it, the “discourse of the secluded” (qtd. 135). Anna Bramwell also provides a take on the development of “ecology” from “oikos” or “oekos”, which she says was

from which “ecology” derives, and which provides the “geographical” explanation, meaning that the influences which did make it to Ireland and into *The Book of Kells* depended largely upon geography. The word “geographical” is changed to “geodetic”,¹²⁶ meaning that it can be used for navigational purposes; i.e., it becomes a map (and perhaps a map to guide Shaun the Postman during the blizzard).

Additionally, in Brehon Law, “blackthorn” was the tree which “heralds spring and guards autumn” (Hickie 32); a “guide” through winter. “Geodetic”, in continuing with the possible cosmic implication of the cold weather, also enlarges the scope of the “mapping” to a planetary level through the mapping of three-dimensional space.

Towards the end of the second draft of I.5§4, one reads of the many holes in the Letter that were actually “provoked by the fork of a professor at the breakfast table, professionally piqued to introduce time into a plane surface by making holes in space”.¹²⁷ On the 1924 fair copy, Joyce changes “time” to “tempo”, which is “time” in Italian, but also “weather” (this is also the same in Spanish, “*tiempo*”, and in French, “*temps*” as the Latin is “*tempus*”). Joyce himself notes this strange correlation in a notebook dating from this period: “*temps = weather*” (VI.B.5: 127).¹²⁸ In French, the definition of “*temps*” in the meteorological sense stresses that it is the “*État de l’atmosphère a un moment donné*” (“*Temps*”, def. 2), that it is the atmospheric condition at a particular moment. This “tempo” line is located towards the end of the draft and draws the sketch together, as “time” is placed here to balance “space”, and “temps” as “weather” helps to reaffirm the importance of the atmospheric conditions in which the letter was delivered and discovered. The play on “time” and “weather” also serves to link the unpredictability of the weather with the ambiguity of historical narratives and the watery history of Mamalujo.¹²⁹ During this

first used by Aristotle to describe the self-sustaining community – nation, tribe or organism (41). She then argues that the first “connection between the meaning of ecology and of economy was made in 1928 by Walter Johnson, biographer of the great eighteenth-century naturalist Gilbert White of Selborne” (41).

¹²⁶ BL 47471b-41v, JJA 46: 298, FDV 87.13, FW 114.15.

¹²⁷ BL 47471b-48v, JJA 46: 312, FW 124.8-12. Cf. “hole in space” (VI.B.6: 63).

¹²⁸ According to *Le Nouveau Petit Robert* the word *temps* acquired its meteorological sense in the twelfth century. In French, the definition for “weather” is much different than it is in English: “*État de l’atmosphère a un moment donné considéré surtout dans son influence sur la vie et l’activité humaines*” (“*Temps*”, def. 2, 2527).

¹²⁹ Sullivan also refers to a theory of Zimmer’s in *The Irish Element in Mediaeval Culture* which is in line with the hydrologically determined history of Mamalujo: “Ireland, secure from invasion in the shelter of the Four Seas, had long been a refuge of timid scholars of Gaul, driven like thistledown before the barbarian blast, and that even in the fifth century the Irish schools were notable” (xii). Repurposing previous economic relationships, Sullivan continues, explaining that “[t]he scholars came by the old trade routes, the three days’ journey from the Loire to Cork – in 550 a ship-load of fifty landed there – or up the Irish Sea to Bangor” (xii).

period Joyce was also reading the work of linguist Otto Jespersen,¹³⁰ and two of his ideas appealed to Joyce's imagination; the first being that the link between sound and word was not entirely arbitrary, and the second being the role of language in the defining of the nation and the individual. Perhaps the juxtaposition of Sullivan and Jespersen in VI.B.6 lead to the addition "thickwelled brogues on him made to suit the Irish people and climate",¹³¹ implying a correlation between speech, climate, and identity. The Irish accent is a result of the environment; the thick "brogues", like the inclement weather of the "Delivery" section, contribute to the difficulty in transmitting the letter.

The presence of the blackthorn tree in relation to the Letter is not only important due to its role in Brehon Law, but also because it continues with the earlier discussion of the sycamores and of the Ogham alphabet. On the fair copy of I.5§4, Joyce adds "more often the arbutus fruit flowering of the cainapple",¹³² deriving from the note "arbutus caithne 2 years Cainapple" (VI.B.6: 61). The term "Cainapple" may seem to be an invention of Joyce's due to the fortuitous combination of Biblical referents, but this note from VI.B.6 actually originates from a small piece titled "By the Way" in the *Freeman's Journal* from 9 January 1924:

The arbutus tree is now displaying its beauty in its native districts of Cork and Kerry... The tree is one of Nature's curiosities, yielding leaf, flower, and fruit at the same time. 'Caithne', its Irish name, suggests two years old, and may have reference to the fact that the fruit takes two years to develop... The 'Cainapple', as it is termed locally, has not a very palatable taste. (qtd. in VI.B.6 8)

The tree in question is commonly known as the Strawberry Tree; its Irish name is *Caithne* and its Latin name is *Arbutus unedo*. In Brehon Law it was classified as a "Shrub" (Fitzpatrick 1985, 1) and is native to Ireland (though now increasingly rare, found almost solely in County Kerry [Hickie 24, 68, 130]). In the context of the *Wake*, this tree is used to express a length of time (less than two years), but its other purpose here, in this passage aligning the Letter with *The Book of Kells*, is due to its

¹³⁰ A fair amount of work has already been done on Jespersen and Joyce, including Wim Van Mierlo's "Neutral Auxiliaries and Universal Idioms: Otto Jespersen in 'Work in Progress,'" *James Joyce: The Study of Languages*, ed. Dirk Van Hulle, *New Comparative Poetics* 6, Brussels: PEI/Peter Lang, 2002, 55-70 as well as his essay in *Genitricksling Joyce*, "Finnegans Wake and the Question of Histry!?" (43-64).

¹³¹ BL 47482b-18b, JJA 57: 38, FW 404.21.

¹³² BL 47473-26, JJA 46: 318, FW 121.10-11.

status as a native Irish tree. The berries of the strawberry tree (along with the mountain ash, juniper, and several others) were used both as ink for the *Book of Kells* and as part of its design. Sullivan provides a catalogue of the inks used to illuminate the manuscript¹³³ that are predominantly Irish in origin, providing another level of self-creation/creation from self.

Joyce famously explained to Weaver in a 16 January 1924 letter that this new chapter would be a “description of Shem-Ham-Cain-Esau etc and his penmanship” (LI 208). This immediately indicts writing (specifically, Shem’s writing of ALP’s letter) as a betrayal, a crime, a violation of nature and of God’s will. In her essay on the composition of I.7, Ingeborg Landuyt points to the line “the arbutus fruitflowerleaf of the cainapple”¹³⁴ as being “a clear precursor of this chapter [I.7]” (HJW 143), focusing primarily on the reference to Cain. Landuyt is right to focus on the figure of Cain, but a more comprehensive examination of the cross-cultural permutations and implications of this myth, as well as an explication of the plants Joyce chooses, will bring more insight to Joyce’s equation of Shem and Cain. According to Samuel H. Hooke, a prominent scholar of comparative religion, the story of Cain and Abel was taken from the traditions of other cultures and artificially grafted onto the Adam and Eve story (122). He provides evidence that the Biblical story of Cain and Abel actually stems from three separate stories. The first “reflects the ancient feud between the desert and the sown land, between the settled tiller of the soil and the pastoral nomad” (123) and is the theme of the Sumerian myth of Dumuzi and Enkimdu. The second relates to the ritual of sacrifice and to the themes of Weston’s *From Ritual to Romance*: “The rejection of the agriculturist’s offering implies a failure of crops, and this calls for some sort of expiatory ritual” (123). Hooke continues, explaining that in the Septuagint, the killing takes place *in* the field, in “the tilled soil, whose infertility has brought about the situation, that the slaying of

¹³³ Sullivan paraphrases the work of Professor Hartley, who has provided the following conclusions concerning the materials used for the ink: “The black is lamp black, or possibly fish-bone black; the bright red is realgar (arsenic disulphide, As₂S₂); the yellow, orpiment (arsenic tersulphide, As₂S₃); the emerald green, malachite; the deep blue, possible lapis-lazuli but owing to its transparency when overlying green, more likely not so [...]”. Then, Hartley concludes that almost all components derive from an Irish source: Malachite, which is green in colour, is found in County Cork and County Limerick; Chrysocolla, which is green to blue in colour, is found in County Cork; Chrome, Hematite and Ochres can be found in County Wicklow and the red Hematite “of an earthly nature” can be “found in the County Antrim”. The only colours that may be artificial or imported are the “orpiment and realgar” and the “purples” (47).

¹³⁴ FW 121.10-11.

the shepherd takes place”¹³⁵ and thus, that the killing was in fact a “ritual killing intended to fertilize the soil by drenching it with the blood of the victim” (124). A similarity Hooke highlights across the variants of this story relates directly to the Shem figure and his Joycean self-imposed exile: the theme of ritual killing followed by flight. Consequently, Hooke concludes that the “original form” of this story “was probably a ritual myth depicting a ritual slaying intended to secure fertility for the crops; the slaying was followed by the flight of the slayer, who was protected by a mark which indicated his sacred character” (126). With this complicated history of the Cain and Abel story in mind, the emphasis on the cold weather may also refer to the infertility of the ground. In this context, the “ritual killing” is aligned with the act of writing, and both become sacrificial acts that return fertility to the land, ensuring the continuity of the species though also, paradoxically, introducing greater evil into the world.

The themes of infertility and sacrifice, as well as the theme of “flight” (also cited by Derrida in his reading of Cain and Abel in *The Animal that Therefore I Am* [42-44]), permeate much of the Shem chapter and his attempted “exile”. After an initial physical description of Shem, Joyce writes: “in the very dawn of history even Shem himself seeing himself, when playing with words in his garden nursery asked of his brethren & sisters the first riddle of the universe: When is a man not a man?: offering a prize of a crabapple to the winner”.¹³⁶ In *The Idea of Wilderness*, Max Oelschlaeger also argues that the sacrificial aspects of the Cain and Abel story “are characteristic of ancient fertility religions” (51), an inspiration behind Joyce’s choice of the “crabapple”. The prize of a “crabapple”, specifically, is tied to the apple’s inability to self-pollinate (insects and birds would be required for cross-pollination). Like a tree, Shem is raised in his “garden nursery”, which is also a version of Eden. In this case, he is an apple tree; a deciduous tree unable to fertilize on its own. The link of “crabapple” to “Cainapple” directly connects this choice of infertile tree to the Cain and Abel myth of the infertility of the land.

The relationship between writing, Irish flora and onanistic creation continues in the drafts of I.7, the “Shem” chapter, which Joyce began working on in January 1924 while continuing to revise sections of I.5. In addition to the ink from the berries

¹³⁵ Another famous shepherd of importance to *Finnegans Wake* is Saint Patrick, who, of course, is aligned with Shaun/Abel. Kidnapped by King Niall of the Nine Hostages, Patrick (originally “Succoth”) was brought to Slieve Mish in County Antrim and forced to tend cattle (Flood 10).

¹³⁶ BL 47471b-54, JJA 47: 339, FDV 113.11-14, FW 170.3-8.

of Irish trees, Sullivan explains that “the early Irish pens were the quills of swans, geese, crows, and other birds” (34) and “[g]oats, sheep, and calves supplied the skins” (35) for the vellum. In I.7, Shem’s apparent grotesqueness, his writing upon himself with his own excrement, actually places him in line with the finest scholars of Irish Christianity. The creation of Irish art from Irish materials becomes an ideal way to introduce Shem’s creation of art from his own body in I.7, and this reinforces the link between I.5 and I.7 at this draft level with the intensifying relationship between nature and writing.

Hilary Clark links the emphasis on the materiality of writing to Shem’s consumption in her article on shame in *Finnegans Wake*, arguing that in the *Wake* language is something consumable, both in terms of the individual writer and in terms of cultures and languages on the whole. Shem “eats spoiled food”, she argues, “the scraps and leavings of other writers from alien cultures [...] linguistic compost” (463). Shem’s earthy qualities continue with the attention shifting to his near constant food consumption. He is a connoisseur of a certain type of seafood – “Lazenby’s teatime salmon¹³⁷ tinned, as inexpensive as pleasing, to the plumpest roeheavy lax or friskiest troutlet that ever was gaffed between Leixlip & Island Bridge”.¹³⁸ The food that Shem eats here is very “earthy”; the salmon that Shem eats is from the Liffey and the gravy he likes is also described in terms of the land: it is “bogbrown”.¹³⁹ In the next section, the second part of I.7 (FW 187-195), Joyce drafts the charges brought against Shem by his brother Shaun. Shem’s penultimate sin, strangely, is failing to save and put away for “our predictable rainy day”,¹⁴⁰ and his final sin is his rejection of his mother, ALP:

Pariah, Cannibal Cain, you oainly forswore the womb that bore you
& the paps you sometime sucked and ever since you have been one
black mass of jigs & jimjams, haunted by a sense of having been or
not being all you might be or might have been: and so, thank God
from the innermost depths of your heart, it is to you blacksheep, to

¹³⁷ “Salmon” has many roles throughout the *Wake* – first and foremost, Irish waterways were once heavy with salmon and their unique pattern of migration provides an apt metaphor for the entire structure of *Finnegans Wake*. Finn McCool gains his power from the “Salmon of Knowledge”, and it is the name for a house in Le Fanu’s *The House by the Churchyard*. Frazer’s *The Golden Bough* also mentions that many Native American tribes associated twins with salmon (66), and the introduction of salmon here in conjunction with Shem may be linked to this as well.

¹³⁸ BL 47471b-50, JJA 47: 331, FDV 113.26-28, FW 170.27-29.

¹³⁹ BL 47471b-55, JJA 47: 341, FDV 114.1, FW 171.1 (Added to second draft, January 1924).

¹⁴⁰ BL 47471b-66v, JJA 47: 378, FDV 121, FW 192.33.

you, pick of the waste paper basket, ay, to you, unseen blusher of an obscene coalhole, that your eòalblaek ^turbrown^ mummy is acoming, little oldfashioned mummy, little wonderful ----- running with her tidings, all the news of the greatbig world, bellhopping the weirs, ducking under bridges, rapidshooting round the corners, by the hills of Tallaght & the Pool of the phooka & places called Blessington & Sallynoggin, babbling, bubbling, chattering to herself, giddygaddy grandmamma, gossipaceous, Anna Livia.¹⁴¹

In the above passage, Joyce has changed “coal” to turf, and together with the already existing “coalhole”, this creates a politicized binary of “invasive” versus the “native” aligned with Shaun’s binaristic vision of nationalism. The native Irish turf is set against the imported coal. Thus, Shem has forsworn the “womb” that bore him, which, in this case, is the River Liffey and the land of Ireland, represented by the turf. Shaun castigates Shem for his lack of patriotism, his failure to promote Irish resources and Irish culture. He has also forsworn the mother’s milk, the “paps”, which are also the “Paps of Ana”, the mountains in Co. Kerry (which are shaped liked breasts).¹⁴² Thus, Shem’s connection to the earth is put into question by Shaun (the shepherd, Abel, herding the “blacksheep” of Shem/Cain), and the objects of Shem’s forswearing become not just his “mother”, but his mother country, the land of Ireland.

This passage also presents ALP’s journey (backwards) from Wicklow, through Tallaght, the Poulaphouca Reservoir and Blessington and through the various manmade obstacles of weirs and bridges. The Liffey does not pass through Sallynoggin, which is located slightly to the south and west of Dún Laoghaire, but Joyce may be alluding to the Sally Gap, which is near the source of the Liffey in the Liffey Head Bog. The cadence of the prose prepares for ALP’s arrival in the next chapter: “mummy is acoming, little oldfashioned mummy”, and the “turbrown” designation also leads back to Shem’s gravy. Shem’s gravy and salmon, therefore, both originate from the Liffey, a fact that foreshadows the inability of Shem/Ham/Cain/Joyce to fully escape the mother/mother country through exile.

¹⁴¹ BL 47471b-72, JJA 47: 389, FDV 121.35-122.8, FW 193.32-195.4.

¹⁴² Also, one of the sources for VI.B.14, *Les livres de Saint Patrice*, a translation by Georges Dottin of Saint Patrick’s writings, includes a passage that tells of “the pagan crew of the ship that helped him escape from Ireland” and then “Patrick tells how he refused to suck their breasts” (VI.B.14 10).

Anna Livia Plurabelle

The second fair copy of I.7 (February 1924)¹⁴³ brings together the Biblical flood and the channelling of the River Liffey, commenting on the attempts man makes to harness powers of nature. In this section of I.7, Joyce engages with the story of Noah, adding several notes in the margins of BL 47474-28¹⁴⁴ such as “while drinking heavily of spirits”, “noahs and cul verts agush with tears of joy”,¹⁴⁵ “went stonestepping across the rainbow bridge”, “out of his westernmost keyhole, spitting at the impenetrable weather”, and “by the auspice of that raven cloud, your shade, and by the auguries of rooks in parliament”.¹⁴⁶ Shem is supposed to be “Ham”, one of the sons of Noah, which would make Noah HCE, but at times Noah also contains hints of the Shem character. The “cul verts” (in addition to being “*cul verts*”, vulgar French for “green asses”) is also “culvert”, a passage used to channel water, and the Biblical flood is translated to the contemporary, with the excess waters blowing out the culverts. The “flood” also prefigures the arrival of the River Liffey into Dublin in the subsequent chapter, I.8.

With H.C.E., Shem and Shaun introduced in existing sketches, the only remaining major character to be written is the mother, the story of ALP, a version of the female world soul, of “mother nature”. Despite Shem being the “earth-centered” half of the twins, he “forswears” his mother, the earth, the “gossipaceous” ALP, and this leads into the first draft of I.8. Other than the speech of the waves in “Mamalujo”, this chapter is the first instance of nature being given a voice in *Finnegans Wake*.¹⁴⁷

The characterization of ALP as “babbling, bubbling, chattering to herself” and “gossipaceous” sets the scene for the gossiping washerwomen of I.8, the sounds of their story intermingling with the sounds of the River Liffey, next to which they are doing their washing.¹⁴⁸ This characterization of the Liffey’s “speech” is quite similar to the opening lines of Le Fanu’s *The House by the Churchyard*, wherein the elm is described as listening to the Liffey, to the “unchanged song and the prattle of

¹⁴³ From February to May 1924 Joyce was using notebook VI.B.1. This notebook was also used for I.8, II.4§2-3 (in March 1924).

¹⁴⁴ JJA 47:409, FW 178.

¹⁴⁵ BL 47474-28, JJA 47: 409, FW 178.12.

¹⁴⁶ BL 47474-33v, JJA 47: 420, FW 189.33-34.

¹⁴⁷ I.8 is a much more experimental version of Stephen’s “fourworded wavespeech: seesoo, hrss, rsseeiss, oos” (U 3.456-457) in “Proteus”.

¹⁴⁸ Edmund Epstein explains that the function of the washerwomen is as “Irish traditional ghosts, who wash the linen of those about to die” (EFW 93).

the river” (1). Patrick McCarthy, in his essay on the genetic history of I.8,¹⁴⁹ identifies this connection between the voices of the women and the sound of the river: “Like a river that expands as it flows along, eventually floods its banks, and finally disappears into the sea (or night), I.8 is an insistently fluid chapter, yet it has basic narrative, thematic, and stylistic elements that may be traced from the earliest to the latest drafts” (HJW 164). The fact that McCarthy also refers to the river flooding its banks ties in to the references to Noah from I.7, suggesting that the Liffey’s flooding of its banks provides for the creation of new life and new civilization. The gossip, the water, and the narrative are linked in this early draft of I.8, presenting an instance wherein Joyce puts into practice the idea of nature and art working in similar manners.

One of the main points of the “Anna Livia Plurabelle” chapter is the conflation of a woman’s coming of age with the movement of a the river from its mountain source to the sea. “To understand this chapter”, Epstein writes of I.8, “it would be helpful to consult a contemporary account of the river” (EFW 91). This is indeed helpful, as doing so does help one to understand a couple of specifics about the Liffey, but also, it alerts one to the fact that Joyce is, perhaps unintentionally, referring to the course of the Vartry at some points. Many notes concerning the Liffey and rivers in general are found in VI.B.6,¹⁵⁰ and three key examples are used to describe Anna Livia’s youth and her move from the mountains to the city: “garden of Erin = Wicklow mountains”, “Luggelaw” (VI.B.6: 147), and “Liffey’s detour / devil’s glen” (VI.B.6: 73). When transferred into the drafts, the first note becomes:¹⁵¹

It was ages & miles before that in the county Wicklow, the garden of Erin, before she ever ~~thought~~ **dreamt** she’d end in *the [barleyfields &]*

¹⁴⁹ The first genetic study of this chapter (and one of the first comprehensive studies on *Finnegans Wake* at all) was Fred Higginson’s *Anna Livia Plurabelle: The Making of a Chapter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960).

¹⁵⁰ On VI.B.6: 128 we find “Water”, “vertical rivers”, “dark clouds”, “mud”, “potomoac”, “Sea in fence”, “Rock”, “Plutonian eruptive -- / Neptunian sedimentary”, “mica / granite / silica / lima / chalk / marble”, “Mudmud!”, “fossil / crystals”, “Δ source”, “bed”, “mouth”, “rapids” and “underground & out”. This list continue on to the next page with, “Mouthless rivers”, “delta”, “alluvial”, “ocean R estuary not Δ”, and “Δ bobbed hair” (VI.B.6: 129). Throughout the remainder the notebook, Joyce scatters notes relating to “Δ” such as “Wade across Δ” (VI.B.6: 134) or “Δ clogs” (VI.B.6: 136). However, on VI.B.6: 148, a series of notes develops the relationship between “Δ” and the Liffey, as well as strengthens the relationship between rivers and history: “garden of Erin = Wicklow Mts”, “Liffey’s detour / devil’s glen”, “haven,” (cf. haven/havet from VI.B.6: 73), “Blackstairs Mt”, “grotto Kilkenny”, “marble”, “canal crosses Δ”, and “curragh”.

¹⁵¹ This passage is transcribed from Hayman’s *First-Draft Version*. In his “Reader’s Key” at the beginning of this volume, Hayman explains that Joyce’s additions are in italics, additions to additions are in brackets, cancellations are crossed out and that substitutions are in bold face (44).

pennylands of Humphreystown & she lie with a landleaper, well on the wane. Was it, was it? Are you sure? Where in Wicklow? Tell me where, the very first time! I will if you listen.¹⁵²

The first option presented is in “the glen there near Luggelaw”¹⁵³ which, in addition to being an air of Thomas Moore’s, is another name for Wicklow’s Lough Tay that drains into Lough Dan and eventually terminates in the Avonmore. The other referent may be “Luggala”, which is another name for the Wicklow peak also known as “Fancy Mountain”. She begins in “the garden of Erin before she ever dreamt she’d end in the barleyfields & pennylands of Humphreystown & lie with a landleaper”.¹⁵⁴ In Dublin, the Liffey is used for making beer and Guinness (the “barleyfields”) and her waters are used for commerce and trade, “pennylands”.¹⁵⁵ In summation, the Liffey, which starts in the beautiful Wicklow Mountains near Glendalough, never thought it would end up in the filth of Dublin. This oppression, this inhibition of the natural flow of the Liffey, is the fate ALP dreams of leaving behind but cannot. The third note appears in the second draft of this section:

Barefoot Byrne & Billy Wade, before she had a hint of hair there to hide & ere that again she was licked by a hound while doing her pee, sweet and simple, on the side of a hill in the shearing time but first of all & worst of all she ~~ran through~~ ^sideslipped out by a^ a gap ^in the Devil’s glen^ ~~when the~~ ^while Sally her^ nurse was asleep & feel before she found her stride & wriggled under a cow.¹⁵⁶

On the fair copy of I.8, from March 1924, Joyce adds another bit to this passage: “she found her stride ^and lay^ and wriggled ^in all the stagnant black rain pools ^”.¹⁵⁷

This seems to refer not to the Liffey but to the River Vartry, which, according to the *River Vartry Protection Society*, runs from the “Wicklow Mountains at Sally Gap to the Broadlough Bird Sanctuary at the Irish Sea” near Wicklow town. “Devil’s Glen” is a gorge near the Sally Gap, through which the Vartry River falls into the “Devil’s Punchbowl” (“River’s Story”). Therefore, the washerwomen present two incorrect courses of the Liffey; that of the Avoca, and that of the Vartry. These incorrect

¹⁵² BL 47471b-75, 76, JJA 48: 5-6, FDV 125.13-18, FW 202.35-203.17.

¹⁵³ BL 47471b-76, JJA 48: 7, FDV 125.19, FW 203.17.

¹⁵⁴ BL 47471b-75, JJA 48: 5, FDV 125.16, FW 203.7

¹⁵⁵ Warner emphasizes the importance of the Liffey in Dublin’s commerce; mills using the river for waterpower are believed to date as far back as 650 AD, and “nearly two hundred mill sites have been identified on the Liffey and its tributaries” (56-58).

¹⁵⁶ BL 47471b-84, JJA 48: 25, FDV 125.26-31, FW 204.6-18.

¹⁵⁷ BL 47474-120, JJA 48: 45, FDV 125.26-31, FW 204.17-18.

courses are “gossip” and are cast as girlish experiments of ALP, who eventually, in maturity, finds “her stride” and descends to the “stagnant black rain pools” of Dublin, *dubh linn* (“black pool”).

Continuing with the characterization of HCE as a Noah figure from the first draft of I.7, I.8 contains hints that HCE and ALP are designated as the patriarch and matriarch of some sort of “new race” or “new civilisation”. A 20 February 1924 letter Joyce wrote to Italo Svevo of I.8 assigns to ALP the role of Pyrrha, the wife of Deucalion; the couple being the sole survivors of the flood Zeus summoned to end the Bronze Age:

I have given the name of Signora Schmitz [Livia] to the protagonist of the book I am writing. Ask her, however, not to take up arms, either of steel or fire, since the person involved is the Pyrrha of Ireland (or rather of Dublin) whose hair is the river beside which (her name is Anna Liffey) [*An Life* in Irish] the seventh city of Christianity¹⁵⁸ springs up, the other six being Basovizza, Clapham Junction, Rena Vecia, Limehouse, S. Odorico in the Vale of Tears and San Giacomo in Monte de Pietà. (LI 211-212)

The mention that “Christianity springs up” beside the Liffey also links this draft with themes of “Saint Kevin”, providing a waterside location for the development of Christianity. A second letter concerning the completion of the first draft of I.8 was written to Weaver on 7 March 1924. This letter verifies the gossip as aligned with the river, as well as the role of HCE and ALP as progenitors of a new race. Joyce writes:

It is a chattering dialogue across the river by two washerwomen who as night falls become a tree and a stone. The river is named Anna Liffey. Some of the words at the beginning are of hybrid Danish-English. Dublin is a city founded by Vikings. The Irish name is Baile Atha Cliath. Ballyclee= Town of Ford of Hurdles. Her Pandora’s box

¹⁵⁸ This phrase appears in Joyce for the first time in chapter IV of *Portrait*, wherein Stephen thinks to himself: “Like a scene on some vague arras, old as man’s weariness, the image of the seventh city of christendom was visible to him across the timeless air, no older nor more weary nor less patient of subjection than in the days of the thingmote” (167). Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, in their *History of the City of Dublin*, explain that Dublin is “the capital of Ireland, in population and extent the second city of the British empire, and probably the seventh in Europe” (1: 451). The other “six” are listed in a note to this line as being London, Paris, Constantinople, Vienna, Moscow, Naples and Dublin (1: 451n). In this situating of Dublin, they focus on its geography, placing Dublin “situate [sic] on the river Anna Liffey, and at a small distance from its mouth, to which it will probably, at no very distant period, extend: it stands nearly in the southeastern extremity of an immense plain, stretching considerably above one hundred English miles across the island from sea to sea [...]” (1: 451).

contains the ill's flesh is heir to. The stream is quite brown, rich in salmon, very devious, shallow. The splitting up toward the end (seven dams) is the city abuilding. Izzy will be later Isolde (cf. Chapelized). (LI 212-213)

This letter provides insight into what Joyce sees as being most important to an understanding of this draft. The tree/stone motif¹⁵⁹ had appeared in earlier drafts, but this letter to Weaver is the first time where Joyce has made this motif explicit. The most common explanation for the tree/stone motif is that the tree represents growth, change and life while the stone represents permanence, inflexibility and death. The tree is Shem and the stone is Shaun, usually, and the fact that the two women morph into tree and stone along the banks of the river serves to unite these two disparate elements. Often, it seems that the female is the dynamic while the male is the static, but it is not this simple; with the conversion of the women to tree and stone, the river embodies both the static and the dynamic. Overall, this is indicative of how the figures in the *Wake* embody characteristics of both the masculine and the feminine, of life and death. Everything in the *Wake* exists on a borderline.¹⁶⁰

Continuing with Joyce's letter, the explanation of the hybridity of the words, juxtaposed with the focus on the Liffey, also strengthens the correlation between linguistic change and natural change (meaning changes in geography, geology or climate, etc.). Joyce's mention of the salmon here also provides a link between the Finn MacCool legend and the natural movements of the river. The "brown" quality of the Liffey refers to its pace as well as to its composition; it moves swiftly, stirring up sediment as it goes. The synthesis of these ideas may be a point of departure for the earthy, "sedimented" view of language Joyce projects throughout much of the *Wake*.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, this letter plainly illustrates the growth of the city in terms of

¹⁵⁹ The "tree/stone" motif has been discussed by nearly every critic working on *Finnegans Wake*. The most believable explanation of this dynamic is that of the tree standing for growth, change, and dynamism, while the stone stands for inflexibility, tradition, and permanence. For example, Grace Eckley's "Looking Forward to a Brightening Day" (in Begnal and Senn 211-235), explains them as "change and permanence" (211).

¹⁶⁰ The transformation of human into nonhuman (either organic or inorganic) or into another human form throughout the *Wake* is reminiscent of metamorphoses in many texts, particularly in classical mythology. However, in the *Wake* the transformations are effected less by any supernatural agent and more by consciousness; in an almost science fiction manner, the figures slowly become what it is that they are perceived to embody either by the text itself and the language used, or by other elements within the text.

¹⁶¹ In his article, "A Preliminary Stratigraphy of *Scribbledehobble*", John Barger argues: "If one chooses to push the limits of the geological metaphor for Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* notetaking, the physical notebooks may be seen as a series of riverbeds into which notes, like sedimentary pebbles, have been deposited over a period of months or years" (127).

its growth out of the environment; the “seven dams” on the Liffey become the metonym for Dublin City itself (as the seventh city of Christendom, also), as such engineering projects would have been essential for the establishment of any modern city (such as the Nile’s Aswan Dam).

This letter expands upon information presented in Joyce’s letter to Svevo, casting ALP as Pandora¹⁶² instead of Pandora’s daughter, Pyrrha (and perhaps this is why Isolde appears here, to take on the role of Pyrrha). In this relationship, both ALP and her daughter adopt the roles of both creator and destroyer. These dual roles are much like the river itself; its floods bring fertility to the land but can also result in devastation and lay crops to waste. According to G.A. Gaskell’s *Dictionary of the Sacred Languages*, Pandora was explicitly fashioned by Hephaestus out of the earth itself in revenge for Prometheus’ theft of fire (2: 558). A temptress figure destined to unleash evils upon humankind, Pandora was also believed to be the first in possession of a fully “human” speech, a speech that disconnected humankind from the speech of the gods and the animals (Gera 54). Her “earthly” material origins and her possession of human speech make Pandora an important analogue for the figure of ALP. When examined together, the elements referenced in Joyce’s letter to Weaver provide an image of a civilization and its languages developing out of and defined by the environment with which it is continuous.

As I.8 continues, Joyce recounts ALP’s union with HCE, beginning with a focus on ALP and her preparations for her courtship. ALP at her *toilette* is characterized by the available flora along the riverbank:

She first let her hair fall and down to her heels it flowed and then
mother-naked she washed herself from crown to sole with bogwater
and mudsoap and greased her keel with butterscotch and multiplied
moles all over little mary, and then she wove a garland for her hair and
pleated it and plaited it of meadowgrass & riverflags and bulrushes &
waterweeds & leaves of weeping willow and then she made her
bracelets and her anklets and her armllets and her necklet amulet of
cobbles and pebbles and rich gems & rare ones & rhinestones &
watermarbles.¹⁶³

¹⁶² For more information on Pandora, see Hesiod’s *Theogony*, lines 560–612 and *Works and Days*, lines 60–105.

¹⁶³ BL 47471b-77, JJA 48: 9, FDV 126.7-15, FW 206.29-207.7.

Her hair “flowed” like water and she washes with the brown mud and turf-filled Liffey water. She styles her hair by weaving grasses and leaves into it, and bejewels herself with gemstones and pebbles of the riverbed. The meeting she prepares for is with the city of Dublin, and in her youth, she does not yet recognize what awaits her.

The “rhyme” of ALP in the first draft is from the perspective of the Liffey long after she has been tarnished by the demands put upon her by the city of Dublin. Though her life before Dublin was not exactly virginal (“Two lads in their breeches went through her before that, Barefoot Byrne and Billy Wade” and she was licked by a hound while doing her pee¹⁶⁴), this life is looked back upon fondly and romanticized, much like the way nature is romanticized in the “Tristan and Isolde” sketch. The young girl who had laboured over her hair and her jewellery has been trampled upon and exploited by the city, and the rhyme ends with the river’s thinking of a different fate: “Only for my bed is as warm as it smells it’s up I’d leap & off with me to the Bull of Clontarf to get the kind air of Dublin bay & the race of the seawind up my hole”.¹⁶⁵ The Liffey’s position in Dublin city, walled, dammed, channelled and polluted as it may be, is effortless; like Bloom at the end of *Ulysses*, the river ultimately stays in its pairing with the city because it is familiar. The “Bull of Clontarf” is the North Bull Wall, built from 1819 to 1824 to protect ships coming into the port, and after the North Bull Wall, the Liffey opens out into Dublin Bay and then to the sea; a freedom of which the walled-in ALP can only dream.

The aforementioned letter to Weaver demonstrates that Joyce himself viewed this draft of “Anna Livia Plurabelle” as largely about the actual River Liffey and its relationship with Dublin City. The first draft of this chapter also presents the river as a structuring force for language and narrative; it is the medium across which dialogue travels, it is the origin of the city’s name and it gives its rhythms to the text itself.

During the first years of work on *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce recorded hundreds of notes relating to the environment in his notebooks, all from very different sources and in very different contexts. Throughout this chapter, the beginning of the relationship between nature and history, language, religion, culture and artistic creation developed and evolved into a concerted interest in the effect the environment has upon a people, their history and their language. In VI.B.1, Léon Metchnikoff’s anthropological study, *La Civilisation et les grandes fleuves historiques*, provided a

¹⁶⁴ Simplified. BL 47471b-75, JJA 48: 9, FDV 125.25-28, FW 204.5-12.

¹⁶⁵ BL 47471b-74v, JJA 48: 4, FDV 124.37-39, FW 201.19-21. VI.B.6: 77: “[G]et some fresh sea air up my hole”.

way to unite these disparate themes, presenting nature as a vehicle which carries the history, culture and language of a people. In the first stages of *Finnegans Wake's* composition, with the aid of developments in twentieth century scientific thought, Joyce begins to explore the possibilities of creating a work in which civilization is *not* so radically separate from its "origins," but a direct product of them.

Chapter Two

Ancient Landscapes: The First Drafts for Book III

The first sketches for *Finnegans Wake* revealed a growing interest in the complex of human relationships to the environment (in terms of the human interaction with the environment and the human representation of the environment) but the integration of these interests into a coherent theme does not begin until the early drafts for Book III. “The Delivery of the Letter” sketch became the basis for Book III,¹ and the relationships between I.5, I.7, I.8 and Book III that develop at this point in the composition is of greatest importance for the maturation of ecological themes in the *Wake*.

When Joyce began to draft the sections regarding the composition of the letter, the delivery of the letter and the discovery of the letter, there was an abundance of weather terms and descriptions. There were a few possible reasons for this, one of them being that many of Ireland’s most famous artefacts were preserved in bogs due to the country’s distinctive climate, geology and topography. Joyce also seems to have believed that there was a correspondence between the act of writing and the weather; in nearly all of Joyce’s personal letters, he comments on the weather and how it is affecting his writing. Looking to examples of these letters,² it becomes increasingly clear that Joyce linked his writing difficulties and his medical conditions to the changes of the weather; no minor point for a writer so concerned with self-reflexivity.

Neil Evernden, in “Beyond Ecology: Self, Place, and the Pathetic Fallacy”, argues that story, geography and self are intrinsically linked – that landscape is not just “a collection of physical forms” but a retelling of its history of “the evidence of what has occurred there” (Fromm and Glotfelty 99). Regarding the composition process of *Finnegans Wake*, the emergence of Book III out of “The Delivery of the

¹ Cf. 15 March 1924 letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver: “On Monday I shall try to start Shaun the Post” (LIII 90).

² As I have stated, nearly all personal letters refer to the weather, and here are a few select examples from 1924: 18 February 1924 letter to Robert McAlmon: “My sight is not very good today as the weather is changing. So I shall end this” (LIII 88-89); 6 April 1924 letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver: “For some days past I have not been allowed to read a line on account of a secretion in the conjunctiva [...] I am to be operated on when the fine weather comes I suppose in May...I hope to resume with Shaun tomorrow” (LIII 92); 30 December 1924 letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver: “I suppose you are having the usual deluge. The weather is against me...I hope the new year brings us all health and a glimpse of the sun” (LIII 112-113).

Letter” was a result of this awareness of the interactions between “story, geography and self” and Sullivan’s *Book of Kells* also provided Joyce with alternative ways of “reading” a text (translated to the *Wake* in terms of the hen’s scratchings, the tea stain, the grass and turf remaining on the letter, etc.). These alternate ways of “reading” suggested the legibility of other “texts”, and combined with the prevalence of climate in the sketches concerning the Letter, the transition to the legibility of the environment was both effortless and expedient.

Stemming from the importance of the Letter and the newly emerging focus on the legibility of the environment, Joyce greatly expands the role of this environment in this next phase of work on the *Wake*. During this period, Joyce continues to draw on the geography of Irish mythology and ancient religions, leading to seasonal festivals and fertility rituals, and also explores varying implications of the Garden of Eden story. Joyce read widely on subjects related to Breton language and culture during this period, with a particular focus on their stone monuments, and also incorporated more Scandinavian mythology and cosmology into the structure of the *Wake*. The drafts, revisions and notebooks from this phase of composition display a focus in ancient perceptions of, and relationships with, the environment, suggesting an attempt to locate an “origin” of certain recurring human beliefs about nature. This historical focus aids Joyce in the construction of a cultural history intertwined with natural history and provides several points of intersection for the synthesis of the diverse strands of the *Wake*.

Hillocks and Heaps: III.3

One central development in terms of the role of nature in *Finnegans Wake* appears as Joyce continues drafts of Book III, which dominates most of his time for the remainder of 1924.³ In I.8, HCE and ALP were given the roles of river and city, and this dynamic provided a way for Joyce to investigate the interdependence of a city and a civilisation with its environment. In Book III, HCE and ALP take on wider geographical and cosmic roles; Epstein even declares that in Book III, Joyce recounts the creation of the world, wherein “the titanic original male mountain power... [is] engaged in a huge, merry act of love with the great original female valley power”

³ Many letters of 1924 document Joyce’s preoccupation with the “watches” of Shaun, and one example is provided here. Joyce wrote to Miss Weaver on 7 October 1924, from Paris: “We returned here a couple of days ago. Another mountain came to Muhammed – my brother from Dublin whom I had not seen for twelve years. He went away last night. Strange to say like Shaun his work is postal night duty” (LIII 107).

(EFW 198). Using sources related to ancient religions, Joyce extends the roles of HCE and ALP to dominant environmental features of all narratives that recur throughout history, beginning with the earliest creation myths and fertility rituals.

The early drafts of III.3 are completely situated in rural Ireland and open with Yawn embedded in the landscape, but more specifically, “on the hillock”.⁴ The word “hillock” itself can mean “a little hill”, a “small mound or heap of earth, stones, or the like”, or “a hump, bump, protuberance or prominence on any surface” (“Hillock”, defs. 1-3). In the context of the *Wake*, each of the three definitions is applicable; the first is self-explanatory, the second contributes to the Letter’s burial in the “mudmound” in I.5, and the third relates to the superimposition of body upon landscape. The “Yawn” figure at the opening of III.3 straddles the entire country of Ireland across its mythical and historical boundaries and connects to the references from the earlier sketches uniting Mamalujo with the four waves and the four provinces of Ireland.

Two central geographical features present from the inception of III.3 are the Hill of Usnach and the Esker Ridge, both of considerable historical significance in Ireland and whose meaning changed greatly throughout the course of Celtic history. The Esker Ridge is a stretch of gravel hills formed about 10,000 years ago when an ice-age glacier that covered most of Ireland, and Europe, melted. For the ancient Celts, the esker ridge was the primary way to travel east to west, from Dublin to Galway, and was home to Lucan, Celbridge, Clane and Clonmacnoise (Howarth 21, 154, 204). The note “Usnach Hill / Centre of I –” (VI.B.6: 180),⁵ is used to situate the Yawn figure, and on the second draft Joyce qualifies Yawn’s location with the additions of “Esker Ridge” and “near Mullingar” to the already in place Esker Ridge, establishing Yawn’s location as the Hill of Usnach (located approximately 10km from Mullingar). After a battle in 123 A.D. near Maynooth, the Esker Ridge became a division of Ancient Ireland – Geoffrey Keating’s 1723 history of Ireland recounts the two constituent parts being Leath Cuinn, Conn’s Half (and the upper portion of Yawn) and Leath Moga, Mugh’s Half (and the lower portion of Yawn) (Keating 228).

One note from VI.B.1, taken from Gwynn’s *History of Ireland*, reads “esker (gravelly hillocks) / ridge – Dub – Gal” (VI.B.1: 46), and demonstrates the alignment

⁴ BL 47482b-62, JJA 58: 3, FDV 228.2, FW 474.2.

⁵ Added Nov-Dec 1924. BL 47482b-66, JJA 58: 11, FW 476.06.

⁶ BL 47482b-62v, JJA 58: 4, FW 475.22.

between the hillock, the esker, and their importance in early spatial understandings of Irish geography. The “esker” also appeared in another note from Gwynn: “Conn C & Mog Nuadat divide I. / by eskers (Dub to Gal)” (VI.B.6: 179).⁷ Later, in VI.B.14 Joyce also records “Esker Ridge” (VI.B.14: 176), much in these same contexts. The passage in Gwynn from which these VI.B.6 and VI.B.1 notes derive was quoted in the introduction.⁸ This is a straightforward passage, but what Joyce has taken away from it is the authority of geography in historical divisions of land in Ireland. The difference between the notes from VI.B.6 and VI.B.1 suggests that Joyce returned to Gwynn to look specifically for this note on the esker ridge.

VI.B.1 contains many notes concerning Ireland’s historical geography, and in this context, “Ota w of Turgesius / on high altar / Clonmacnois” (VI.B.1: 45), concerning a Viking raid on Clonmacnoise, just before “isker (gravell hillocks)” (VI.B.1: 46),⁹ evokes Clonmacnoise’s famous establishment at the place where the primary land route through the bogs (along the *Eiscir Riada*, esker ridge) crossed the Shannon River. Four notes shortly thereafter, “river = DubGal”, “Eblani”, “Dinas Devlin / Doolin Dub” (VI.B.1: 46), “Amnis Lifnius” (VI.B.1: 47), and “Liffeyside” (VI.B.1: 48), continue the interest in the relationship between Ireland’s development as a civilisation, its history, and its waterways. This is further supported by the fact that, as Deane, Ferrer and Lernout explain in their introduction to VI.B.1, Joyce takes several notes in VI.B.1 from *Encyclopedia Britannica* articles on “‘River Brethren’ and on ‘River Engineering’ and at the very end of the notebook Joyce followed a reference in the very brief article on ‘River’ to read and annotate descriptions of the geography of rivers in the general article on ‘Geography’” (13).

With Yawn firmly situated in Ireland’s historical geography, the interrogation by Mamalujo begins. When questioning Yawn, Mamalujo divide themselves between the “weatherside” and the “lee” side of the knoll, defined in the second draft as the knoll “of Usnach”.¹⁰ The opposite of “leeside” is actually the “windward” side, usually of a ship, and these “sides” are both relative, with “windward” usually meaning upwind, and “leeward” meaning downwind. These designations are

⁷ Added Nov-Dec 1924. BL 47482b-89, JJA 58: 53, FW 475.22.

⁸ “Conn’s great opponent in Ireland was Mogh Nuadat, and tradition relates that after many battles they decided on a division of Ireland, following the Esker Riada or line of gravelly hillocks (still called eskers) which runs across the central boggy plain from near Dublin to Maaree on the bight of Galway Bay” (qtd. in VI.B.6 209)

⁹ BL 47482b-62v, JJA 58: 4, FW 475.22.

¹⁰ BL 47482b-66, JJA 58: 11, FW 481.1.

important for navigation, and thinking back to Shaun's attempt to deliver the letter in a storm, it becomes clear that Shaun has gotten rather lost on his mission and is now being questioned by Mamalujo about what went wrong. The placement of Mamalujo on the leeward side and the windward side emphasizes the subjectivity of historical narrative due to the relative nature of their orientation. The change of "windward side" to "weatherside"¹¹ not only suggests that the weather was a major factor behind Shaun's failure, but also suggests that it will be partially responsible for the inaccuracy of Mamalujo's accounts.

On the third draft of this section (also November - December 1924), Joyce returns to the focus on the weather conditions at the time of the event, further suggesting that this concerns Shaun's attempt at delivering the Letter. Joyce adds "thick weather",¹² introduces "hail" with "hail him heathen",¹³ and adds more questions concerning the specific weather conditions: "There was a fall of snow too, was there?" and "Did not it blow some wind as well?"¹⁴ These questions become drawn out into two pages of questions between Yawn and Mark concerning the weather:

- Do you remember that night following the fair day.
- Well.
- There were fires on every bald hill in holy Ireland that night?
- You may say they were. Bonfires, no less! With blue bears streaming to the heavens.
- Was it a fine night now?
- Finest night mortal ever beheld.
- Was there rain by any chance?
- Plenty.
- There was a fall of snow too, was there?
- The nicest of all.
- Did it not blow some wind as well?
- Out of all jokes it did.
- Do you recollect whether the moon was shining at all?

¹¹ BL 47482b-66, JJA 58: 11, FW 476.5. Cf. "weather side lee side" (VI.B.1: 142).

¹² BL 47482b-96v, JJA 58: 64, FW 502.18.

¹³ BL 47482b-78v, JJA 58: 32, FW 481.1.

¹⁴ BL 47482b-84v, JJA 58: 44, FW 501.34-502.6.

—Sure she was.¹⁵

This dialogue attempts to pin down the precise weather conditions at the time of the event. Space is magnified (through Yawn's superposition across Ireland), and so is time; identifying the weather conditions will locate Yawn in a specific geological period dominated by cold weather (e.g. in the previous glacial period or in the "little ice age", which ended only in the mid nineteenth century). Like the focus on the weather in relation to the composition and discovery of the Letter, the climate determines the time period and paves the way for the Viconian thunder, creating two competing cycles. The environments in which particular archaeological artefacts have been found often tell us as much about history as do the objects themselves; the shifts in climate resulting from periods of glaciation, etc. are recorded by the very preservation of these objects. This theory is supported by Yawn's resting on a "hillock", comparable to the "midden" in which the letter was discovered. As climate changes over time, determining weather conditions is one way to date a particular event or artefact. The attempt to date this event through the weather is also seen through a politicized addition concerning the weather on a redraft of this section. The question "Did it not blow some wind as well?" was changed to "Did not it blow some gales rather strongly?"¹⁶ punning on the aural similarity between "gale", "gael" and "gall" and further implicating the weather in the invasion of "Gaelic" Ireland by "foreigners" ("gall").

The next section of the draft expands the event in question to implicate a much larger story in world history: Adam and Eve and Original Sin. In this context, the "Letter" becomes the *logos*, and the error in delivering the Letter properly is the miscommunicated message of God. Joyce continues this draft with reference to the "spot" in question, which is the "mudmound" of I.5, but also the location of the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden:

—You know the spot where the two met. There is a tree there.

—That's right.

—Tell us briefly as you can how the whole thing happened.

—First he wanted a match.

—Was that how it all began?

¹⁵ BL 47482b-84v, 85, JJA 58: 44-45, FW 501.34-502.12.

¹⁶ BL 47482b-97, JJA 48: 65, FW 502.6.

—Like that.¹⁷

As in Eden, the “tree” is central to the event in question, and a subsequent revision of this section changes the “spot” to a “midden”¹⁸ similar to where the Letter is found, aligning the tree with the discovery of the Letter.

Finn Fordham has written two articles on the development of this section of III.3 for *Hypermedia Joyce Studies*, explaining that he has chosen this tree-centred passage “in order to ask questions about Joyce’s relation to romantic theories of ‘organic’ form and formation, and to make some initial marks upon the field of Joyce’s relation to nature” (HJS 1: par. 2). Fordham’s conclusions, at the end of his second article, are in agreement with Phillips’ in *The Truth of Ecology*, as Fordham argues against the efficacy of “organicism” both as a way of reading a text and as a way of reading the process of that text’s composition. In these two articles, Fordham uses a close genetic reading of this passage to demonstrate that the tree and its symbolic implications change throughout the *Wake* depending on their context, and cannot be easily pinned to one theory of organic growth. He begins the first part by establishing the tree as “representative of symbolisation itself” (HJS 1: par. 2) and “can represent the techne of language itself, which is able to manipulate the meanings of the natural into a symbolic and structured order” (HJS 1: par. 5).

Fordham argues that the tree, as a “fallen tree [...] comes to stand for the fallen ideologies of the natural and, paradoxically, of the symbolic: so we have a fall of nature, of nature as language and as language itself” (HJS 1: par. 5). These various “falls” can be observed in the next revision,¹⁹ wherein Joyce adds “krandest” and “cran”,²⁰ referring to the Irish word for tree, “*crann*”,²¹ and entangles the tree in scientific debate²²:

—You know the kikkenmidden where the couple first met with each other. There is a tree stuck up.

¹⁷ BL 47482b-85, 86; JJA 58: 45-47. FW 503.30-504. Cf. Fordham HJS 1: par. 6.

¹⁸ FW 503.8.

¹⁹ BL 47482b-84v, 85; JJA 58: 44-45.

²⁰ BL 47482b-97, 98, JJA 58: 65, FW 504.1-2.

²¹ In addition to the “cran” reference, “[k]randest” also sounds, of course, like “grandest”, and, as Fordham argues concerning this revision, the tree starts as a “neutral and empty signifier”, becomes “tautologously the greatest in ‘all’ the world” (HJS 1: chart 2). In writing of what he refers to as “sequence #3” (a transcription of the first draft with revisions, BL 47482b-84v, 85; JJA 58: 45), Fordham refers to the marginal addition of the tree as being “stuck up” to argue that Joyce “suggests that the tree is not naturally occurring, but is planted as a sort of totem” (HJS chart 2). Possibly, the tree becomes a “totem” for the Earwicker family.

²² In *Joyce’s Techno-Poetics*, Donald Theall believes this is an “apple falling upward in response to Planck” and “clearly plays on turning Newton’s theory upside down – an obvious reference to quantum mechanics and the new physics” (49).

—There is. The krandest tree in all the world.

—How crand is it? Tell us now are you yourself connected with it, maybe?

—Upfellbowm.²³

The “Kjoekkenmoedding” is the Danish origin of the “kitchen midden” term (VI.B.14 154), presenting a clear example of Joyce’s interest in the interaction between language, land and history. The presence of the Danish language in English words is here akin to the presence of the “Letter” or other such artefacts in the “kitchen midden” itself, and the presence of the Irish word for tree also suggests the presence of trees in the Irish language through the Ogham alphabet. The “fall” is embodied in the fall of Adam and Eve (“where the couple first met with other”), the “fall” of Newton’s apple (“Upfellbowm”, *Baum* being the German for “tree” and *Apfel* for “apple”),²⁴ and the “fall” of language from its direct association with a referent.

On the second draft of this passage, Joyce defines the tree as a “maypole”²⁵ tree (“rub / maypole” [VI.B.14: 232]), presenting another cultural implication of trees. Combined with the bonfires in this section, this implies May Day celebrations, suggesting intended links between festivals and nature. This addition implies that the aforementioned “bonfires” are both the bonfires of 12 July, the day of the Battle of the Boyne, and those of the 1 May Bealtaine festival. The festival of “Beltane” (“May Day”) is described in *The Golden Bough* as that “which ushered in summer” (622), meaning that the chilly weather may also be there to establish winter before signalling the change to spring and summer.²⁶ Fordham also discusses the addition of the “maypole”, but from a slightly different angle:

It was a ‘maypole’, emphasising again the fact of it being a human construct, not a purely organic form independent of humans, but a tool for social ritual, and for organising social space. The representatively natural form has become a folkloric focus. But as much a maypole – a

²³ BL 47482b-85v, JJA 58: 46, FDV 240.22-241.7, FW 503.8-505.29. Some of the elements in this passage derive from notes in VI.B.14, such as “Kjoekkenmoedding” (VI.B.14: 110), “plants stick in Earth” (VI.B.14: 111), and “Upfellbowm” (VI.B.14: 223).

²⁴ This word is one of the more famous in the *Wake* and has been discussed by many critics, so I will just briefly gloss the term in this footnote. The merging of tree and apple clearly refers to the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden and the “upfellbowm” is a falling down, the “fall” of Original Sin. The falling of the apple also incorporates Newton’s law of gravity, suggesting that this process of the “fall” is an inevitable “law” of nature.

²⁵ BL 47482b-97, JJA 58:65, FW 503.33-34.

²⁶ Cf. Shaun and the blackthorn tree in I.5§4.

static and non-growing form – it also takes the human – or
superhuman – form of a giant. (HJS 1: chart 3)

Fordham is certainly correct that Joyce is using the maypole as a human construct, but in conjunction with the other religious rituals, ceremonies, and festivals at this draft level all related to environmental factors (e.g. seasonal changes, agricultural productivity and lunar cycles), it seems Joyce is more concerned with presenting cultures whose structure is dependent upon their relationship to nature.

Joyce's addition of "mistletoe"²⁷ to an alternate version of the second draft also illustrates this argument. In VI.B.14, Joyce recorded "Pliny, *mistletoe*" (VI.B.14: 29), "gui de l'an neuf" (VI.B.14: 29), "mistletoe . golden sickle/ 6th moon . powdered" (VI.B.14: 29) and "gui caught in white apron / golden sickle" (VI.B.14: 47), with "gui" being the French word for mistletoe.²⁸ The first note derives from the second volume of Pliny's *Natural History*, from a passage discussing how the druids held "nothing more sacred than mistletoe and the tree on which it grows, provided that it is an oak. Groves of oak are chosen even for their own sake, and the magicians perform no rites without using the foliage of these trees" (qtd. VI.B.14: 62). The mistletoe connects the "tree" passage to the Nordic and Celtic May Day traditions, and to customs surrounding Celtic kingship, especially in light of the "Druidic" context offered by Pliny. Furthermore, Odin's son Balder, the Nordic god associated with light, spring and renewal, was killed by mistletoe (Frazer 608). The *Golden Bough* gives significant attention to this event, depicting it as the first event in the progression leading towards *Ragnarök*. The power of the mistletoe, Frazer believes, derives from its position on the oak, "growing not from the ground but from the trunk or branches of the tree" (701); the mistletoe's location is an analogue to the belief that kings inhabited a spiritual plane between the earth and the heavens. Pliny also explained that, in Druidic tradition, the mistletoe is so revered because "anything growing on oak trees they think to have been sent down from heaven" (qtd. VI.B.14: 62). Frazer continues by syllogistically demonstrating how the "the priest of the Arician grove – the King of the Wood – personified the tree on which grew the Golden Bough" (703), linking mistletoe, kingship, trees and May Day.²⁹ The varying significances of the mistletoe are culturally determined, though they originate from

²⁷ BL 47482b-97v, JJA 58: 66, FW 504.35.

²⁸ All three of these entires are uncrossed, but the clear addition of "mistletoe" at this draft level supports the necessity of paying attention to the "uncrossed" notes as well as the "crossed" ones.

²⁹ For a detailed description of the Irish May Day and maypole celebrations, see Edward Milner, *The Tree Book* (143-144).

specific properties and characteristics of the plant itself; the mistletoe could not be simply interchangeable with another plant. Two other additions, in addition to the existing “roots”, bestow the tree with life and the dynamism associated with Shem in the tree/stone motif: “pinecorns”³⁰ and “resin”.³¹ “Pinecorns” is a combination of both “pine cones” and “acorns”, two structures that play vital roles in the continuity of their associated species. Pine cones are structures containing the reproductive systems of coniferous plants and which store seeds and pollen, while acorns are the nut that stores the seed for an oak (Masueth 731-735). Resin is a secretion primarily of such coniferous plants that, like the formation of the cone itself, also protects the plant and its seeds to help ensure their continuity (Masueth 731-732). The incorporation of these three botanical structures is in line with the larger themes of fertility, rebirth and renewal associated with May Day, but also serves to counter arguments that the tree is present merely for its symbolic weight.

In this article comparing textual growth and arboreal growth, Fordham argues that Joyce “plays off the extent to which the tree is a human construction: literally planted and symbolically structured” (HJS 1: chart 2). This enters into the wider debate of poststructuralism and ecocriticism, but carefully separates the two realms; the tree does physically exist, and is something with which humans have always physically engaged, but the attribution of symbolic meanings to such an object is also unavoidable and part of its total existence. Joyce may not exclusively be focusing on the tree in and of itself, but using the tree to explore the way in which objects have been appropriated by human culture. Darwin wrote that “[t]he affinities of all the beings of the same class have sometimes been represented by a great tree” (146), uniting the material tree with the symbolic tree in the *Origin of Species*. The material “tree” has provided models for alphabets, for artistic creation, for explaining familial relationships, for explaining the introduction of evil into the world, for explaining the structure of the cosmos; but underneath all of this, the tree is an indispensable part of human life. The symbolic weight attached to the tree cannot undermine its primary importance as a giver of life through its provisions of food and its production of oxygen as a by product of photosynthesis, and throughout the *Wake*, “trees” come to represent the struggle and symbiosis between the material and the ideal.

³⁰ BL 47484a-45, JJA 59: 185, FW 505.5.

³¹ BL 47484a-45, JJA 59: 185, FW 505.1.

Stones, Trees: VI.B.14

The notebook compiled between August and November of 1924, VI.B.14, is essential to understanding Joyce's engagement with the environment in *Finnegans Wake*. VI.B.14 contains notes from varied sources, but almost all the central themes in the notebook concern the landscape and the relationship between culture and landscape, whether that relationship be evident through language, religion, monuments, literature, politics, or mythology. A close examination of VI.B.14 provides valuable insight into the expansion of the ecology of *Finnegans Wake*.

One major theme of VI.B.14 derives from sources on Breton culture, language and folklore. While the original interest in these Breton sources may have derived from St. Patrick's possible Breton heritage, the extensive notes taken from the Breton sources demonstrates that Joyce strayed from a singular focus on Patrick. The notes Joyce chose to record from these sources demonstrate a clear and enduring interest in how culture develops from and with its landscape and climate. These notes were recorded while Joyce was on holiday in Saint-Malo,³² and this interest in Breton culture also situates Joyce among other Modernists such as Paul Gauguin and D.H. Lawrence, who looked to "primitive" cultures for eternal truths.³³ In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer also wrote of Breton culture, and of French peasant culture in general, due to their belief in the connection between nature and theology.³⁴

Many of Joyce's Breton sources in VI.B.14 seek to identify affinities between Breton and Irish culture through the continuity of their cultural geography. Deane, Ferrer and Lernout explain that this note-taking begins with the note "Les Prairies de Cézembre / par / l'Abbé Mathurin", the title of a small article in *Annales de la Société historique et archéologique de l'arrondissement de Saint-Malo* (1901). They

³² Cf. 7 August 1924 letter from Stanislaus: "How are you enjoying yourself in Saint Malo? The famous Carnac must be somewhere near there, I suppose? You could take a leaf out of Renan's book and meditate on old ancient Celtic civilization there and in Ireland before Logue's predecessors came over in their come-to-bed half a tall hats to swap the kingdom of Heaven for the Kingdom of Ireland" (LIII 105).

³³ A good source for more material on this topic is *Prehistories of the Future: The Primitivist Project and the Culture of Modernism*. Eds. Elazar Barkan and Ronald Bush. Stanford University Press, 1995. This is not to say that Joyce is searching for an ultimate "origin", but he is certainly interested in the way in which similar rituals, traditions and narratives emerged across different cultures in different geographical contexts.

³⁴ Frazer quotes an account of the French peasantry as believing that their priest: "possesses a secret and irresistible power over the elements...he can, on an occasion of pressing danger, arrest or reverse for a moment the action of the eternal laws of the physical world. The winds, the storms, the hail, and the rain are at his command and obey his will. The fire is also subject to him, and the flames of a conflagration are extinguished at his word" (53).

provide the following gloss on the context of this piece and its possible appeal to Joyce:

Cézembre is an island that Joyce could see from Saint-Malo. In the early Middle Ages, according to Mathurin, Cézembre was still linked to the coast by a plateau ('the meadows of Cézembre') that was progressively obliterated by the sea. The farming leases to these fertile lands remained a subject of litigation long after the actual ground disappeared beneath the waves. This idea of a submerged territory that survived in (legal) fiction may have appealed to Joyce. At any rate, the Brittany that he was interested in had a somewhat similar status: it was a land that had very little to do with current reality, a misty legendary land that no longer existed, and to some extent a land that had never existed outside of tourist guides or the imagination of Celtophiles and Romantics. (VI.B.14 4-5)³⁵

Little more than the title of this book was recorded in VI.B.14, but the idea of Cézembre may help to develop ways in which Joyce conceptualizes territory, geography and Celticism as the *Wake* continues.

The island of Cézembre is relevant to developments in the *Wake* concerning land and territory because of its association with Celtic beliefs that the underworld lies beneath the water (Ó hÓgáin 169). The focus on the "shared Celtic culture" is brought about through notes expressing the similarities between the Breton and Irish coasts, bridging the spatial divide and caused by the rupture and migration of landmasses themselves. Joyce's continued interest in the shared Celtic heritage is exhibited by many other sources for VI.B.14,³⁶ including Abbé Millon's *Les Pierres Bretons et leurs legendes*. This text discusses the preservation of Breton history in formations such as the stone at Carnac and describes the folklore and superstitions surrounding such megalithic monuments (e.g. dolmens, cromlechs and menhirs).³⁷

³⁵ Later in the notebook, Joyce also recorded a title mentioned by Abbé Millon called *La Terre du Passé* (VI.B.14.1) or *The Land of the Past* that may also tie in to this interest.

³⁶ Deane, Ferrer and Lernout provide overviews of several other texts that fit into this category: L.-F. Sauvé's *Proverbes et dictons de la Basse-Bretagne*, Anatole Le Braz's *Le Légende de la mort en Basse-Bretagne*, Zacharie Le Rouzic's *Carnac. Légendes, Traditions, Coutumes et Contes du Pays* (VI.B.14).

³⁷ Deane, Ferrer and Lernout would not agree with my emphasis on these stone formations. They explain in their introduction to VI.B.14 that Joyce did not go to Carnac, as his brother had suggested, nor did he take notes from "a learned study on the prehistoric (actually pre-Celtic) megaliths but a slim volume jocularly enumerating the various superstitions attached to them" (VI.B.14 5). The opening of this introduction explains that this is the closest thing Joyce has to a "travel notebook", but sets it

Deane, Ferrer and Lernout explain that the significance of these sources for Joyce was their explanation of the syncretism of myth and of the attempted answering of enigmas about the pre-Celtic megaliths through folklore; hence, of having “signs of a very remote past interpreted through conceptions belonging to a recent past (folk tales that were still current at the end of the nineteenth-century” (VI.B.14 5). Joyce takes notes like “5000 menhirs in B” (VI.B.14:1), “dolmen & couloir” (VI.B.14: 1), “cromlech 17 in B” (VI.B.14: 4), “circle of menhirs” (VI.B.14: 4), “Louannec, Dolmen, S Yves’ bed” (VI.B.14: 4) and several very specific details about Breton stone monuments that can be applied to Ireland as well. Lastly, notes appearing amid these Breton notes include “T & L write names” (VI.B.14: 22) and “write O” (VI.B.14: 29). Such megalithic stone monuments were early forms of communication, and the relationship between the megaliths and narrative relates to lithography (Greek, “*lithos*”, stone and “*graphein*”, writing), one definition of which is “the art of engraving on precious stones” (“Lithography”, def. 2).

Returning to the discussion of the appeal of Cézembre to Joyce at this stage in the development of the *Wake*, there is one other note in VI.B.14 relating land, identity and authority. Concerning the preservation of built heritage such as dolmens and menhirs, Millon asserts that people should “be certain that a sign with these two words ‘National Property’ placed by a dolmen or a menhir will protect it more efficiently than all the speeches and arguments” (qtd. VI.B.14 38). The note that Joyce takes from this, “Π [at his] / national property” (VI.B.14: 6), articulating the question of the responsibility of current civilizations towards cultural and natural heritage. The note also concerns the retroactive “claiming” of these stone monuments by present governments and supports HCE’s assumed dominion over the land, extending this dominion to the land of prior inhabitants and prior cultures.

Continuing with this theme, there is cluster of notes in VI.B.14 related to land ownership, tenancy and their governance (VI.B.14: 189-191), which may derive not only from the discussion of Cézembre, but from the notes “bothach / celle / aire / flaith”, and “S.P. grabs land / aided by faction” (VI.B.14: 132), from Dottin’s *Saint Patrice*. The first note concerns the social order during Saint Patrick’s time in Ireland that was dictated by land holding, and the second note concerns the necessity that

drastically apart from the travelogues of Coleridge. “It contains no landscape descriptions”, they write, immediately opening their description of the notebook’s contents with a polarizing dichotomy of Coleridge/landscape vs. Joyce/anti-landscape (VI.B.14 4). While it is certainly true that Joyce’s interest in and thoughts concerning “landscape” were much different from Coleridge’s, this dismissal of what is quite visibly a major theme in the notebook is not particularly constructive.

Saint Patrick acquire land on which to build a Christian Church. Later on in the notebook, there are nearly three pages dedicated to feudal terms and land ownership,³⁸ including “R. land grand”, “Lord (manor) demesne / rented”, “Free / bond”, and “vassal” (VI.B.14: 189-190), suggesting an interest on Joyce’s part in the history of land ownership and the ways in which land was named, parceled, and inhabited throughout the centuries in different cultures. Juxtaposing these terms, which seem to derive from a Welsh source, with the notes concerning Saint Patrick,³⁹ also suggests that Joyce is continuing with his reading of Saint Patrick as an invader similar to the Vikings and the Normans.

Saint Patrick provides a clear connection between Ireland and Brittany due to his notoriously unknown origins, with many attributing them to Brittany (and his sister was purportedly married to the Breton King Conan Meriadec [VI.B.14 7]). Joyce revisits Saint Patrick here⁴⁰ to unite the Irish themes dominating the earlier sketches with the emerging broader concerns relating to language, culture and nature. Sullivan explains that before the arrival of Saint Patrick in Ireland, “the inhabitants of Ireland were all but destitute of a written literature of any kind”. He also describes how Patrick’s “greatest achievement” that came “after his conversion of the Irish Kings, Druids and people” was “the introduction of the Latin tongue and his making

³⁸ These terms also include: “allodial”, “parcel of land”, “villata”, “villain”, “natives” (VI.B.14: 189), “unfree”, “cuddy”, “sorremore”, “sorren”, “ploughland”, “dovekiss / (dubkkios)”, “cess”, “sept”, “beeves”, “churls”, “tref / maenol { churls / lands” (VI.B.14: 190), “scullogues”, “land roll in Bosom Mtns”, and “in severalty” (VI.B.14: 191).

³⁹ In the summer of 1924, Joyce sent a letter to Sylvia Beach requesting some books on Saint Patrick, as well as a book by James Perry. Perry’s book *The Growth of Civilization*, supported a “diffusionist” theory of culture, a decidedly “non-egalitarian” theory popularized at the beginning of the twentieth century that held that only a few cultures were truly creative, while all others merely borrowed and copied from these central cultures (Erickson and Murphy 56). Using this theory, Perry argued for the dominance of Egyptian culture, an argument that could have attracted Joyce, but the overall theoretical grounding of comparative cultural studies certainly interested Joyce at this time as well. Perry’s theories were in contrast to the “evolutionist” theory of culture, descending from the Enlightenment period, which held that all peoples could progress and had the same capacity for creativity (Erickson and Murphy 56). There are no notes from this book in VI.B.14, but there are notes from another book of Perry’s *The Origin of Magic and Religion*. This study has somewhat similar goals as *The Golden Bough*, but maintains the primacy of Egyptian culture by describing how its civilization spread throughout the rest of the world.

⁴⁰ According to Deane, Ferrer and Lernout, “VI.B.14 contains Joyce’s most sustained exercise in research into the life and legend of St. Patrick” (VI.B.14 8). The sources here relating to St Patrick include Dean Kinane’s *St Patrick*, Canon Fleming’s *St Patrick and Boulogne-sur-Mer: St. Patrick’s Native Town*, L’Abbé Riguet’s *Saint-Patrice*, Georges Dottin’s *Les livres de saint Patrice* and Stefan Czarnowski’s *Le culte des héros et ses conditions sociales: Saint Patrick, héros national de l’Irlande*. (VI.B.14: 9). A letter written in summer 1924 to Weaver demonstrates Joyce’s interest in Saint Patrick during this period of time: “I have been thinking and thinking how and how and how and can I and can it – all about the fusion of two parts of the book – while my one bedazzled eye searched the sea like Cain – Shem – Tristan – Patrick from his lighthouse in Boulogne. I hope the solution will presently appear” (LI 220).

it the ecclesiastical language of Ireland". Lastly, Sullivan states that Saint Patrick also used to "write alphabets for young men who were chosen for a clerical career" (31),⁴¹ connecting invasion, religion, geography, imperialism and writing.

Millions of years ago, Britain, Ireland, France and parts of northeastern North America had all been one land mass, proven by similarities in the bedrock across these regions. Though this land mass separated millions of years ago, beliefs persisted (and still persist) concerning the similarities in the cultures and histories of these regions now separated by vast stretches of ocean (Woodcock 153-168).

The Joyces continued to travel through Brittany in 1924, arriving in Quimper after their departure from Saint-Malo, and Joyce continued to take notes in VI.B.14 about Breton culture, finding more sources related to monuments, folklore, rituals, history, mythology and language. Two sources were more works of comparative folklore: Zacharie Le Rouzic's *Carnac. Légendes, traditions, coutumes et contes du Pays* and Anatole Le Braz's *Le Légende de la mort en Basse-Bretagne*, while another was a study of Breton proverbs, L.F. Sauvé's *Proverbes et dictons de la Basse-Bretagne*.⁴² The primary point to make concerning the notes taken from Sauvé's text is that almost every "proverb" concerns land, animals or agriculture (e.g. "Time & straw / make medlars grow" (VI.B.14: 23), "Brebis crottée le plus souvent / aux autres cherche à se frotter" (VI.B.14: 23), or "Bushes have eyes" [VI.B.14: 25]). These environmentally determined proverbs are valuable for exploring the way language and nature are connected in the *Wake*. Throughout the *Wake*, Joyce refers to proverbs, rhymes and idioms like these that relate directly to the natural world much in the same way that he focuses on technology developed by imitating something in nature. Though of course, as post-structuralism tells us, our language is abstracted from any idea of an "origin", the focus on such phrases in the *Wake* does suggest a trace of our place in nature.

Following a cluster of notes relating to prehistoric man (such as "Man Cro-Magnon", "Ape Chancelade", "idiot Grimaldi" [VI.B.14: 137]), placing the human in an earlier geological time period, Joyce copies four pages of notes from James Perry's *The Origin of Magic and Religion*. This text has been discussed sparingly in terms of its significance to the *Wake*, but Len Platt argues that it "is suggestive of a

⁴¹ On a larger scale, Sullivan refers to an argument put forth by Sir Edward M. Thompson that "acknowledges that England was almost entirely indebted to Ireland for her national handwriting" (33).

⁴² For a more comprehensive overview of Joyce's use of this text, please see Jacques Aubert's "Breton Proverbs in Notebook VI.B.14". (*A Wake Newslitter* 15 [1978]: 86-89).

more controlled and modern approach to theosophy”, and that Joyce saw theosophy “in a wider cultural context as a symptomatic discourse of modernity” (283). Platt makes the valid point that anthropological texts concerning magic and religion such as Perry’s cannot be easily lumped into the same category as texts like Madame Blavatsky’s *Isis Unveiled*. Perry’s introductory notes to his study provide an analysis of what he considers major indicators of culture, with one indicator being if a group of people “had reasoned about their relations to the outside world” (3) through the creation of ritual, mythology, religion, or art. Perry locates the origins of both tool-making and artistic expression in hunting and the fear of becoming hunted oneself, an argument related to Joyce’s notes “food gathering” (VI.B.14: 138), and “head hunting” (VI.B.14: 140). Referring to early cave art, Perry explains that the majority of images were animals, either “those hunted for food” or “dangerous beasts of prey” (3). “It seems certain”, he continues, “that, in both cases, the aim of the paintings was to enable men to gain control over these animals, to cause the animals that were eaten to be captured the more easily, and, in the case of the dangerous beasts, to gain some measure of protection from them” (3). Drawing the animals represents a certain power over the animals through the translation of the live animal into a static image on rock. As human society developed and food supplies changed, both in content and availability, the new art became agriculture: Joyce’s note “□ irrigation” (VI.B.14: 138) is tagged with the Shem sigla, with “irrigation” the modern cave paintings. As the cave paintings try to control the animals by imitating their image, irrigation tries to control nature by imitating rain. Both forms of “art” are a response to environmental conditions and food supply.

The Origin of Magic and Religion continues discussing the direct relationship between the development of art and religion and the sources of food for a particular society, explaining how “rites connected with the fertility of cattle and with the procuring of crops” (3) have been the two foundational elements of almost all systems of belief. With regard to Joyce and to this particular stage of *Finnegans Wake*, the most influential notes taken from Perry relate to fertility rites and ALP, as much of the first and second chapters of Perry’s book concern the ancient concept of the “Great Mother”. The relationship between fertility, civilization, nature and the female already present in the *Wake* is bolstered by evidence found in Perry. In the beginning of the second chapter, Perry continues to foreground the importance of humanity’s relationship to nature and to the modes of food acquisition in the development of religion, arguing that “gods do not seem to make their entry on the

scene until the step had been taken from the food-gathering to the food-producing stage of culture” (25). The context of this note from the Perry text reads:

The early civilizations of Egypt, Elam and Sumer were founded on irrigation, certainly the earliest form of food production known to man, for tillage of the soil for dry cultivation was later than irrigation in all parts of the world. (25-26)

Perry goes on to explain how the Nile naturally undergoes cycles of irrigation, a natural occurrence that happens nowhere else on earth (26). Consequently, Joyce’s recording of “□ irrigation” (VI.B.14: 138) hints at an interest in how Egyptians and other cultures in that region imitated the cycles of the Nile to ensure a stable food supply. Deane, Ferrer and Lernout point out that the “□ irrigation” note is connected by a line to a note below that reads “Tammuz” (VI.B.14: 138), whom Perry explains to be “the son of the Great Mother” (29) in Sumerian mythology. Joyce has connected the two due to Perry’s account that the figure of the Mother Goddess was usually accompanied by her “son and lover” who was “connected intimately with irrigation, and with agriculture and vegetation generally” (28).⁴³ Shem’s “earthly” qualities, presented in I.7, but in a fragmentary manner, are given a more substantial backing with VI.B.14’s characterization of Shem as a Tammuz-like figure and as an initiator of “irrigation”.

This relationship between agriculture and the emergence of associated gods and goddesses extends to the relationship between agriculture and kingship, which Perry explains as leading to the relationship between the practice of maintaining a calendar and the authority of the king to determine this calendar. The note “lunar calendar (flood)” (VI.B.14: 138) continues Joyce’s interest in the human “creation” and management of time, a point also made by Deane, Ferrer and Lernout in their discussion of the hagiographical note clusters⁴⁴ in VI.B.14 (8). The notes “drowned

⁴³ Other notes from Perry in VI.B.14 concern the Mother Goddess (“barley mother”, VI.B.14: 140), Joyce’s own brewing inspired note, added to a list consisting of “Corn Mothers, Maize Mothers and Rice Mothers” (Perry 119-120).

⁴⁴ Ferrer cites Czarnowski’s *Le culte des héros et ses conditions sociales: Saint Patrick, héros national de l’Irlande* as perhaps the most “interesting” of Joyce’s French Saint Patrick sources, and provides the following gloss on the text:

Czarnowski attempts to account for the fabulous stories surrounding the historical Patrick as the work of the ancient Irish poets, who, he maintained, sought to make Patrick the Christian equivalent of Finn or Cuchulainn. He then goes on to explore the role of such heroes as organizing forces in the societies that give rise to them, through various rituals of death and resurrection. Patrick takes on the attributes of the gods of feasts, feasts being the chief means of social interaction in a primitive culture without cities. The significant dates in Patrick’s history are seen to

and revived” (VI.B. 138),⁴⁵ and “1st ruling family” (VI.B.14: 138) surrounding the “lunar calendar (flood)” note also relate kingship to nature through Osiris-like cycles flooding, drowning and revival. Tammuz (associated with Shem in VI.B.14) had been associated with a “prehistoric king” (29), and his participation in myths of agricultural decay and bounty (a myth also discussed at length in Frazer) is the basis for the note “drowned and revived”. Joyce’s notes derive from Perry’s discussion of the creation of calendars for agriculture:

In Egypt, with the annual flood of the Nile, it must have been difficult for the agriculturalist, without some method of counting time, to know exactly when to begin operations. The day of the beginning of the flood was of great importance to him, for his work must cease once the water had begun to flow over the land. Thus it is that the day of the flood was the beginning of the Egyptian year. The Egyptians measured all their time from that date. The calculation of the recurrence of such a day as that of the Nile flood is not easy. It involves the use of a calendar based on the movements of some heavenly body. The Egyptians used, in the first instance, the lunar calendar in order to calculate this important date. (30-31)⁴⁶

correspond with natural phenomena: for example, 17 March, the date of his death, is seen to correspond with the spring equinox. (VI.B.4 11)

Referring to a text by Abbé Eugène Martin, *Saint-Colomban (Vers 540-615)*, Deane, Ferrer and Lernout provide the following: “Martin also describes the audacity and sternness of Columbanus in reprimanding the powerful (whether King or Pope) and his prolonged bitter fighting with the bishops of the Gauls on the question of the date of Easter. Joyce seems to be particularly interested in this question, which, after the Council of Nicea, divided Ireland and Irish inspired monasteries in Europe from the rest of the Christians” (VI.B. 14 8).

⁴⁵ A major element necessary for the success of any early civilization and their agriculture was undoubtedly the presence of water. In Egyptian mythology, the Nile holds a central position and is often tied up with the other dominant myths of Egypt of Osiris and of Re. Hooke synthesizes the seasonal myths, the fertility myths, kingship beliefs, burial rites, and the recurring floods by explaining how “the turning points in the annual rising and falling of the Nile were mythologized as the drowning or death of Osiris, his finding by Isis, and his resurrection through the magical arts of Isis and Nephthys, and each detail of the myth was enacted in rituals whose scene was the Nile. Nor must it be forgotten that all this Osiris-Nile mythology as ritual was inseparably connected with the functions of kingship in Egypt” (Hooke 77).

⁴⁶ Two more notes relate to the conversion from the lunar to the solar calendar: “Sothic calendar / Sirius” (VI.B.14: 138) and “Nilometer” (VI.B.14: 139). Frazer also discusses how the aforementioned “May Day” (Beltane) and the Feast of All Souls, the other major Celtic feast day, stemmed from the pastoral life of these tribes, and these holidays “were the days on which the cattle went forth from the homestead in early summer and returned to it again in early winter” (633). Frazer concludes here with an important point: “Hence we may conjecture that everywhere throughout Europe the celestial division of the year according to the solstices was preceded by what we may call a terrestrial division of the year according to the beginning of summer and the beginning of winter” (633). Continuing with the discussion of “Mother Goddesses” in conjunction with early fertility myths in Perry and in Hooke, Frazer here discusses how, in some Beltane festivals, figures representing the “tree-spirit” or “corn-spirit” were burned to ensure fertility of the land (Frazer 609-641).

“Time”, in the way it is understood today, is another human construct born out of ecological necessity. In a Biblical analogue, time also begins with the Flood. Perry also makes another important point, asserting that early ruling families and calendars were inextricably linked (31). Following a few notes on Egypt and on early burial chambers (“mastaba”, “ziggurat” and “pyramid” [VI.B.14: 138]),⁴⁷ Joyce skips ahead quite a bit in Perry, taking a couple of notes at random, but the note-taking ceases shortly thereafter, suggesting that the information concerning fertility, agriculture, kingship, calendars, Egypt and Sumer sufficed.⁴⁸

The intersection between culture and nature that has dominated much of notebook VI.B.14 also has a strand focusing specifically on the relationship between writing and nature, articulated in the drafts of I.5, I.7, I.8 and Book III. VI.B.14 concludes with a list of the Irish trees that constitute part of the Ogham alphabet that developed between the fourth and fifth century AD. Joyce’s entry lists the trees in Irish and English as well as the equivalent character from the Irish alphabet that originated during the medieval period:

ailm
b beith birch
c coll hazel
d dair oak
e eadhadh aspen
f fearn alder
g gort
h uath whitethorn
i iodha yew
l luish quicken

⁴⁷ Joyce records other notes concerning funerary rites in VI.B.14, including: “roadside burial / so that after 4 days / spirit reenters / passing W” (VI.B.14: 140), “X totem (ass)” (VI.B.14: 140), “☐ pretends to die” (VI.B.14: 140), “die & be immortal” (VI.B.14: 140), “Melanesia” (VI.B.14: 141), etc.

⁴⁸ After the notes from Perry end, Joyce abruptly returns to earlier sources concerning Saint Patrick, perhaps evidence of Joyce’s search for similar traditions in Irish Christianity. The notes from Riguet’s *Saint Patrice*, R.P Fages *Histoire du Saint Vincent Verrier* and from the *Catholic Encyclopedia* are varied in their focus, but it seems Joyce is hunting specifically for information linking Christianity and Catholicism in particular to other world belief systems. Such notes as “embalmed in honey” (VI.B.14: 150), “Druid = priest of Daro” (VI.B.14: 158; “Daro” being Breton for “oak”), “Mother Carey (Mater Cara)” (VI.B.14: 160; the editors of VI.B.14 explain that “Mother Carey’s Chickens” was a “name given by sailors” to “stormy petrels” or “falling snow”. Through the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the editors explain that this term most likely derives from *madra cara*, or “Mother Dear”, an “epithet for the Virgin Mary used by Levantine sailors” (VI.B.14, 216) and thus, a clear link to the location of the “Mother Goddess” tradition in Christian thought) demonstrate the continuity of these sources.

muin
 n nuin ash
 o oir broom
 p peith dwarf elder
 r ruish elder
 s suil willow
 t teithne furze
 u ur heath (VI.B.14: 223-224)

In a 27 January 1925 letter to Weaver, Joyce explained “The Irish alphabet (ailm, beith, coll, dair etc) is all made up of trees” (LI 225-26).⁴⁹ The Ogham alphabet appears here due to its relationship to the mythology of Irish trees as well as this continued focus on the materiality of writing and language. It is of greatest importance to note that this list comes after the word “Upfellbown” (VI.B.14: 223), discussed at length above, as the ontological role assigned to the tree in that particular scene is here united with Joyce’s linguistic concerns.

Neither this Ogham list nor “runes made of [twigs]” (VI.B.14: 18) were crossed, but across this draft level Joyce incorporates several examples of this focus on the materiality of early writing (in terms of what was written, the Ogham alphabet, what was used to write (berries, flowers, twigs, etc.) and what was written on [stones, trees, caves, etc.]). To the first typescript of III.2, Joyce adds, “I don’t want your ugly gobs round the hobs robbing leaves out of my book. Once upon a drunk and a fairly good drunk it was and all the rest of your blatherumskite”⁵⁰ and “memory’s while leaves are falling”.⁵¹ These additions relate to “wind turns over pages” (VI.B.14: 18), found on the same page as the “runes” note, as well as continues the theme “winter turned leaves of book of nature” from the first *Wake* notebook (VI.B.10: 47).⁵² On drafts of III.2 and of III.3 from the same period, Joyce adds in several more

⁴⁹ Deane, Ferrer and Lernout speculate that VI.B.14 was “completed by December 1924” (VI.B.14 19). Even though the list of trees for the Ogham alphabet was not “used” during this stage of composition, it is of certain import to Joyce during this period due to its inclusion in the Weaver letter. Additionally, a letter to Valery Larbaud dated 28 July 1924 also provides evidence that the Irish alphabet was of particular interest to Joyce during this period (LI 217).

⁵⁰ BL 47483-119, JJA 57: 186, FW 453.21.

⁵¹ BL 47483-121, JJA 57: 188, FW 460.20. Also relating to this theme, Joyce adds “leaf creeping down”, (BL 47483-23v, JJA 57: 188b, FW 467.10), and “Jaun just then I saw to collect from the gentlest weeper among the wailers, who by this were in half droop leaf half long mourning for the passing of the last post” (BL 47483-159, JJA 57: 189, FW 470.25) to the Jaun section.

⁵² Cf. “Book of Life” (VI.B.3: 19).

references to trees, one being “for that occasion of the ^Arbor Day^ wedding”,⁵³ relating to Joyce’s reference to the Venetian Doge’s marriage to the Adriatic Sea in the same letter explaining the Ogham alphabet to Weaver.⁵⁴

On VI.B.14: 197, notes begin from Stephen Langdon’s *Enuma Elish: The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, the latest edition “of an Akkadian text reconstructed from cuneiform inscriptions on seven tablets found in 1850 in the ruins of the palace of Ashurbanipal in Nineveh” (VI.B.14 12). This epic attracted considerable attention when it was discovered because, as Deane, Ferrer and Lernout explain, it bore many “linguistic, conceptual and narrative similarities” to the Hebrew version of Genesis, and thus, it was claimed that the Hebrew Genesis “was a derivative of this Sumerian myth” (VI.B.14 12). These theories bridging cultures and religions through similarities in their mythological narratives support Joyce’s bridging of Celtic custom, folklore, religion and monuments through a shared geography and through Saint Patrick. S.H. Hooke’s *Middle Eastern Mythology* addresses such shared histories, identifying two controlling myths that appear throughout numerous cultures. The first “controlling myth” is the myth that explains the changing of the seasons and the ensuing productivity of the land, and the second is the myth of creation (23). Deane, Ferrer and Lernout argue that “[i]f Joyce did not believe in the purity of origins, he was most curious about the various stories invented by mankind to account for its beginnings” (VI.B.14 12). One note recorded from Langdon’s book on the *Enuma Elish* is “dragon” (VI.B.14: 197), taken from the original text that reads: “the chief significance of the Epic and the ritual of the spring equinox consisted in the return of the sun from the regions of winter darkness, the victory of light over the dragon of storm and night” (qtd. in VI.B.14 251), and Joyce may also have been thinking of Czarnowski’s belief that the date of Saint Patrick’s death, 17 March, “is seen to correspond with the spring equinox” (VI.B.14 11). The *Enuma*

⁵³ BL 47484a-46, JJA 58: 186, FW 469.19.

⁵⁴ A letter to Miss Weaver from Paris, dated 1 January 1925, is telling: “I ought to tell you a few things, The Irish alphabet (ailm, beith, coll, dair etc) is all made up of the names of trees... Bruno Nolano (of Nola) another great southern Italian was quoted in my first pamphlet *The Day of the Rabblement*. His philosophy is a kind of dualism – every power in nature must evolve an opposite in order to realise itself and opposition brings reunion etc etc. Tristan on his first visit to Ireland turned his name inside out. The Norwegian-Danish language has neither masculine nor feminine: the two genders are common and neuter. The article follows the noun... The words expressing nightmares are from Greek, German, Irish, Japanese, Italian (my niece’s childish pronunciation) and Assyrian (the stargroup called the ‘gruesome hound’). I speak the latter language very fluently and have several nice volumes of it in the kitchen printed on jampots. Most coastal towns in Ireland (E) are Danish. The good old fellows were often wreckers. In ancient Dublin there was a ceremony similar to that of the Doge wedding the Adriatic sea” (LI 225).

Elish, according to Hooke, was the poem or chant associated with the Babylonian “Akitu”, or New Year, festival and is a ritual myth concerning the death and resurrection of a god (41-46). The combination of this theme of resurrection with the passing of the seasons continues Hooke’s emphasis on the two basic myths of civilization and also demonstrates Joyce’s interest in the links between these two myths.⁵⁵

Robert Graves, in *The White Goddess*, studied the Ogham tree alphabet extensively and put forward the theory that the early Celtic peoples used a lunar “tree” calendar to keep time. In his *Irish Trees*, Niall MacCoitir explains that while his theory has not been substantiated, Graves “deserves credit for being the first in modern times to realise the Ogham alphabet was based on a seasonal cycle of trees” (184), and this seasonal quality also links the Ogham alphabet to Joyce’s notes from Perry on the lunar calendar. On their own, the notes concerning stones and additions referring to trees may seem unimportant, but when looked at together during one specific phase of Joyce’s work on *Finnegans Wake*, they construct a far different narrative. In the context of the notes from Perry, the notes concerning Breton culture and monuments, the notes from the *Enuma Elish*, and the earlier “Upfellbown” passage, these notes and additions become significant markers for Joyce’s telling of natural history within his universal history. History before humans, and before writing developed, must be read through the earth, through “the testament of the rocks”.⁵⁶ As evidenced from the Ordovician rocks to the megalithic stones at Carnac and the dolmens and Ogham stones of Ireland, nature was the only place to turn to for communication and for art. Without any preexisting “culture”, culture was born out of the human interaction with nature, from the imagination’s actions upon the objects that dictated everyday life. Continuing with the Tammuz and Ishtar myth explaining the passing of the seasons, the presence of trees in myths concerning cycles of death and rebirth becomes an important facet of Joyce’s presentation of Celtic ritual in subsequent sections of the *Wake*.

⁵⁵ A significant number of the notes taken from this source concern stars and constellations named after animals and other natural elements. Other notes relevant to my argument include “partially he became faint” (VI.B.14: 197), wherein the “he” being discussed is *Ea*, the god of earth and water, and “floodstorm” (VI.B.14: 198), from the sixth tablet, relating to cyclones.

⁵⁶ FW 73.32-33.

Dawn and Roads: III.4

During this period, Joyce was also working on the early drafts of III.4, the “final watch” of Shaun,⁵⁷ of which he notoriously explained: “I know that Δ d ought to be all about roads, all about dawn and roads” (LI 232).⁵⁸ III.4 is to precede the “ricorso”, explaining the focus on “dawn”, but what of “roads”? Eric McLuhan sees the emphasis on “roads” as relating back to I.4 and to the theme of “The Book of Nature” (Cf. VI.B.10: 47), thematically aligning these sections with concurrent I.8 revisions. According to Van Berkel and Vanderjagt, “the history of the metaphor of the Book of Nature goes back to late Antiquity, when Chrysostom and Augustine coined the phrase” (ix), and is generally understood to be a belief in the natural world as a “text” one could decipher to attain truths of God’s design (P. Harrison 1-4). They argue that the theme did not become popular until the early modern period, and propose that “the invention of the printing press [...] had an enormous effect on thinking and discourse about books and manuscripts”,⁵⁹ and along with the Reformation, would have “been crucial in making the metaphor of the Book of Nature such a popular notion” (ix). McLuhan reads into I.4 an attempt, like Stephen in “Proteus”, to read the “signatures” in nature (U 3.2), which will lead to the *logos*, the ultimate truth and, argues that “[i]t is entirely appropriate for Joyce to insert references to reading ‘signatures’ in Nature into a section of the *Wake* devoted to the degradation of the natural environment that results from marketing it as a technology of reproduction” (102). McLuhan argues that “[t]he Book of Nature theme includes all of the aspects of agriculture, commerce, roads, and technology” (101) introduced into the *Wake* up to this point, implying that any human “use” of nature is inevitably “imprinted” on nature. Thus, McLuhan argues that “roads” are here with “dawn” for III.4 because they, like agriculture, commerce and technology, are another attempt to order the world and read the “Book of Nature”.

⁵⁷ Additionally, the proofs for I.7, printed in Ernest Walsh’s *This Quarter*, arrived to Joyce sometime in late October 1925. Using notebooks VI.B.8 and VI.B.19, Joyce corrected them and the publication appeared in the Autumn/Winter 1925-1926 issue.

⁵⁸ Very little criticism refers to these “roads” of which Joyce wrote. Rose and O’Hanlon do assert, however, that “lines 576.18-577.35 form the text of a prayer to the divinity that built our roads” (UFW 278).

⁵⁹ In continuing with the emphasis on the printing press in the popularity of the “Book of Nature” theme and with Joyce’s equating of nature and writing, Foucault has written of this intersection between the idea of the “Book of Nature” and the material book in *The Order of Things*: “The great metaphor of the book that opens, that one pores over and reads in order to know nature, is merely the reverse and visible side of another transference, and a much deeper one, which forces language to reside in the world, among the plants, the herbs, the stones, and the animals” (35).

The inability to read this “Book of Nature” in III.4 is because it occupies the stage before the *ricorso*, the confusion and barbarism before all begins again. In the opening of the first draft of III.4 (October 1925),⁶⁰ nothing is legible: “What was thass? Fog ^what^ wars? Too mult sleepeth. Less me sleep!”⁶¹ The son has awakened the parents and the language imitates the sleeper slowly exiting a dream; the scene is obscured, the words are slurred, the mind is in a “fog”. As the chapter continues, ALP comforts her child after his bad dream, summoning the rains that will clear and renew⁶²: “Anna living one. Pour the winds and waters on. O’er whelming waters on. Tears! Ah tears! Ah tears!”⁶³ She comforts her son, telling him it was only in his imagination: “Shoo to me now, my dream one! Shoom of me! While elvery stream wends ealing on. For to keep this barrel in bounty rolling”,⁶⁴ evoking a winding river or stream (“*elv*” is also “river” in Norwegian). Continuing to calm her son, she talks to him of their town, his life, their history:

When you travel through Lucalizod. At the sulphur spas to visit.⁶⁵ It’s safer to hit than miss it. Stop at the inn! The hammers are telling the cobbles. The pickts are hacking the saxums. It’s snugger to burrow in bed than ballad on broadway. Tuck in your blank. For it’s race pound race the hosties rear all roads to ruin and layers of lifetimes laid down riches from poormen. Cried onions to chip, saltpetre to strew gallpitch to drink stonebread to break, its bully to gulp good blueberry pudding. Dream in the warmth. While silvery moonbeams, feeling by, will keep my littlejim softly dreaming.⁶⁶

The “pickts” refers to the Picts, a group of late Iron Age people who inhabited areas of Scotland (and later merged with the Gaels) while the “saxums” refers to the Saxons. “Saxum” is also “stone” in Latin, a veiled reference to the Pictish writing, as well as, simply, a reference to cobblestones (“cobbles”). The Picts and the Saxons join the list of previous races and civilizations, all now part of the “layers of lifetimes”. ALP’s consolations also traverse the course of the Liffey from west to east (itself a road); from Lucan on to “Snugborough” (a townland of Castleknock, on the

⁶⁰ BL 47482a 2v-60v. See letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver dated 10 October 1925 (LI 234-235).

⁶¹ BL 47482a-4, JJA 60: 5; FDV 247, FW 555.1-2.

⁶² These lines evoke the I.8 chapter being revised simultaneously, a point which Daniel Ferrer also notes in his essay on the genesis of this chapter (HJW 417).

⁶³ BL 47482a-4, JJA 60: 5, FDV 254.22-23, FW 565.30-32.

⁶⁴ BL 47482a-4, JJA 60:5, FDV 255.6-8, FW 565.31.

⁶⁵ The word “Lucan” is crossed out and replaced with “sulphur”.

⁶⁶ BL 47482a-4, JJA 60: 5, FDV 255.9-20, FW 565.17-566.06.

western side of the Phoenix Park), to Chapelizod. The “race pound race” may refer to the mill races of the many mills, iron works and factories located along the Liffey,⁶⁷ all contributing to the history of the river.

In this Viconian scene, if “all roads lead to ruin”, all roads also lead to a new beginning (like the rise and fall of Rome, to which this proverb originally leads). In the first draft of III.4 Issy is no longer associated with the river or the clouds, but with the woods and the flowers. She is asleep in her room:

a barleycandy whistle on her counterpane, wildwood’s eyes, and
primarose hair, quietly, all the woods so wild in mauves of moss and
daphnedews, now all so still she lay, like a happy lost leaf, like any
flower stilled.⁶⁸

The designation of “barley” for the type of candy is tied in with ALP ending up in the “barleyfields” of Dublin’s brewing industries. Issy, the new “modern” generation, has embraced easily and unknowingly the changes that had been so alienating to the generation of her parents. The fact she dreams of wild woods, flowers, and moss suggests she is dreaming of her mother’s source in the wild fields and upland bogs (covered in sphagnum moss/ peat moss) of Wicklow (Foss and O’Connell 185). Though she has never known this freedom herself, it is implanted in a “collective unconscious” of sorts, this desire to return to the forests, to the disordered space of our origin.⁶⁹

The moss-covered bogs are also introduced in the second section of III.4 with “watchman Havelook Seequeersense”, the Sigurdson figure who is cleaning up and collecting the detritus strewn about during the night. This section continues McLuhan’s argument concerning the “Book of Nature”, as the “peat” is used both as a model for the development of language as well as to comment on environmental degradation. The exploitation of peat as a natural resource is evoked here and is closely tied to the other manipulations of nature for human gain discussed throughout III.4. Joyce writes:

Seequeersense, punkt by his cursebog, went long adream the way
seequestering, for love’s propertied offices, loafers purges night

⁶⁷ For a detailed map that shows the location of these mills, iron works and factories, please consult the web site of *Ordnance Survey Ireland* (<<http://maps.osi.ie/publicviewer>>).

⁶⁸ BL 47482a-10, JJA 60: 17, FDV 248.15-19, FW 556.15-22.

⁶⁹ Cf. “foras fashion [history]” (VI.B.14: 224).

leavethings, kikkers, brillers, knappers and bands, handshoes and strumpers, sminkysticks and eddiketsflaskers.⁷⁰

The choice of “seequeersense” implies sequestering literally, in terms of carbon storage, and metaphorically, in terms of the historical development of language. The list of things he collects or “seequesters” is mostly in Danish, as Rose and O’Hanlon have pointed out: “kikkert” is binoculars, “briller” is eyeglasses, “knapper” is buttons, “baand” is ribbons, “handsker” is gloves, “stomper” is stockings, “sminke” is lipstick, and “eddiketflasker” are vinegar bottles (UFW 267). The watchman is “sequestering” Danish words, storing them for later incorporation into Hiberno-English, much like the theories presented to Joyce by Jespersen, the Danish linguist.

When juxtaposed with “cursebog”, it is also easy to see “sequestering” in “seequeersense”, as one of the primary functions of bogs is sequestration (“storage”) of carbon. Foss and O’Connell give a brief overview of how bogs form:

“Waterlogging first reduces oxygen levels and slows the decay of dead vegetation, which settles and gradually becomes peat, a precursor of coal” (184). This characteristic makes peat a cheap and popular form of heat, but also makes peat particularly damaging to both the environment and to human health due to the high concentration of carbon. Peat had been burned for centuries in Ireland, as bog covers “one-sixth of the total land area” of Ireland (Aalen, Stout and Whelan 106). Aalen, Stout and Whelan argue for the inextricable relationship between Ireland’s inhabitants and its bog:

Whilst boglands have strongly influenced rural economy and culture, settlement distribution and communications, they are themselves deeply humanised landscapes which have evolved, indeed sometimes originated, in close association with land use systems. The bog has been etched as deeply into the human as into the physical record in Ireland, to an extent unrivalled elsewhere in Europe. (106)

This ubiquity of bogland and the central cultural role occupied by bogs in Ireland easily explains the popularity of turf cutting, especially in rural Ireland. With the inception of the Irish Free State, peat was valued as an explicitly “Irish” resource which could lead to energy independence, and turf cutting was championed by both Eamon De Valera and Sean Lemass. One of De Valera’s speeches focused on the importance of turf for Ireland’s energy and industry, and the 1934 creation of the

⁷⁰ BL 47482a-10, JJA 60: 17, FDV 248.23-27, FW 556.23-27.

Turf Development Board sent exploratory committees to Russia and to Germany to learn about the most efficient methods of turf cutting and drying (Mac Manus 267). According to De Valera's biographer M.J. MacManus, De Valera's goal of industrializing Ireland strongly required the energy from turf, and the industrial scale turf cutting and drying that began during this period was to make Ireland "largely independent of imported coal" (Mac Manus 267). In *Finnegans Wake*, bogs are not merely present as decorative aspects of the Irish landscape, but are crucial points of intersection between history, politics, man and nature and are exemplary of the exploitation of nature.

Another key feature of peat bogs already mentioned is their preservational abilities. E. Estyn Evans, in *The Personality of Ireland: Habitat, Heritage and History*, provides an image of these abilities, explaining that "[t]he sight and scent of turf are evocative of traditional rural life, and like the peasant mind, the peat bogs hold the past in their depths" (34). "Thanks to their preservative powers", he continues, "they contain a record of vegetational and human history to supplement the meagre written record" (34). In addition to nearly "mummifying" artefacts ranging from Paleolithic tools to human bodies, the layers of compressed organic matter reveal the natural history of the area including the changes in climate, terrain, occupation, flora and fauna. Though recent developments in paleobotany and dendrochronology have allowed the history of the bogs to "speak" even more extensively, this idea that bogs preserved history, both natural and human, would have been widely understood in Joyce's lifetime. For example, in his 1911 *Geography of Ireland*, O.J.R. Howarth presents an Irish landscape that physically bears remnants of the country's historical geography, explaining how bogs reveal an Ireland quickly transformed from a heavily forested island to one almost completely barren, and how bogs encroached upon this newly vacant space. "Wherever the stumps of old trees are found buried in the bogs of the present day (as they often are)", he writes, "there, it may be supposed, a forest formerly grew" (143). In the same way that Hiberno-English preserves the history of Ireland's various inhabitants and influences, bogs preserve the history of Ireland's landscape. For Joyce, bogs and language have similar preservational functions, and this can be seen throughout the *Wake* (particularly in I.1) in relationship to the types of objects preserved in bogs (e.g. bog bodies, bog oak, Celtic gold) and the way in which a language retains the traces of other languages with which it has been in contact.

Continuing with the Irish Free State's focus on industry and development, the first draft of III.4 proceeds to incorporate the manipulation of nature for development and industry. The twelve men rehash their case against HCE, and one of their accusations involves HCE's "intent to excitation by retrogradation of firearmed forces proper to this nation",⁷¹ i.e., his actions caused the fire brigade to be called out (and the "proper to this nation" asserts that they are no longer British forces acting as the fire brigade, but the newly formed Irish fire brigades). The sentence, they decide, is "corporal amputation":

to be carried out by Nolans Volans tomorrow morn at six o'clock
shark & may the yeastwind hoppinghail malt mercy on his honeymeal
& his hurlyburlygrowth.⁷²

These natural ingredients have all been manipulated by industry; yeast, hops, malt and barley ("burly") all contribute to the brewing process (following from ALP and the "barleyfields" of Dublin) and "meal" is produced from honey (hence, "honeymeal"). HCE is a De Valera figure, pushing industry on the Irish people and the Irish land (also represented in HCE's relationship to ALP).

The specific choices of "yeastwind" and "hoppinghail" refer to the plagues put upon Egypt by Yahweh in order to force the Pharaoh to free the Israelites. "Yeastwind" refers to "east wind", supported by the preceding "*shark*" which is also "east" in Arabic. The "east wind", the "wind of the wilderness" (Job 1:19), is the destructive wind in the Bible, and the wind responsible for the scorching of Pharaoh's seven ears of corn in Genesis 41:5-7. It is responsible for the plague of locusts upon Egypt (Exod. 10: 1-20), for Paul's shipwreck in Acts 27:14, and for the parting of the Red Sea (Exod. 14: 21), enabling the children of Israel to evade the Pharaoh's pursuit. The "hoppinghail" in conjunction with the "yeastwind" points to the use of the east wind in Exodus, for another plague occurs in 9:13-35, bringing the worst storm that had fallen on Egypt since it became a nation; this storm destroyed the orchards, the crops, the livestock and the people themselves, exempting only Goshen. HCE is consequently aligned with the Pharaoh, guilty of oppressing the Israelites.

The Biblical themes continue in the next section of III.4, developing the setting of the *Wake* in the Phoenix Park, in Chapelizod, and along the Liffey. This

⁷¹ BL 47482a-41v, JJA 60: 80, FDV 249.24-25, FW 557.22-24.

⁷² BL 47482a-42v, JJA 60: 138, FDV 251.16-19, FW 558.14-20.

section reintroduces the Garden of Eden, but in addition to the Phoenix Park, it is also Zion, and also stands for the ideal place to which humanity wishes to (but cannot) return; the “woods” of which Issy dreams. The first draft of this section describes the children “in reverey’s happy gardens nine & twenty Leixlip yearlings had such a ripping time with gleeful cries of what is little shaun made of”.⁷³ The corrections to this line on the first draft display that before “with gleeful cries of”, Joyce had written “playing”, and then “plaguing”, and then “having”, suggesting that Joyce did have the plagues of Exodus in mind during this draft. The “reverey’s happy gardens” then takes on a Zionist theme, with Israel aligned with Eden.

This section also introduces one of the many instances of the *Wake*’s “salmon” motif (in addition to its continual association with the leap-year girls), as Joyce adds “Leixlip” and “salmon leap”, alluding to the Zionist “return” by evoking the salmon’s return home to spawn and to die. Salmon play an important role in the structure of the *Wake* as their life cycle provides a way for Joyce to link effectively Ireland’s geography, Ireland’s mythology, Viconian cycles, sexuality, prophecy, and non-human species. Like the salmon to their home, the next section of III.4 returns to HCE’s home in Chapelizod at “about four a.m.”,⁷⁴ providing a theatrical look at the interior of the house. In one bedroom, the wallpaper changes from simply “pink” to “salmon”,⁷⁵ and the “Left wall” becomes the “Right wall” and finally the “North wall”⁷⁶; both changes firmly locating the house on the Liffey. The North Wall is specified due to its implication in manipulating the Liffey as well as for its association with “departures” of varying kinds. In the case of the salmon flowing past the house in Chapelizod, following their spawning in late autumn, 90-95% would die in their native river and then flow back out to sea according to the *Atlantic Salmon Trust*. This idea of death following reproduction lends a particular weight as the narrative’s description moves to the bedroom of HCE and ALP, gradually revealing that the two are engaged in intercourse. Their intercourse is analogous to the spawning of the salmon, and the placement of this scene at the end of III.4, prior to the renewal of the Viconian cycle, is fitting.⁷⁷

⁷³ BL 47482a-60b, JJA 60: 118, FDV 251.20-22, FW 558.21-23.

⁷⁴ BL 47482a-30v, JJA 60: 58, FDV 252.4, FW 587.1-2.

⁷⁵ BL 47482a-30v, JJA 60: 58, FDV 251.29, FW 559.2.

⁷⁶ BL 47482a-30v, JJA 60: 58, FDV 251.29, FW 559.4.

⁷⁷ The final words of ALP as she returns to the sea may also allude to the fact that, according to the *Atlantic Salmon Trust*, of the 5-10% of Atlantic salmon that do return to the sea and go through the spawning cycle again, nearly all of them are female.

The Phoenix Park as “Eden” theme continues with the passage simultaneously describing HCE’s bottom and the Phoenix Park. While the Phoenix Park serves as the setting for HCE’s “original sin”, his unknown “crime”, this passage is not overtly Biblical; instead, the passage addresses the severing of man from nature believed to be the result of Adam and Eve’s exile from Eden. The description of the park focuses upon various tyrannous relationships, from the subjugation of an animal in a zoo to the presence of the colonial power and its military and situates these elements in the landscape of the Phoenix Park.⁷⁸ In continuing with HCE’s appearance as a hunted animal in I.2 and I.4, he now appears as an animal in the Dublin Zoo, the “white and gold Elephant amid our zoopark”,⁷⁹ and the park is described by the second narrator, Mark, as follows:

Is it not that we have here from back, woman permitting, a profusely fine birdseye view from beahind this park? Finn’s park has been much the admiration all of the stranger ones, Greekish & romanos, who arrive to here. The road down the centre (see map) bisexes the park which is said to be the largest of its kind in the world. On the right prominence confronts you the handsome viceregal lodge while, turn we the other supreme piece of cheek, exactly opposite is the equally handsome chief secreatory residence. The black & blue markings indicate the presence of sylvious beltings. Grassrides herearound lend themselves out for rustic cavalries. Any pretty deers are to be caught inside. A dandelion now shows the site when formerly the first murder were wanted to take place. Some hystorical leavesdroppings may also be garnered up with Sir Shemus Swiftpatrick in archfieldchaplain of Saint Lucan’s. At the lowest end do not fail to see and to point to yourself a depression, called the Hollow. It is often quite gloamy and gives bad thought to the head but the band of the Metropolitan Policingforcers bassoons into it on windy Woodensdays their wellsoundng wolvertones.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ In Ireland’s case, these two examples are actually very similar; both the Dublin Zoo and large military barracks were located in Phoenix Park, and the Zoo, popularized during England’s Victorian period, was opened during 1831 (De Courcy).

⁷⁹ BL 47482a-35v, JJA 60: 68, FDV 253.31-33, FW 564.6.

⁸⁰ BL 47482a-35v, 36v, 37v, JJA 60: 68, 70, 72, FDV 253.33-254.15, FW 564-565.

In his essay, “Large Parks: A Designer’s Perspective”, the landscape architect George Hargreaves argues that parks are palimpsests (122), and that their design should strive to retain their history, both cultural and natural.

Joyce’s description of the Phoenix Park presents this “palimpsest” in several different ways; the Greek and Roman version of the pastoral appears with the “Greekish & Romanos” and with the Latinate “sylvious”, the “pretty deers” caught “inside” revisit the establishment of the park as hunting grounds by Lord Ormonde in 1662, and the subsequent construction of the wall and the Latin *parricus*, or “fence”. The Viceregal Lodge and Secretary’s lodge are the imprint of English rule and “Swiftpatrick” may allude to Swift’s joke about the construction of the Magazine Fort; “Sir Shemus Swiftpatrick” is an amalgamation of Shem, Jonathan Swift and Saint Patrick. “Wolvertone” contains “Wellington” as well as “Wolfe Tone”, merging two figures with very different reputations in Irish history. Then, a single dandelion is revealed, marking the spot where the “first murder” took place (Abel), or, more currently, the 1882 Phoenix Park murders. In the same way that this dandelion’s presence contains a story, one may look to other parts of nature, to “leavesdroppings” to unearth the “hystorical”.⁸¹ One place to search is the “archfieldchaplain”, composed of both “field” and “champlain” (*champs*, French for “field” or “plain”).

The road that “bisexes” the park is Chesterfield Avenue and its presence here brings us back to Joyce’s letter about how III.4 should be all about “dawn and roads”. This road, with the Viceregal Lodge on one side and the Chief Secretary’s Lodge on the other, is named after the Earl of Chesterfield who, according to Weston St. John Joyce in his *Neighbourhood of Dublin*, is the name most closely associated with the park. During his viceroyalty, Chesterfield “ornamentally planted and laid it [the Phoenix Park] out, constructed the Main Road, and erected the Phoenix column” (419-420). This bisecting road is also the line between the cheeks of HCE’s bottom, as the “black & blue markings” are bruises, signs of “sodomy”.⁸² However, they are also “sylvious beltings”, or “sylvan belts”, groups of trees in the park. The “deers” are the herds of deer that run wild in the Phoenix Park, imported to Ireland for the purposes of stocking the hunting grounds.

⁸¹ Cf. VI.B.14: 199, “hysteric historic”.

⁸² On the first draft of III.4, Joyce has written the permutations of HCE (CEH, EHC and HCE) with the word “sodomy” in the margins of an earlier passage (BL 47482a-30v, JJA 60: 58).

“Finn’s Park” refers to the giant, “Finn”, stretched across the landscape, but also to the Anglicized “*Fionn Uisge*”, a fact Joyce recorded in two different notebooks during this period as “Phoenix (Fionn Uisge)” (VI.B.6: 81) and “Π Mr Phoenix” and “(Fionn Uisge)” (VI.B.1: 34). In a 14 August 1927 letter to Weaver, Joyce returned to his interest in this mistranslation, explaining:

As to ‘Phoenix.’ A viceroy who knew no Irish thought this was the word the Dublin people used and put up the mount of a phoenix in the park. The Irish was *fiunishgue* = clear water from a well of bright water there. (LI 258)

It may have seemed humorous to Joyce that an English viceroy was responsible for the association of this Dublin park with images of resurrection and rebirth. Hargreaves’ idea of the park as “palimpsest” is highly effective for understanding this passage of the *Wake*; Joyce presents a space where the landscape and even the language bear inscriptions of each previous occupier.

As the draft of III.4 continues⁸³ the narrators talk of the king’s impending hunting visit to the Phoenix Park (returning to McLuhan’s assertion that through I.2, “hunting” is directly related to Joyce’s idea of roads for this chapter). The narrators enquire, “Do you not have heard that the king shall come tomorrow?”, and a reply comes that he “shall come for hunting on our illcome fuxes”.⁸⁴ Finding themselves lost in the king’s hunting grounds, the narrators venture to map their location: “I fear lest we have lost ours respecting these wild parts. All now appears quite shaggy and beastful”.⁸⁵ They are lost in a Dante-esque forest, *un selva oscura*, until they come to a signpost:

[T]o the point, 1 yard, to Sara’s bridge, 600 yds, to the Wellington Memorial, 800 yards, to the General Posting Office 2 miles, to Dunleary Obelisk, via the Rock, 8 miles.⁸⁶

The locations of which the distance from the point in the Phoenix Park is given share one thing in common: their relationship to the English crown. “Sara’s Bridge” was named, in the late eighteenth century, after the wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and was renamed “Island Bridge” in 1922 (Mink 175). The Wellington monument, in honour of the Duke of Wellington, is, in the *Wake*, England’s power manifested as a

⁸³ In this final version of the *Wake*, this section is FW 566.07-570.14.

⁸⁴ BL 47482a-37v, JJA 60: 72, FDV 256.3-4, FW 367.24-25.

⁸⁵ BL 47482a-38v, JJA 60: 74, FDV 255.25-26, FW 566.33.

⁸⁶ BL 47482a-38v, JJA 60: 74, FDV 255, FW 556.31-567.04.

large phallic monument in the centre of the Phoenix Park (as demonstrated by John Bishop's interpretation of the giant superimposed upon Dublin in *Joyce's Book of the Dark* [34-35]). The General Post Office was the symbolic location for the staging of the 1916 Easter Rising, but based on Joyce's placement of the GPO here, it also represents England's attempted control over Ireland's space and time. Distance, in Dublin, was traditionally based on the General Post Office, demonstrating the colonial domination over even spatial matters.⁸⁷

The "Dunleary Obelisk" is the 1821 obelisk built in commemoration of King George IV's visit. *Dún Laoghaire* itself was renamed "Kingstown" because of King George's arrival there in 1821, recalling the king's "naming" of HCE in I.2. This suggests that the king arriving for his hunting in the Phoenix Park is, indeed, King George IV in 1821. At the end of a draft of III.2, from summer 1925, Shaun's departure is narrated with dramatic nationalist rhetoric and Yeatsian imagery; his departure is lamented with the "foggy dews" and the "barleywind",⁸⁸ but his return will be a glorious one wherein he will take part in revolutionary actions that will return the land of Ireland to the Irish and will see, as Joyce adds to the galleys of Book III, "Don Leary gets his own back from old grog Georges Quartos".⁸⁹ Hence, *Dún Laoghaire* will no longer be "Kingstown"; it will no longer directly bear the colonial inscription. King George's presence suggests that the issue at hand here is the English control of the land; the English King comes to Ireland to hunt, to murder native species for his own pleasure. The English King has the power to invade the sacred landscape of the Phoenix Park and to use it in any way he wishes. He also holds the power to change the way in which people relate to the landscape by changing the very name by which a particular space is known.

Joyce maintains his emphasis on the thematic link between imperialism and land as the draft of III.4 continues. Another imperialist "road" appears alongside Chesterfield Avenue with the addition of "via mala hyber pass: through lands vague and vain, after mandelays",⁹⁰ referring to the Phoenix Park's "Kyber Road". "Via mala", or, "the bad way", is the Khyber Pass and Mandalay: two British colonial possessions (on the Afghanistan/Pakistan border and in Burma, respectively). The

⁸⁷ This appears again much later in the composition of the *Wake*, on drafts of II.1 that, according to *Thom's Directory*, locate Chapelizod by citing a distance equal to that from the GPO to Chapelizod. The GPO's clock once read Dunsink Time (approximately 25 minutes behind GMT), but this was set to Greenwich Mean Time in 1916, an event seen by many as a reaction to the Easter Rising.

⁸⁸ BL 47483-52, JJA 57: 176, FW 428.11-13.

⁸⁹ BL 47487-17v, JJA 62: 32, FW 428.18-19.

⁹⁰ BL 47482a-7, JJA 60: 11, FDV 259.35-36, FW 577.23.

colonial role of the Phoenix Park is implicated with the imperial domination of these Asian nations. With this addition, the possession of land becomes part of a periodic cycle, and the subjugation of Afghanistan, Pakistan and Burma under British rule is evoked as another window through which to see Ireland's relationship to England.

The narrators return to a domestic scene, and HCE is reintroduced as "Projector & giant builder of all causeways".⁹¹ "Causeways" is in keeping with Joyce's designation of III.4 as about "roads", as well as an evocation of Finn McCool and the Giant's Causeway legend. In an 1832 issue of *The Dublin Penny Journal*, a short piece about the Giant's Causeway's geological composition also presents the legend of its creation. According to this legend, the Causeway was built to bring together Finn McCool and a Scottish giant named Benandonner; Finn, tired from the construction of the causeway, fell asleep, and Finn's wife dressed him up as a child. Seeing what he thought was Finn's enormous child, Benandonner feared for his life and ran back to Scotland, breaking up the causeway as he went ("Giant's Causeway" 33-34). The creation of such legends to provide explanations for natural formations is a characteristic of all mythology; what we now explain with science had once been explained with stories.

In his *Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland*, W.B. Yeats's story of Finn McCool and the Giant's Causeway contains only two annotations, one of them being to the word "nightcap". In the story, the villagers ask Finn McCool why he has built his home on the top of the windy Knockmany Hill, where he must be "forced to take [his] nightcap without either going to bed or turning up [his] little finger" (163). Yeats provides the gloss that a "nightcap" is actually "[a] common name for the cloud or rack that hangs as a forerunner of wet weather, about the peak of a mountain" (163). "Nightcap" can mean either a final drink for the night, a sleeping cap, or a cloud that presages a storm; all signs of the impending renewal that will come after the close of III.4. It is no coincidence that in the first draft of III.4, Joyce has included this term twice: "Man with nightcap, in bed, fore"⁹² and "By the queer quick twist of her nightcap".⁹³ Knowing that "nightcap" is a cloud as much as it is a sleeping cap provides a way of understanding the constant presence of clouds and weather in this chapter of sleeping.

⁹¹ BL 47482a-6, JJA 60: 9, FDV 259.13, FW 576.19.

⁹² BL 47482a-30v, JJA 60: 58, FDV 252.5, FW 559.20.

⁹³ BL 47482a-22, JJA 60: 41 FDV 263.5, FW 583.5.

Then, the line “They’re coming back, down the scales, the way they went up, sweetheartedly, hot and cold and electricrery with autumn lounge and porter free”⁹⁴ introduces the various cycles present in this draft of III.4. As the storm approaches, the atmospheric pressure is dropping; (thunderstorms can occur when a mass of cold air meets a mass of hot air), and “electricrery” is the lightning, an electrical discharge between regions of opposite charge (either in the same cloud, between two different clouds, or between a cloud and the ground) (Allaby 98). The storm is coming, “in spite of all that science could boot & art could skill”,⁹⁵ i.e., our human “progress” cannot overcome the weather, cannot overcome the larger forces that lead to our own demise. The storm moves closer: “Close the gate” is immediately changed to “Bolt the gate”⁹⁶ (evoking thunderbolts, also part of the Finn McCool/Giant’s Causeway story) and all that is left to turn to is religion, the first language: “Practise preaching. By faith alone”.⁹⁷ Then the eye, the “(l)ovely weather” before the storm, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah: “Gomormn. Solong”.⁹⁸ On the next draft, “Lovely weather” is changed to “season’s weather”,⁹⁹ presaging the *ricorso*. Then, there is a quick recap of a life in Viconian terms:

For they met & mated & wed & buckled & got & gave & reared & raised & planned & plundered & pawned their souls & pillaged our bodies & fought & feigned & strained relations & broke the bank & hated the sight of one another & bequeathed their ills & turned their coats & belied their origins & never learned the first day’s lesson & tried to mingle & managed to save & feathered some nests & fouled their own & escaped from drowning by the skin of their teeth & were responsible for congested districts & took to drink & published their privates & tramped over the world to the court of pye poudre & were cuffed by their customers & bit the dust & went as they came and yet they come back, lamp in hand & shirt on high, peekabooing.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ BL 47482a-15, JJA 60: 27, FDV 260.33-261.2, FW 579.1-7.

⁹⁵ BL 47482a-15v, JJA 60:28, FDV 261.1-2, FW 579.7-8.

⁹⁶ BL 47482a-15v, JJA 60: 28, FDV 261.2, FW 579.8.

⁹⁷ BL 47482a-15v, JJA 60: 28, FDV 261.4, FW 579.22-23.

⁹⁸ BL 47482a-15v, JJA 60: 28, FDV 261.4-5, FW 579.23-24. Later in the first draft of III.4, we also find “promethean paraddonnerwetter” and “life’s lovelightning” (BL 47482a-27, JJA 60: 51, FDV 265.19-21, FW 585.11-12), continuing to evoke the sense that a thunderstorm is occurring.

⁹⁹ BL 47482a-30, JJA 60: 217, FW 579.23-24.

¹⁰⁰ BL 47482a-16, 18, JJA 60: 31, 33, FDV 261.6-15, FW 579.27-580.12.

HCE and ALP assume, in addition to the roles of husband and wife, mother and father, the roles of invaders, soldiers, traitors, civic developers,¹⁰¹ travellers and businessmen. HCE and ALP, like all couples, have been through a lot, but their relationship endured. Just before this section of III.4, the wind begins to come up outside, preparing for the *ricorso*, for the great storm and return to calm. The historian, Mark, ignores this procession of events (and of time): “Stop! Did he stir? No, he’s fast. So he is. Come to bed. It’s merely the wind on the road outside to wake all shivering shanks from snoring”.¹⁰² The historian ignores the warnings presented by history, and the civilization present at this point in the *Wake*, represented by the family of HCE, will fall victim to the same threats that have toppled all earlier civilizations, but will also proceed with the same hope. Much happens to individuals and to civilizations in their short lives, and in the end, they do return to where they began.

To emphasize the inevitability of history’s repetition, the invasions of Ireland are again suggested with “Dyfflinsborg”¹⁰³ (referring to the Norse name for the territory around Dublin, “Dyfflinarskidi”), “Europe’s the prey!”¹⁰⁴ and “Kingsdown”.¹⁰⁵ Both “Dyfflinsborg” and “Kingsdown” refer not only to the renaming of Irish places by colonizers, but also to the development of the railroad in Ireland: “Kingsdown for his orb’s extension”,¹⁰⁶ or, the connection of Dublin and Dun Laoghaire by rail for the “orb’s” (*urb*, city and “borg” as *burg*) expansion. In addition to the railroad casting HCE as an imperialist and a developer, this also presents the invaders of Ireland as if they are on a train. Upon reaching Ireland, everyone gets off, except for the Romans, who famously never reached Ireland: “change here for Looterstown. Onlyromans, keep your seats!”¹⁰⁷

After the rise and fall of various periods of Irish occupation have been demonstrated, the narrative returns to the individual story of HCE, ALP, their house and their family. The narrative focuses on the two figures in an individual sexual act, an act which reproduces the rise and fall of their entire lives. Connecting to the storm

¹⁰¹ Referring to the “congested districts board”, which refers to Ireland’s Congested Districts Board, established in 1891 to alleviate rural poverty. For more information about the history and effectiveness of this governmental body, see Ciara Breathnach’s *The Congested Districts Board, 1891-1923* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2005).

¹⁰² BL 47482a-4, JJA 60: 6, FDV 260.12-13, FW 578.1-2.

¹⁰³ BL 47482a-21, JJA 60: 39, FDV 263.16-17, FW 582.21-22.

¹⁰⁴ BL 47482a- 21, JJA 60:39, FDV 263.25, FW 582.31-32.

¹⁰⁵ BL 47482a-21, JJA 60: 39, FDV 263.29, FW 582.35.

¹⁰⁶ BL 47482a-22, JJA 60: 39, FDV 263.29, FW 582.35-36.

¹⁰⁷ BL 47482a-21, JJA 60: 39, FDV 263.26-27, FW 582.33-34.

passing over their house, their copulation is described in terms of a storm and an ensuing flood (Rose and O’Hanlon explain that “[n]ight after night, H.C.E. ‘floods’ A.L.P.” [282]). A flood can bring much destruction, both to the human and non-human world, but a flood (like that of the Nile’s flood cycle or the Biblical flood) can also bring fertile land and new life, and hence, Joyce’s use of the word in the context of reproduction. The “flood” of *Finnegans Wake* possesses an equally dualistic nature, bringing the hope of renewal along with the inevitability of death.

As the storm approaches, bringing with it the flood that will begin the new cycle and will carry ALP out to the sea, Joyce carefully selects the way in which the various personae of the *Wake* appear:

Here’s the flood, ^and^ the flaxen flood earned ^forecast^ ^loost^ by Cain ^Kain^ outflanked ^inklored^ by Ham ^Kam^ reordered ^evaded^ by Patrick ^Paw^ ^Kawdrig^ ^Kawdreg^ delivered ^ysold^ by Tristan ^Krishkan^ by Patrick’s-dear, by Karnell overagain, that’s to come over fightlittle tightlittle irryland.¹⁰⁸

In his biography of Saint Patrick, Kinane writes “[t]here is [...] the great sea to come over Erinn seven years before the Judgment” (127), which Joyce recorded as “[t]here is the great sea to come over I – 7 years before doom” (VI.B.14: 45),¹⁰⁹ suggesting that Joyce took a great interest in the role of the sea in Ireland’s future “judgement”. The fact that all the major characters and referents appear here shows that Joyce subsumes them all in the flood: Cain, Kevin, Ham, Patrick, Isolde, Tristan, and even Charles Stewart Parnell.

The result of HCE and ALP’s activity is described as “annastomoses”,¹¹⁰ containing “anna” of ALP, “moses”, and “anastomosis”. An anastomosis occurs when two previously branched streams recombine; here, Joyce is interpreting it metaphorically and using it to refer to intercourse, as well as to the “act of union”¹¹¹ of Britain and Ireland. The line, “And you may go rightoway back to your Auntie Diluvia, Humphrey, after that”,¹¹² also tells us that Joyce is referring to an anastomosing type of river system (i.e., one characterized by anabranches, or channels cut from floodplains). When such a river floods, its flow diverts to these

¹⁰⁸ BL 47482a-24, JJA 60: 45/ BL 47482a-42, JJA 60: 81/ BL 47482a-24, JJA 60: 183, FDV 264.9-13, FW 583.19-20.

¹⁰⁹ This note also appears in Mme Raphael’s transcriptions: “That is the great gem to come over J - 7 just before dawn” (VI.C.12: 31).

¹¹⁰ BL 47482a-22v, JJA 60: 42, FDV 265.28-29, FW 585.22.

¹¹¹ BL 47482a-27, JJA 60: 51, FDV 265.31, FW 585.25.

¹¹² BL 47482a-22v, JJA 60: 42, FDV 266.5-7, FW 585.32.

anabranches, and after flooding, the river returns to its unified flow (Schumm 34). Joyce is saying that, despite the seeming achievement of the goal, the “climax” of Irish independence, Ireland will inevitably be absorbed by another power. This is why the “park phoenix rangers”¹¹³ appear again in the next section of III.4, bringing back the visit of King George IV for his hunting trip in the Phoenix Park.

The hounds, though, have passed by; now the thrushes are singing,¹¹⁴ and everyone is looking to the sun (“Seekasun”) amidst the destruction, the “crumbling”,¹¹⁵ the flood. A patrolman passing would hear nothing “beyond the flow of wand was gypsing water telling him now telling him all, all about ham and livery, stay and toast ham and livery”.¹¹⁶ All that remains is the water, the nature, whose rhythm is the rhythm of ALP. But the quiet will not remain for long; there is also the “wind then mong them treen”,¹¹⁷ returning to the “wind on the road outside” (and echoing Yeats’s “Down by the Sally Gardens,” from his 1889 collection *The Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems*).

The “wind then mong them treen”, the wind among the trees, is next to tell its story. The next passage drafted is not only littered with tree names themselves, but in the same way that Stephen imagines the “wavespeech” in “Proteus”, Joyce, finally putting the Ogham letters to good use, imagines “treespeech”:

See yews. All see, together. Hers? saw hymn? Him saw. So and so.
Hers, cease to cease. Kindly turn the new leaves thinning over,
lisperingly. Cease to cease. Rustle off now. Spake the sooth folly
volanty to us? Were you there? Where who were?¹¹⁸

The trees are questioned, but they do not reply; they only make some sounds (“s” and “o” sounds), as the wind passes through them, mistaken for English words. The holly and ivy are queried, their “climbing”, “creeping”, and “clinging” to the wall (the magazine wall, the wall of all cities) misinterpreted as their commemoration of the human events that have passed there (“then Yule remember me. O”).¹¹⁹ They inquire

¹¹³ BL 47482a-8v, JJA 60: 30, FDV 267.18-19, FW 587.25.

¹¹⁴ “thrushes’ mistiles yet singing” (FW 586.26). This thrush is not unlike Thomas Hardy’s famous thrush (“The Darkling Thrush”), who sings despite the speaker’s anxiety over the dawn of the new century (“That I could think there trembled through / His happy good-night air/ Some blessed Hope, whereof he knew / And I was unaware” (29-32).

¹¹⁵ BL 47482a-16b, JJA 60: 30, FDV 266.25, FW 586.29.

¹¹⁶ BL 47482a-16v, JJA 60: 30, FDV 266.31-33, FW 586.34-36.

¹¹⁷ BL 47482a-16v, JJA 60: 30, FDV 266.34-35, FW 587.2.

¹¹⁸ BL 47482a-8v, JJA 60:14, FDV 267.1-6, Not in FW.

¹¹⁹ BL 47482a-8v, JJA 60: 14, FDV 267.9, FW 508.5.

about HCE, whom they called “old honeysucker”¹²⁰ (in an attempt to win over the trees, hoping they will reveal the answer). “We sort of gathered he was in sugar”, they continue, translating HCE’s sexual arousal to arboreal terms, referring to the flowing of sap in spring.

The weather conditions are mentioned again, specifically, the fog. The narrators explain, “it was low visibility”,¹²¹ defending their own lack of knowledge and placing blame on nature. “Hollymerry, iveysad, were you there?” they ask again, only to be answered: “Nobody’s here to hear, only trees, such as these, such as those waving there, the Barkertree, the O’Brientree, the Rowantree, the O’Corneltree, all the trees of the wood that trembold, humbild, when they heard the stoppress from their Someday’s Herold”.¹²² As nature does not provide the desired answer, it is ignored, shown by the transformation of the trees with human names.

The focus moves to another account of the rise and fall of HCE, his development, his role as civic leader, his wealth, and his children. The trees continue to pervade the story, however; the capital is made “out of landed selfinterest”,¹²³ and HCE’s womanising is described as “running a girl in Goatstown, harbouring fallen women & felling the pines”.¹²⁴ Again, civilisation develops at the expense of nature, and the land is feminized, exploited and betrayed. However, the daughter, who was seen on her way “to the oakroom fancy ball”¹²⁵ is a “picture queen”¹²⁶ and, like the thrush, is a ray of light and hope. The trees in III.4 become a symbol of decay and of hope, of death and of creation.

Rivers and Civilizations: I.8, II.2§8, I.1

In his book *Dublin Bay*, the archaeologist Brian Lalor emphasizes that the geography of Dublin Bay itself is of utmost importance to the origin, development and character of Dublin city and its surroundings (Lalor 8). In III.4, the changing role of nature also resulted in a changing conception of the female and of the female relationship to nature. Together with the developments of the ecological framework provided by VI.B.14, this led to a strengthening of the river’s importance throughout the *Wake* during this period. Joyce had once said that the Liffey was as important as

¹²⁰ BL 47482a-8v, JJA 60: 14, FDV 267.23, FW 587.19 (“Honeysuckle” also appears at FW 588.4).

¹²¹ BL 47482a-8v, JJA 60: 14, FDV 267.21, ?FW 587.28.

¹²² BL 47482a-8v, JJA 60: 14, FDV 267.25-29 FW 588.27-34.

¹²³ BL 47482a-9v, JJA 60: 16, FDV 268.4, FW 589.8-9.

¹²⁴ BL 47482a-7v, JJA 60: 12, FDV 268.9-10, Not in FW.

¹²⁵ BL 47482a-7v, JJA 60: 12, FDV 268.12, Not in FW.

¹²⁶ BL 47482a-7v, JJA 60: 12, FDV 268.11, Not in FW.

Christianity to Dublin's development,¹²⁷ and this can be seen in Joyce's attention to the specific geography of the Liffey and the land through which it flows. The first drafts of I.8 were more concerned with the Liffey as a symbol, but as the *Wake* progressed, the Liffey (and rivers in general), takes on a leading role in Joyce's understanding of history. June and July 1925 brought the second and third typescripts for I.8,¹²⁸ containing many additions of world rivers to demonstrate the connection between all civilizations and their relationships to water. To these typescripts, Joyce incorporates many Metchnikoff notes from VI.B.1 and also focuses on padding the chapter with the names of other rivers and riverine terms. The second typescript gains: "Oronoko! What's the trouble?",¹²⁹ "backwater", "wave", "thames",¹³⁰ "short Brittas bed", "ambushore",¹³¹ "dneepers", "gangres",¹³² and several other additions related to bodies of water and their ecology. The third typescript, from July 1925, exhibits small changes and additions to the river material, such as "her peakload of rivers",¹³³ "about in Ow and Ovoca?",¹³⁴ "Tell me the sound of the shorthorn's name. And drip me why", "Anubilee^ letters",¹³⁵ "Southfolk's place but howmulty ^plurators^", "Are you suir?",¹³⁶ and "Garonne! Garonne!"¹³⁷ (to replace "Go on! Go on!"). The rivers added at this draft level vary in location, size and cultural or historical "importance": the Garonne, in southwest France/northern Spain, is a fairly small river, especially when compared to the Orinoco (the second longest river in South America), the Dnieper (the fourth longest river in Europe) or the Ganges, roughly 2500 km in length and sacred to the Hindu faith. In following with the work of Metchnikoff, Joyce is composing a portrait of the Liffey as part of a larger network of waterways that have dictated the shape and culture of their respective nations and civilizations.

¹²⁷ "As a creative force", Frank Budgen paraphrases, the Liffey "is older and greater than Christ or Caesar. If Christ left Dublin the city would still exist" (128).

¹²⁸ The "virtual notebook" VI.D.1 and VI.B.9 were the notebooks in use for these drafts.

¹²⁹ BL 47474-165, JJA 48: 96, FW 214.10.

¹³⁰ BL 47474-160, JJA 48: 85, FW 199.1.

¹³¹ BL 47474-147, JJA 58: 87, FW 201.20.

¹³² BL 47474-142, JJA 48: 82, FW 196.18.

¹³³ BL 47474-145, JJA 48: 102, FW 199.23.

¹³⁴ BL 47474-148, JJA 48: 105, FW 203.14-15.

¹³⁵ BL 47474-150, JJA 48: 107, FW 205.7.

¹³⁶ BL 47474: 172-173, JJA 48: 123, FW 203.9.

¹³⁷ BL 47474-175, JJA 48: 125, FW 205.15.

This third typescript of I.8¹³⁸ introduces more “transitional”, riparian spaces with Joyce changing “backside” to “bankside”, and adding “shores”, “shoal”,¹³⁹ and “peats be with them”¹⁴⁰ all to the same page. “Bankside” and “shores” embody the spaces between the ordered land and the chaotic water; the unpredictable liminal spaces, the ecotones.¹⁴¹ A “shoal” is a sand or gravel bar that extends into the water; it is composed of sand, silt, or small pebbles, and develops where a stream or ocean current deposits such sedimentary material (“Shoal”, def. 1).¹⁴² A shoal can be glacial (a shoal moraine), and, like peat, can record the traces of previous geological eras. It is appropriate that these additions are to the section telling the story of ALP, the River Liffey, in her youth: “She must have been a gadabout in her day, so she must, more than most. Shoal she was, you bet!”¹⁴³ A perhaps useful source to turn to when trying to determine the importance of Joyce’s usage of rivers may be W.K. Magee’s *Pebbles from a Brook*, a text of which Joyce once said that he “knew a great many sentences and ends of sentences by heart” (qtd. Kain 358). Magee uses the word “shoal” in a paragraph beginning “Nature abhors perfection”, arguing that anything seeming to have reached “perfection” is only in “some backwater or shoal out of the eternal currents, where life has ceased to circulate”. He continues:

The course of time is fringed with perfections but bears them not upon its bosom. The river goes to the sea, time to eternity, and we mortals desire perfection, but unable to repose in the universal purpose and find satisfaction in fullest action, we cling to the banks and the limits of the stream, and where a temple is mirrored in quiet waters of a philosophy opens a secure cove, we drift in to reflect beauty and wisdom, and hear the great floods outside pour ever onward. (45)

Magee’s use of the terms “shoal”, “currents”, “river”, “sea”, “banks”, etc. is in a context that lends a good deal to the implications of how Joyce uses these terms at

¹³⁸ Joyce was preparing a typescript of I.8 concomitantly with the “Haveth Childers Everywhere” fair copy.

¹³⁹ BL 47474-173, JJA 48: 123, FW 202.5.

¹⁴⁰ BL 47474-173, JJA 48: 123, FW 202.30.

¹⁴¹ An “ecotone” is the border between two systems, the intermediary space where two communities blend. In *Ecology, Cognition and Landscape: Linking Natural and Social Systems*, Almo Farina explains that the term originated from the plant ecology Frederic Clements in 1905, and that the term derived from a combination of *oikos* (home) and *tonos* (tension). In 1933, Aldo Leopold described “the greater richness of wildlife at the edges (across the ecotone)” (84), popularizing the term.

¹⁴² Dick Warner, in his natural and cultural history of the River Liffey, cites such shoals and sandbanks as being the primary impetus for the construction of the North Wall and the South Wall in the early eighteenth century (108).

¹⁴³ BL 47474-173, JJA 48: 123, FW 202.4-5.

this draft level. The “shoal” and the “banks” are spaces outside the flow of life; they are safe havens for those fearing failure. The natural course is that of the river flowing “to the sea”, as this mimics the flow of time into “eternity”. Believing that art and “knowledge” will lead to the attainment of eternity is a falsehood. ALP’s movement is the “correct” path in the *Wake*, and the trappings of “civilization” are only these “secure coves” wherein humankind hides while the “great floods” of time press on, eventually wearing away at these very coves.

In the “ryewye rhyme”¹⁴⁴ (later the “wyerye rima”), the song of ALP, one can see how the epistemological aspects of Magee’s argument merge with a specific focus on Dublin’s geography and the natural history of the Liffey. Additionally, Joyce methodically weaves these specific natural details into a very “human” story, encouraging empathy for the River Liffey in Dublin. ALP expresses a longing for a different outcome for her life; she wishes that she took a different course, literally, rather than flowing through Dublin. She covets a new “bankside” because that which she has now is a “putty affair”, and is “wore out”.¹⁴⁵ A woman already advanced in age, she wishes her husband, her “old Dane hodder dodderer”,¹⁴⁶ composed of the Dane and Dodder rivers (the Dodder being a tributary of the Liffey),¹⁴⁷ would wake up and cavort with her, satisfying her desire for the renewal of her banks. She thinks about leaving him, dreams of a “lord of the manor” or a “knight of the shire” coming to whisk her away. She longs for the “Bull of Clontarf”, the breakwater that extends into the Bay from the end of what is now Bull Island, to “get the kind air of Dublin bay & the race of the seawind up my hole”,¹⁴⁸ but ultimately remains where she is, for her (river)bed in Dublin city is comfortable, it is “as warm as it smells”. The river does not try to change its course, but remains confined within its walls in Dublin; the wife does not ultimately seek a new lover, but, because of the comfort offered by the familiar old husband, remains. The renewal Anna Livia desires, the journey out to Dublin Bay, is simultaneously (as we know from the end of the *Wake*) a longing for a death. In the same manner that the sea in the “Proteus” demarcates the boundary between life and death, these concurrent expansions of the wetlands are here to remind of the transitional space between land and water, city and nature.

¹⁴⁴ BL 47474-172, JJA 48: 122, FW 200.33.

¹⁴⁵ BL 47471b-74v, JJA 58: 4, FW 201.7

¹⁴⁶ BL 47471b-74v, JJA 58: 4, FW 201.8.

¹⁴⁷ Warner 106.

¹⁴⁸ BL 47471b-74v, JJA 58: 4, FW 201.19-20.

The gossiping washerwomen try to discern who was the first to “wade” in ALP’s waters, and one of them proposes: “She was a young thin pale slip of a thing then & he was heavy lurching Carraghman as strong as the oaks there used to be that time in killing Kildare that first fell across her”.¹⁴⁹ This hypothesis is wrong, “corribly wrong”,¹⁵⁰ alluding to Lough Corrib in Counties Galway and Mayo, and the very terminology Joyce uses demonstrates this. In the first-draft, “killing Kildare” alone tells us this is incorrect, as the Liffey rises by Mt. Kippure and Tonduff in the Liffey Head Bog in County Wicklow,¹⁵¹ and then in the subsequent drafts, Joyce adds “dykes” before “killing Kildare”, and “peats be with them” after oaks (also, bog oak). The effect of these additions is to evoke the restrictive quality of Kildare’s landscape: the Liffey does not flow freely here; after descending from the gentle hills and comparable wilderness of the Wicklow Mountains, the river, when it enters Kildare, encounters both man-made and geological restrictions such as dykes, weirs, canals, irrigation ditches, flat peatlands, dams, industries, manors and houses.¹⁵²

The “Curraghman”¹⁵³ is also implicated in this; the Curragh, the Central Limestone Plain of Ireland, supports the Pollardstown Fen in Co. Kildare by delivering nutrient rich water from the gravel in the Curragh aquifer. The Curragh is also the location of Ireland’s equine industry (the limestone provides nutrients that strengthen the bones), and the upkeep of the stables and racecourses require considerable amounts of water. Thus, when the Liffey reaches County Kildare, its flow is restricted by both the geological composition of this region as well as by its human inhabitants. The “Curraghman” also returns to the theme of HCE, the king and the hunt, as the Curragh has been the historic centre of aristocratic horse racing since the seventeenth century (Warner 43). Additionally, because of the fertility of the Curragh plain itself and because of the Liffey, this area made a prime spot to construct army barracks (Warner 52). The reference to HCE as “Curraghman” subsequently constructs a different kind of restriction for ALP; one imposed by forces of imperialism. The second washerwoman corrects the story (a young, wild

¹⁴⁹ BL 47471b-75, JJA 58: 5, FDV 125.10-13, FW 202.26-32.

¹⁵⁰ BL 47474-173, JJA 58: 123, FW 202.35.

¹⁵¹ Warner 9-10.

¹⁵² “Dykes” can be either manmade or natural and are trenches to regulate water levels and they restrict the flow of rivers. Peatlands are natural regulators of water levels; a fen is filled with standing water all year round and a bog is waterlogged for about 90% of the year (Doyle and Ó Críodáin 79). Peatlands are not inhibitors of water in the same way a dyke or a canal is; they are responsible for controlling the flow of water, at times releasing water into the rivers and streams and at other times, acting as a natural flood regulator (Warner 12).

¹⁵³ BL 47471b-75, JJA 48: 5, FW 202.9.

river/girl like ALP cannot have had her origins in a place like Kildare), and tells of the Liffey's origin in "Wicklow, the garden of Erin".

The revisions of I.8 lead into the first draft of II.2§8, "The Triangle".¹⁵⁴ Completed in a copybook in July 1926 also containing drafts of III.4 and I.1, the first draft of II.2§8 connects with these other two chapters and with I.8 in ways critical to the progression of the *Wake*. Luca Crispi, in his essay on the composition of II.2§8, argues that, "once Joyce arrived at the seminal idea that Shem and Shaun will perform a geometry lesson by investigating their mother's element, the end of the river, the delta, the composition appears to have advanced relatively quickly and easily" (HJW 219). Crispi asserts that here, ALP "is the figure of forbidden knowledge that initiates the boys into the most enigmatic realms: both the realm of abstract mathematics and that of basic feminine, maternal physiology" (HJW 220). Typical of most Joyce criticism, the primary subject, the river Liffey, its estuary and Dublin Bay, is ignored and treated as mere vehicle for the conveyance of another idea. However, the language used in II.2§8 and the section's subsequent relationship to I.1 establish that Joyce had more in mind for the role of Dublin's wetlands than merely a symbolic presence; the fact that the boys attempt to return to their mother, the river, through mathematics and cartography is part of the larger commentary on science as being emblematic of "the fall". The "realm of abstract mathematics" is certainly not what the boys are truly seeking here; ALP is the "figure of forbidden knowledge", a knowledge of nature and of the world rendered incomprehensible to the "fallen".

The task set by Shem, extracted from Euclid's *Elements* (to describe an equilateral triangle on a given finite straight line), is initially to "[c]onstruct an equilateral triangle", but is changed quickly to an "equilittoral" triangle. "Littoral", a term referring to the aquatic zone in closest proximity to the shore ("Littoral", Def. a), is used to maintain ALP's association with ecotones and wetlands from I.8. Accordingly, Shem and Shaun try to find the third point on the triangle - *their* origin - the Liffey delta, as the Liffey's origin is, of course, in Wicklow (with the entire triangle also being the delta). This "measuring" of the earth ("geo-metry") also relates ALP to the letter through its "geodetic" quality. Joyce had noted that the Nile

¹⁵⁴ Though the relationship between ALP, the delta of a river and the Greek letter "delta" is very clear, Sullivan's *Book of Kells* also explains that the symbol of a triangle is "symbolical of the Trinity, and so of Christianity in general, in mediaeval times. For this reason perhaps it is that its use in the *Book of Kells* is confined to the garments, symbols, or surroundings of only holy personages" (30).

delta was named as such because of its shape, the Greek delta, and in Joyce's shorthand in his notebooks and drafts, the delta (Δ) stands, of course, for ALP.

The way to begin this geometrical construction, Shem says, is to take a "mugful of mud" and "dump it at a given point of coast to be called a but pronounced olfa".¹⁵⁵ Shem continues to give directions until the triangle has been inscribed, and says, "Now I'll show you whom your geometer was", and the resulting construction is a slightly obscene interpretation of a Venn diagram, revealed by the following lines:

We carefully lift up by her hem the muddy ^apron^ of our
A.L.P. Kearfully until its nether apex is where a navel is
bounds to be. Waaaa. Tch! And there's your muddy delta for
you the first of all ~~equilittoral~~ ^equilateral^ triangles^.¹⁵⁶

William York Tindall sees the landscape itself as being intrinsically important to this sketch: "Plainly the discovery of her [ALP's] Omega involves local geography: muddy, prismic delta, Howth, and Dublin Bay" (1996, 177). When comparing the diagram Joyce has drawn in the manuscript with a photograph of Dublin Bay, the image of a vagina becomes quite clear; Dublin Bay is the birth canal through which Shem and Shaun travelled. In VI.B.6, Joyce noted "Sea animal to land / animal (Thyroid)" (VI.B.6: 59), to which the editors provided the gloss: "It is believed by biologists that the thyroid has played a prominent part in the change of sea creatures into land animals (migrating from an iodine rich to an iodine poor environment)" (VI.B.6 43). The "origins" also point to the aquatic origin of *all* life; the slow, careful process of our evolution from anaerobic, single-celled aquatic organisms.

On the fair copy of II.2§8, Joyce joins ALP's role as "omphalos" of life and civilization to the discovery of the "Letter", also bestowing upon her a central role in language. Joyce adds "midden of the streams" before the "muddy delta"¹⁵⁷ at this draft level, reinforcing the relationship between the ALP, the hen, the dump, the land, and the Letter. A "midden" is more than just a "dump", as it is so often called; it is a term for a pile upon which the elements of day to day life – be that human waste, organic matter, mineral deposits, etc. – accrue. A "midden heap", a term widely used in the archaeological field, quite literally tells a story in and of itself as the layers are revealed. The word itself is of Scandinavian origin (Joyce noted the Danish

¹⁵⁵ BL 47482a-67, JJA 53: 4, FDV 160.20-24, FW 286.31-287.15.

¹⁵⁶ BL 47482a-67v, JJA 53: 5, FDV 165.11-15, FW 297.7-27.

¹⁵⁷ BL 47488-11, JJA 53: 42, FW 297.24.

“Kjoekkenmoedding” [sic] on VI.B.14:110)¹⁵⁸, passed down through Middle English, containing within itself layers of Dublin’s history through language. This link between language, landscape and history may have found support in Vico’s overview of his *New Science*, wherein he writes:

[T]he etymologies of native words contain the history of the things they signify following a natural order of ideas. (Thus, at first there were forests, then cultivated fields and huts, next small houses and villages, thence cities, and at last academies and philosophers. This is the order of all progress from its first origins.) By contrast, foreign etymologies merely record the history of words borrowed by one language from another. (15)

This idea of etymology “recording” the history of words and languages pervades II.2§8, but also I.1, drafted concurrently.

The “midden of the streams” addition appeared contemporaneously with drafts of I.1, another chapter which engages considerably with the “littoral zone” of the Liffey. VI.B.15, used primarily in 1926 for the early drafts of I.1, contains notes for the laying out of Dublin’s early history, both social and natural. There are notes on military figures, alphabets, writing, geography, and hagiography subsumed into larger clusters of notes on Howth, Scandinavian culture, and Chapelizod. In the Mutt & Jute section of I.1, many of these VI.B.15 notes are turned into a narrative of Dublin’s founding (cf. “robbulous & rebus” [VI.B.15: 158]), and embedded within is a demonstration of how the various wars and invasions contributed to the language spoken in the country. Joyce uses the land to build a rapport between language, history, geography and nation. The first draft reads:

Walk a look roundward you will see how old the plain
From Inn the Bygning to Finnisthere. Punct. Thousand & one livestories have
netherfallen here. They are tombed to the mound ishges to ishges, erde
from erde. This ourth is not but brickdust. He who runes may read it.
But speak siftly. Be in your whist. Whyst? ‘Tis viceking’s soil.¹⁵⁹

As with the “olfa” and omega of ALP, this passage also encompasses the span of history from “Bygning”, a word of Scandinavian origin (Danish for “building), to the “Finnisthere. Punct”. In addition to returning to the Phoenix Park as the scene of the

¹⁵⁸ See also page 113.

¹⁵⁹ BL 47482a-97v, JJA 44:41, FDV 56.5-11, FW 17.17-18.13.

primary “event” in history, this passage uses the landscape of the Phoenix Park as historical artifact. The “thousand & one livestories” are buried in the Park like the humans buried in mounds such as the Boyne valley’s Newgrange and Knowth, and all eventually goes back to the earth, “ashes to ashes” and “dust to dust”, or, to “brickdust”. The designation of earth as “ourth”, with *our* implied, suggests the earth is *not* “ours”; all mankind and all the things mankind has created will also return to dust. History will still be able to be read through the stones and through the soil, but the “runes” written on these stones will be unreadable and indecipherable (as they largely are today).

Fuse, in his essay on I.5, cites the addition to the 1927 *transition* 5 pages, “Here’s my O’Jerusalem and I’m his Po”,¹⁶⁰ as an example of what he calls “the introduction of numerological and alluvial motifs and a premonition of the babelic range of human language” (HJW 117). He then cites another modification that he claims to be of “particular interest” to his discussion of the Letter, because it is the “first instance in this chapter of the feminine ‘alphabet’ or ‘preproniminal’ subsoncious [...] which acts as a countersign to the male’s letter writing” (HJW 118):

Amoury Treestam and Icy Siseule, Said ^Saith^ the ^A^ Sawyer to
 ^til^ the Streams ^Strame^, Ik dik dopedope et ^tu^ mihimihi.¹⁶¹

“Strame” is Hiberno-English for “stream” and Italian for “litter”. “*Ik doop*” is Dutch for “I baptise”, and this could be interpreted as representing the contrast in the flow of the river’s water with how the male inscribes the land through the imposition of order. One of the referents of “Sawyer” is Jonathan Sawyer, founder of Dublin, Georgia, and this act of naming is also an imposition of order, as is the tillage of land, the “til”. The male energy is spent attempting to dominate and set the *latus* in order and continues up un-“til” the female energy comes along, disorganizing language and washing away the agricultural infrastructure.

Land itself has become significantly more important as the *Wake* has progressed, and this is confirmed with the appearance of “environs” in the first-draft of I.1. In criticism of *Finnegans Wake*, much has been made of the importance of Eve and Adam’s, of Howth, of the commodious vicus of recirculation, and of the riverrun, but what of “environs?” Most assume that this simply refers to the general area around Howth, and it most certainly does, but what else can be made of “environs”?

¹⁶⁰ BL 47471b-105v, JJA 46: 430, FW 105.6-7.

¹⁶¹ BL 47473-105v, JJA 46: 430, FW 104.10-11.

In an essay titled “American Literary Environmentalism”, David Mazel examines the word “environment”. Looking up the term in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Mazel writes of how he “was not wholly surprised to discover that performance is originary to the word itself”, elaborating:

A root verb plus a suffix, environment once denoted ‘the act of environing’, that is, surrounding. But with the obsolescence of the verb *environ*, this active sense has been lost, so that we no longer hear it in the way we do in words such as *judgement* and *government* – words that still echo with the full senses of the actions and the actors upon which they necessarily follow. What remains of our sense of environment, by contrast, is not any action but a thing; thanks to a nominalising process that effaces both act and actor, we no longer speak of what *environs* us, but of what our environment *is*. (138-139)

Revisions of I.1 and I.2 suggest that Joyce is recreating this sense of “environment” as that which *environs* us, and of which we are a part. Two small changes made to the typescript of I.1-2 (dated 16 December 1926) demonstrate this: the simple “plain” becomes now the plain “of my Elters”,¹⁶² and the “gale” becomes a “fine gale”.¹⁶³ The alteration of the “gale” to the “fine gale” provides an additional layer to the text, as the Irish term “fine gael” translates roughly to “tribe of the Irish”. The “gale”, the wind, becomes infused with human life as well, as the changing tribes and races in Ireland align with the movements of wind and storms.¹⁶⁴

“Mountainy Mots”: Vico, Language and Environment

“[M]y elters” is the Moy Elta, the old plain of Elta, associated with the Partholonians, discussed in the first chapter in the context of the “Roderick O’Connor” sketch. The first people to establish a colony in Ireland after the Flood, the Partholonians were killed by a plague and most likely buried on the Moy Elta plain, believed to lie adjacent to Howth. Changing the “plain” to the plain of “my elters” (obviously also “my elders”), invests the landscape, literally, with those that

¹⁶² Private Collection, JJA 44: 162, FW 17.19.

¹⁶³ Private Collection, JJA 44: 168, FW 22.10.

¹⁶⁴ The first drafts of I.4§1B and the revised first typescript of I.4§1A, 2 continue to present “wind” in different contexts: “vitriol works of a windy day” and “O breezes west!” (BL 47471a-1b, BL 47471a-7b, FDV 78.19-20, FW 95.2-3). On the first typescript of I.4§1A, 2, Joyce adds “pentecostal jest!” (BL 47472-162, JJA 46:63, FW 99.21). As the Pentecost is described in Acts 2:1-31, in some translations, as the Holy Spirit descending in “mighty wind,” it seems plausible that Pentecost appears at this stage due to its derivation in wind and fire.

came before. In *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization*, Harrison provides a similarly ecological perspective of Vico's institution of burial:

Burial guaranteed the full appropriation of ground and its ultimate sacralisation. Through burial of the dead the family defined the boundary of its place of belonging, rooting itself quite literally in the soil, or *humus*, where ancestral fathers lived underground. (7)

The juxtaposition of burials with the thunderword of I.2 (added to the fair copy I.2 in early 1927¹⁶⁵) and the storm of I.3 becoming a “noreaster”¹⁶⁶ (on the March 1927 fair copy of I.4) is part of the expansion of the *Wake*'s Viconian framework during the spring of 1927. Then, Quinet, Michelet, Vico and Bruno are added to the proofs of I.5 for *transition* 5: “From quiqui quinet to michemiche chalet and a jambebatiste to a brulobru! ”¹⁶⁷ The Blakean section of I.3§1-3 becomes increasingly “Viconian” with the addition:

But in the pragma ^and by laws of casualty^ what formal cause made a smile of that to think? Who ^under ye great bow of? s heavens ^, was he to whom? Whose ^in thunder and weddin and soddin and order^ are the place wheres? They answer from their Zoans. Hear the four of them?¹⁶⁸

The “thunder and weddin and soddin” are Vico's three civil institutions: religion, marriage and burial. The equation of religion with *thunder* and burial with *sod* emphasizes, needless to say, the importance of the physical environment in Vico's description of his human institutions.

Stemming from Vico, the relationship between religion and the environment expands during 1927, particularly on the galley proofs for sections published in *transition*.¹⁶⁹ In I.4, Joyce changes “by the wrath of God” to “by the wrath of Bog”.¹⁷⁰ “Bog” means “God” in Russian, but it also means bog (like the above

¹⁶⁵ BL 47472-170, JJA 45: 71, FW 44.20-21, VI.B.18: 19.

¹⁶⁶ BL 47472-203, JJA 46: 77, FW 91.17

¹⁶⁷ BL 47473-101, JJA 46: 423, FW 117.11-12.

¹⁶⁸ BL 47472-233, JJA 45: 246, FW 56.31.

¹⁶⁹ The first set of galley proofs for *transition* 3 was dated 28 April 1927. (BL 47472 330-48, I.1§1-3) and the second set of galley proofs for *transition* 3 were dated 3 May 1927 (BL 47472 349-66). From April-May 1927, Joyce was also completing the first and second typescript of I.4§1-2 (BL 47472 253-292 and BL 47472 268, 270, 279, 280-281, 294-314, respectively) and the galley proofs for *transition* 4 (BL 47472 367-83, Buffalo VI.G.1).

¹⁷⁰ BL 47472-295, JJA 46: 132, FW 76.31.

“soddin”).¹⁷¹ This line is added to a section concerning HCE’s burial, aligning HCE’s burial in the ground and subsequent return to the soil with the decomposition of matter in bogs. Due to the Christ-like nature of his burial behind a “stone slab” and the designation of the “spring offensive”,¹⁷² the “Bog” may also remind Joyce of the “Böög”, the sacrificial snowman of Zürich’s Sechseläuten, the festival of fertility and spring awakening. Death, burial, fertility and renewal are all united through the conflation of “God” and “Bog”. Lastly, this replacement of “God” with “bog” suggests a conception of divinity in which Joyce bestows upon the earth the supreme powers of order and creation.

The relationship between language, the environment, and the rise and fall of civilizations in *Finnegans Wake* at this stage may derive partially from Joyce’s engagement with Vico in VI.B.12. Andrew Treip’s 1989 article from *A Finnegans Wake Circular* provides an instructive look at Joyce’s use of Vico (filtered through the translation of Michelet) during the period of 1926-1929. In VI.B.12, Joyce recorded notes pertaining to Vico’s tripartite structures; for instance, he noted “theocratic obscure / heroic fabulous / human historic” (VI.B.12: 13). Subsequent notes support Treip’s assertion that at this stage in the *Wake*, Joyce’s interest in Vico had undeniably extended to an interest in his linguistic theories (63). One important note is “first words gestures” (VI.B.12: 13), referring to Vico’s theory that “divine” language was comprised solely of gestures.¹⁷³ The “heroic” language was one composed of the names of gods:

Les signes par lesquels les hommes commencèrent à exprimer leurs pensées furent les objets mêmes qu’ils avaient divinisés. Pour dire *la mer*, ils la montraient de la main; plus tard ils dirent *Neptune*. C’est *la langue des dieux* dont parle Homère. Les noms des trente mille dieux latins recueillis par Varron, ceux des Grecs non moins nombreux, formaient le vocabulaire *divin* de ces deux peuples. (Michelet qtd. in Treip 66)

¹⁷¹ In addition to the obvious relevance of the bog as a feature of the Irish landscape, this is also supported by the fact that later changes to the text have the preceding line as “and watch her waters of her sillying waters of and there now brown peater arripple” (FW 76.28-30).

¹⁷² BL 47471b-8, JJA 46: 4, FDV 65.12, FW 78.15.

¹⁷³ “Originairement la langue *divine* ne pouvant se parler que par actions, Presque toute action était consacrée; la vie n’était, pour ainsi dire, qu’une suite d’*actes muets* de religion. De là restèrent dans la jurisprudence romaine les *acta legitima*, cette pantomime qui accompagnait toutes les transactions civiles” (Michelet qtd. in Treip 67).

From this, Joyce records: “mountainy mots / plain language / littoral sense” (VI.B.12: 13). What Joyce takes away from this passage is that language and religion were first born out of the human response to the external world. The “littoral sense” relates to the “equilittoral” triangle of II.2§8 as well as to “literal”; the “divine” language of the sea (resulting in “Neptune”) is literal (from the origin) as well as “littoral” (*mer/mère*).

The group “mountainy mots / plain language / littoral sense” (VI.B.12: 13) also corresponds to Vico’s three linguistic stages as they appear in the following passage:

Le premier principe qui doit nous guider dans la recherche des etymologies, c’est que la marche des idées correspond à celle des choses. Or, les degrés de la civilisation peuvent être ainsi indiqués: *Forêts, cabanes, villages, cités* ou sociétés de citoyens, *académies* ou sociétés de savants; les hommes habitant d’abord les *montagnes*, ensuite les *plaines*, enfin les *rivages*. Les idées et les perfectionnements du langage ont dû suivre cet ordre. (Michelet qtd. in Treip 68).

The “mountainy mots” correspond to the *divine*, the “plain language” to the *heroic* and the “littoral sense” to the *human*. In the *New Science*, the line referred to translates as: “This was the order of human institutions: first the forests, after that the huts, then the villages, next the cities, and finally the academies” (98). This order of human institutions provides a way of relating nature and civilization in the *Wake*. The forests begin as “Edenic” or primeval space; then they are translated into ordered parks, estates and hunting grounds and into cultivated land for agriculture and stock breeding. Then, the movement is made to the cities, further separating the human from the natural, and before all becomes overgrown again by forests, the academies develop, to formalize and codify “knowledge”.

Dalway, Dorghk and Nublid: I.6

Following the revisions of I.5 for *transition*, Joyce composed the first draft of I.6 in the summer 1927, to, in a sense, “recap” the progress made with the *Wake* up to this point. The chapter is largely a series of questions that Shem puts to Shaun, with the first two concerning the various roles of HCE and ALP. The first question, quite considerable in length, begins:

What secondtonone myther rector & bridgemaker was the first to rise taller through his beanstale than the bluegum baobabbaum or the gigantesque Wellingtonia Sequoia, went nudiboote into a liffeyette when she was barely in her tricklies, was well known to clout a conciliationcap on the esker of his hooth [...].¹⁷⁴

The question ends: “and though he had all the baked bricks of bould Babylon to his lusting placys he’d be lost for the want of an ould wubblin wall?”¹⁷⁵ HCE is a “myther rector”, a storyteller, a builder of bridges and walls, a Celtic king, an army general, a magnificent tree, a conqueror of new lands, a progenitor of a new race. During this period, HCE also becomes the Scandinavian tree of life, the “Yggdrasselmann”¹⁷⁶ in I.4. The first question of the first draft of I.6 revisits the many forms HCE has embodied in the *Wake* up through the summer of 1927.

The beginning of this first question concerns the figure of I.1, the giant, Finn, embedded in the landscape. He is the giant of Jack and the Beanstalk (“beanstale”) and is larger than the largest trees (the blue gum, the baobab and the sequoia). The “myther rector” and “beanstale”, in relation to Jack and the Beanstalk, also suggest an untrustworthy narrative, as in “a hill of beans” or a “tall tale”. Such “tall tales” are what, after all, indicts HCE in the *Wake*. The subject of the question is a man of civic life, the “bridgemaker”, the builder of “Babylon”, but he is also a man of nature; he is the Yawn figure on the esker ridge of III.3, and he “waded” in the Liffey “when she was barely in her tricklies”, all the way up in the Wicklow Mountains.¹⁷⁷

The second question, preceded on the manuscript by “Δ”, turns to ALP, asking: “Does your mutter know your mike?”¹⁷⁸ The first-draft of Shaun’s answer is in the form of a song to his mother and is in clear contrast to the “urban” HCE:

When I turn me optics
From such urban prospects
Tis my filial bosom’s
Doth behold with pride
That pontificator

¹⁷⁴ BL 47473-117, JJA 47: 5, FDV 92.12-17, FW 126.10-15.

¹⁷⁵ BL 47473-120, JJA 46: 11, FDV 93.9, FW 139.11-13.

¹⁷⁶ BL 47472-376, JJA 46: 170, FW 88.23. Added to the galleys for *transition* 4. One of the notebooks in use during this period, VI.B.18, contains notes in relation to Scandinavian and Viking aspects of Dublin.

¹⁷⁷ This information, although it has already been written, does not appear in the text of *Finnegans Wake* until I.8.

¹⁷⁸ BL 47473-120, JJA 46: 11, FDV 93.11, FW 139.15.

And circumvallator with his dam so garrulous

All by his side.

Annealive, the lisp of her

Would make mountains whisper her

And the bergs of Iceland

Melt in waves of fire

And her spoon me spondees and her drickle-me yondees

Make the rageous Ossean kneel

And quaff a lyre.

If Dann's plane Ann's purty, if he's fane she's flirty, if he's dane she's dirty with her auburn streams and her coy cajoleries and her dabblin drolleries, for to rouse his rudderup or to drench his dreams. If hot Hammurabi and cowl'd Clesiastes could espy her panklettes, they're break bounds again, and renounce their ruings, and denounce their doings for river and river, and a night. Amen!¹⁷⁹

Looking away from the "urban prospects", Shaun finds his inspiration, like the Romantics, in natural phenomena; his response speaks of the influence of nature on writing, on the creation of "spondees" and through the words of Ossian. As his response reaches a close, Shaun also tells of how law ("Hammurabi") and religion ("Clesiastes") are undone by nature's rhythms ("her panklettes", like the anklets she donned in I.8), and the "Amen!" signals the end of Shaun's hymn to nature.

The answers to questions one and two display two very different types of creative powers, both through their content and their form. The first answer is stereotypical "male speech": short, concise, sparse. The second answer is stereotypical *l'écriture féminine* (though obviously this term would not have been known to Joyce): poetic, rhythmic, and fluid. ALP is HCE's "garrulous" dame ("dam"), and her speech possesses creative abilities; she can make mountains talk ("mountainy mots") and icebergs melt. The flowing of a river can be mistaken for a human voice on a quiet mountain, and a river's warmth will melt ice. This creative power is likened to poetry, as supported by the "spondee", the "lyre", and the reference to Ossian.¹⁸⁰ With "dam", there is also the physical *dam*, of HCE acting as

¹⁷⁹ Simplified. BL 47473-121, JJA 46: 13, FDV 93.12-35, FW 139.16-28.

¹⁸⁰ Epstein argues that the "whisper" of ALP "possesses powerful stimulative power, just as the voice of the consort Lakshmi can rouse the sleeping Vishnu to create the universe" (EFW 63).

her suppressor. The words flow out in this “garrulous” manner because she is not let speak, to flow as she is meant to.

Questions three and four return to the city of Dublin, to the “urban prospects”. The third question asks for the Dublin City motto (*Obedientia Civium Urbis Felicitas*: Citizens’ Obedience is City’s Happiness), presented in this first draft as “Thine obesity, O civilian, hits the felicitude of our orb!”¹⁸¹ The fourth question asks for a specific Irish city, one presumably related to HCE and his attributes from the first question:

What Irish capital city (ah dea o dea) with a deltic origin and a nunous end (a dust to dust!) of two syllables can boast of having a) the most expensive brewing industry in the world b) the most expansive public thoroughfare in the world c) the most extensive people’s park in the world d) the most phillohippuc theobibbus paupulation in the world?¹⁸²

The “deltic origin” and the “nunous end” refer to the Greek letter for “d”, “delta”, and the Irish letter for “n”, “*núin*”. The “deltic origin”, as we know from “The Triangle”, is also ALP, or the Liffey “delta” (the origin of Shem and Shaun and now, of Dublin in general). “Nunous”, in addition to referring the Irish letter “n”, also refers to the Hebrew letter “n”, “*nun*”. According to Godfrey Higgins in *The Celtic Druids*, both the Irish “*núin*” and the Hebrew “*nun*” refer to the ash-tree (25). The opening of the fourth question in I.6 serves three other purposes: 1) It links three ancient cultures – the Greeks, the Hebrews, the Celts; 2) It links the development of alphabets *directly* to nature and 3) It defines Dublin geographically, not just orthographically – from the “deltic origin” (the Liffey Delta) to the “nunous end” (the ash-trees of the Phoenix Park and of the Wicklow forests).

Three of the four “characteristics” of the city in question are related to civil engineering or urban planning, two of the roles delegated to HCE. The brewing industry harnesses the Liffey’s water for human use, the most “expansive public thoroughfare” is Sackville Street, laid out by the Wide Streets Commission of the 1750s, and the “most extensive people’s park” is, naturally, Phoenix Park. The fourth characteristic (the “phillohippuc theobibbus paupulation”) describes the people of Dublin: hard-drinking, God-fearing, and impoverished gamblers.

¹⁸¹ BL 47473-123, JJA 46: 17, FDV 94.14-15, FW 140.6-7.

¹⁸² BL 47473-123, JJA 46: 17, FDV 94.16-21, FW 140.8-13.

The respondents become Mamalujo, not solely Shaun, and four separate answers are given to this question. The siglum which precedes this question is X, the four men, and each presents the city of their respective province in the answer. The first answer is “Delfas”, written in over a crossed through “Belfast”. This answer begins with “hommers”, “ribs”, “floxly loss”, “tenderbolts of my riverts”, and concludes with, “You with yer orange garland and me with my conny cordial, down the greaseways of rollicking into the waters of wetted life”.¹⁸³ Referenced here are Belfast’s shipbuilding and linen industries, both of which rely on proximity to navigable waterways. The economy is “wedded” (“wetted”) to the water, and the answer concludes with a completed ship heading out to sea.

The second answer is “Dorghk” (Cork):

And sure where can you have such good old chimes anywhere, and leave you, and how I’d be engaging you with my plovery soft accents and descanting on the scene below me of the loose vines of your hairafall with my two loving loofs braseliting the slims of your ankles and your mouth’s flower rosy and bobbing round the soapstone of speech.¹⁸⁴

This answer displays Cork patterns of speech, which would have been very familiar to Joyce, whose father hailed from Cork. The “plover” is a wetland bird, commonly found in Irish marsh lands (like Cork, whose Irish name, *Corcaigh*, means “marsh”). The third answer is “Nublid” (Dublin), and discusses Dublin, Georgia in “new world” terms, treating it as an Edenic space in which one may refashion oneself, may “turn over a new leaf” (“churning over the newleaved”). The answer is also constructed around staples of Dublin’s river-based economy, such as mills, agriculture, brewing, and dairy:

Isha, why wouldn’t be happy avourneen, on the mills money he’ll soon be leaving you when I’ve my owned streamy Georgian mansion lawn to recruit upon by Dr. Cheek’s special orders with my panful of soybeans & Irish in my east hand and an james’s gate in my west, after all the errears & erroriboose of embattled history, with yourself churning over the newleaved butter (*more* power to you!) the best and

¹⁸³ BL 47473-124, 125; JJA 46: 18-19, FDV 94.26-28, FW 140.15-21.

¹⁸⁴ BL 47473-125, JJA 46: 19, FDV 94.28-33, FW 140.21-27.

the cheapest from Atlanta to Oconee whilst I'll be drowsing in the garden.¹⁸⁵

ALP is being asked if it is the money made from her (from the mills and from the Guinness brewery) that allows the success of Dubliners in America (or new lands in general) and if the subsequent purchase of a big "Georgian mansion" (either in its architectural style or in its actual location in Georgia) will make her happy. The city will betray the environment upon which it is built; however, like an unfaithful husband, it will pack up and move to another more suitable place with a more suitable river (the younger Dublin, Georgia and its Oconee River).

The fourth answer is "Dalway"¹⁸⁶ (Galway), and is characterized by the city's Spanish Arch and its Atlantic fish: "Holy eel and sainted salmon chuck chubb and duckin dace, I never saw your aequal!"¹⁸⁷ The idiomatic expressions used in the Galwegian speech derive from their proximity to the sea and their close dependence upon the fishing industry. The question that asks the name of the "Irish capitol city" with "deltic origin" is met with a four part answer: The city is a universal Irish city composed of "Delfas", "Dorhqk", "Nublid", and "Dalway", defined by its economic and linguistic relationship to its environment.

The Joyce that began working on *Finnegans Wake* in 1923 planned on incorporating natural history and landscape into the text on some level, but the extent to which the text becomes involved with these themes is certainly a function of Joyce's composition process. With the adaptation of the "Delivery of the Letter" sketch to the basis for Book III, the *Wake* moves towards a stronger examination of the influence of factors such as weather and geography upon the development of a nation's history and culture. The first drafts of III.3 introduce Yawn asleep across the entire country of Ireland, straddling the topography of Irish myth and history. The "hillock" and the "esker" upon which Yawn lies become intertwined with the understanding of place in collective cultural memory through Joyce's relating of them to the "Letter". Irish bogs become important elements of the landscape, preserving natural, social, cultural and linguistic history, but they also articulate the

¹⁸⁵ BL 47473-125, 126; JJA 46: 19-20, FDV 95.7-8, FW 140.28-36.

¹⁸⁶ BL 47473-126, JJA 46: 20, FDV 94.8, FW 140.

¹⁸⁷ BL 47473-127, JJA 46: 21, FDV 94.11-13, FW 140.36-141.4.

relationship between Irish nationalism and the Irish landscape that developed in parallel to the emergence of the Irish Free State.

The relationship between nature, language and writing strengthens through the composition of Book III, with the instability of nature closely tied to the instability of narrative and language. The “Upfellbown” passage demonstrates this by showing both the changing implications of the Adam and Eve story in the *Wake* as well as by becoming part of these stories itself. In addition to the Adam and Eve story and to the botanical details Joyce relies upon, “trees” assume various meanings across many different cultures and mythologies, demonstrated here through the evocation of Scandinavian cosmology, Newtonian gravity, genealogy (“the family tree”), Darwin and the Ogham alphabet.

VI.B.14 provides clear insight into Joyce’s interests during this phase of the *Wake*’s composition, demonstrating his curiosity about the environment and its relationship to history, culture, language and religion. With the first drafts of Book III, Joyce focuses on ancient history from an environmental perspective, taking notes from several sources on ancient Breton culture, ancient Irish culture, comparative mythology and early Christian hagiography. In the next chapters, we will see that as Joyce progresses with the *Wake*, he also progresses chronologically, eventually leading to contemporary science and politics with the final sketches and revisions of the *Wake*.

At this point, we move on towards the next five-year period of the *Wake*, which demonstrates extensive shifts in Joyce’s conception of nature. Developing largely from themes in III.4 and I.6, the next drafts and revisions continue to build upon the intrinsic relationship between a city and its “environs”. These next five years continue to examine many of the themes present during the first five years of the *Wake*’s composition, but they also witness the incorporation of more contemporary issues concerning housing, public life, the environment, science, war, and politics. The relationship between “city and country” is not resolved, but the enduring tension and cooperation between the two becomes the only constant in the ever-changing world.

Chapter Three

Rus in Urbe: Country in City

Joyce intended to incorporate the history of the environment, and the history of people relating to the environment, into his “universal history”, and in the first five years of work on *Finnegans Wake*, this expanded to include the importance of the environment on much larger thematic levels, joining the environment with language, religion, culture and history. As the *Wake* progressed into its next stage (1928-1932), the focus on these larger relationships continued, specific themes and concerns began to emerge and these were developed at much smaller, localized levels. Though written when he was much younger, Joyce himself had argued: “Nations, like individuals, have their own egos” (CW 108), and examining the development of the *Wake* over the next five years with this statement in mind is beneficial for understanding the various levels present in the text. Joyce continues to expand the determining role of the environment from a macrocosmic level (the impact of climate and geography on social and economic history, the role of topography in the development and dissemination of culture), but the focus also shifts to a much more individualized, microcosmic level.

Barry Lopez, in “Landscape and Narrative”, presents two kinds of landscape: an “outer” and an “inner”. “The external landscape”, he begins, “is the one we see – not only the line and color of the land and its shading at different times of the day, but also its plants and animals in season, its weather, its geology, the record of its climate and evolution”. The inner landscape, then, is “a kind of projection within a person of a part of the exterior landscape... [the interior landscape] responds to the character and subtlety of an exterior landscape; the shape of the individual is affected by land as it is by genes” (64-65). The word “landscape” itself needs to be examined closer and defined before continuing. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word “landscape” originates from the Dutch *landschap* and the German *landschaft*, coming into usage in the early seventeenth century. The term was originally a technical term for painting (i.e. the Dutch “landscapes”), but soon, especially during the Romantic period, “landscape” acquired its more common definition of “a view or prospect of natural inland scenery, such as can be taken in at a glance from one point of view; a piece of country scenery” (“Landscape”, def. 2a). Lopez’s definition is extrapolated from these earlier implications, but the origin of

the term in the visual arts is retained as both the “exterior” and “interior” landscapes imply a certain amount of subjective interpretation. Lopez’s definition continues with Metchnikoff-like environmental determinism, inscribing the “fate” of the individual, permanently, with the “landscape” in which the individual has lived. Throughout the first five years of the *Wake*, Joyce began to align the unpredictability of the weather with Viconain providence, and Lopez’s definition of the “exterior” and “interior” landscapes provides a valuable analogue to the way in which weather and landscape are put to use throughout the *Wake*.

This being said, as Joyce continues work on *Finnegans Wake*, the narrative, the language and the personae involved in the telling of the story become ever more entangled with nature. This reassertion of nature’s materiality may seem to be contrary to much philosophy often associated with Joyce and with the *Wake*, but, as was discussed above, many philosophers associated with poststructuralism and postmodernism “use” nature to support their arguments concerning the decentring of the human, language, and the very ideas of “truth”. In addition to Heidegger, Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s work has perhaps been the most readily adopted by contemporary critics working in various areas of ecocriticism.¹ The passage in Merleau-Ponty’s writings to which many ecocritics gravitate largely concern his views on language, so much so that David Abram concludes an essay on Merleau-Ponty by asserting that the philosopher stands for an “Eco-Logos”, that “[h]is work suggests a rigorous way to approach and to speak of ecological systems without positing our immediate selves outside of those systems” (97). Merleau-Ponty in *The Visible and the Invisible*, wrote that the goal now for philosophy consists

in restoring a power to signify, a birth of meaning, or a wild meaning, an expression of experience by experience, which in particular clarifies the special domain of language. And in a sense, as Valéry said, language is everything, since it is the voice of no one, since it is the very voice of the things, the waves, and the forests. (155)

Continuing on from this idea, Merleau-Ponty argues, “language is born of our carnal *participation* in a world *that already speaks to us* at the most immediate level of

¹ Merleau-Ponty’s work has been quoted in several important recent works of ecocriticism including David Abrams’ essay, “Merleau-Ponty and the Voice of the Earth” in David Macauley’s *Minding Nature: The Philosophers of Ecology*, Max Oelschlaeger’s *Postmodern Environmental Ethics*, Sue Cataldi and William Hamrick’s *Merleau Ponty and Environmental Philosophy: Dwelling On The Landscapes of Thought* and Louise Westling’s essay “Literature, the Environment and the Posthuman” in Caitrin Gersdorf and Sylvia Mayer’s *Nature in Literary and Cultural Studies: Transatlantic Conversations on Ecocriticism*.

sensory experience” and thus “language does not belong to humankind but to the sensible world of which we are but a part” (274). Merleau-Ponty’s detachment of language from the human is of primary importance when considering the relationship between language and the current environmental crisis; the system of language is something into which we have been born and it is out of the control of the individual utterer and utterance.

Merleau-Ponty’s arguments are consistent with the way Joyce portrays language in *Finnegans Wake*; the mixing of languages, both synchronically and diachronically, the flexibility of words in different contexts, the difficulties in communication, the misunderstandings and speech impediments all demonstrate that individuals are in no way in control of their language or its usage. This is demonstrated clearly through Joyce’s decentring of the human subject, so that several times throughout the *Wake*, language is decoupled from its anthropocentrism and the text explores the possibilities of various forms of communication. However, the *Wake* remains conscious of its own ambitions, and the desire to represent or understand the nonhuman through human language is always problematic and inescapable.

Invasive Nations, Invasive Species

The periodic invasions in Irish history have been a theme in the *Wake* since the first drafts of “Roderick O’Connor” and “Mamalujo”, but during these next five years of composition, “invasion” expands to include various levels of imposition and subjugation of peoples, nations, religions, languages, landscapes, animals and plants. The Vikings and the Normans are one form of invader, but Joyce unites Strongbow with Tristan and with Saint Patrick to show that even Ireland’s patron saint was guilty on similar counts. On the galleys for “The Triangle”, Joyce adds both “strongbowed launch, the Lady Eva”² and “the woods of Fogloot!”³ Eva, daughter of Diarmuid MacMurchadha, king of Leinster, married Strongbow, the leader of the Anglo-Norman invaders,⁴ and as the leader of an invading group, marriage with a woman of Ireland is one of the ways in which Strongbow could assert and reinforce his hold over Ireland. As is often the case, as Gayle Rubin argues, the “exchange” of

² BL 47478-16, JJA 53: 61, FW 288.15.

³ BL 47478-24, JJA 53: 71, FW 290.18.

⁴ This piece of information derives from Emily Lawless’s *The Story of Ireland* (86) and is recorded in VI.B.6 as “marriage of Strongbow & Eva amid smoke” (VI.B.6: 174).

the woman in marriage is a demonstration and affirmation of power (542-543). The land of Ireland is nearly always coded as the female “Erin” to England’s male, and Strongbow’s marriage to the daughter of an Irish king is a re-enactment of England’s domination of the Irish land.

This theme of domination over the land of Ireland is also present in the “woods of Fogloot”⁵ addition, from the note “(Focluth [wood of])” (VI.B.3: 9). This note is from Flood’s *Ireland: Its Saints and Scholars* (11) and concerns how Saint Patrick was first brought to Ireland as a slave, but later returned to introduce Christianity. From Patrick’s *Confessions*, Flood summarizes Patrick’s account of the events occurring after his departure from Ireland: “After six years’ captivity Patrick escaped from Ireland to France and made his way to Tours, where he stayed for four years receiving instructions from St. Martin” (11). Then, after further time in Auxerre and Rome, “[t]he Saint’s thoughts often turned towards the people amongst whom he had spent the years of his captivity, and he was finally induced to undertake the conversion of Ireland by a vision” (11):

I saw in the visions of the night a person coming from Ireland with innumerable letters, and he gave me one of them, and I read in the beginning of the letter ‘The voice of the people of Ireland,’ and I thought at that very moment that I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Focluth, which is adjoining to the Western Sea, and they cried out, as it were with one voice, ‘We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk still amongst us,’ and I was very much pricked to the heart, and could read no further, and so I awoke. (qtd. in Flood 12)

The details that these voices call out to Patrick from a *wood* and that these messages are delivered in a *letter* are of greatest importance to the *Wake*. Historically, “woods” and “forests” have been the spaces of disorder and anarchy; they were often seen as the unmapped spaces opposed to civilization where irrationality and immorality reigned. In Ireland, during the Cromwellian period, in the 1798 rebellion, and in the Anglo-Irish War, the “woods” were the places where the Irish (the “woodkerne”) could hide and were seen as frightening, menacing spaces in need of eradication.

Reading Saint Patrick’s vision as Christian allegory, it is possible that the “wood” may refer to an actual “wood”, but it likely refers to pagan Ireland and its worship of nature-deities. Harrison describes how Dante’s forest in the first canto of

⁵ Also referenced in the Yawn section (FW 478.34).

the *Inferno* represents the non-Christian world; the voices are the people calling to Patrick to help them out of the dark, chaotic, formless forested landscape, the Dantean *selva oscura*. The forests are the *foris*, the “outside”: they exist in a space detached from laws and from society. As Jeremy Tambling explains in *Dante and Difference*, the origin of the term *selva oscura* in Dante, the Latin *selva*, is closely related to the Greek *hyle* that signifies the chaotic, primal matter (72). The designation of the “woods” of Focluth signifies the existence of a Christian imperative behind the domination of Ireland, its people and its wild landscape, a point not lost on Joyce alongside the simultaneous addition of the marriage of Strongbow to the King of Leinster’s daughter.

The next “invasion” Joyce deals with is botanical: the importation of foreign plant species to Ireland for inclusion in elaborate Anglo-Irish gardens. For example, the “fogbow” passage⁶ contains an adulterated line from Virgil’s *Eclogues*, the first pastoral text: “Titubante of Tegmine – sub – Fagi”.⁷ This line is, in the original, “Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi”, and translates, roughly, to “You, Tityrus, as you lie under the cover of the beech”. The “beech” was first discussed in terms of the note in VI.A, “protected by beechtree umbrella” (VI.A: 121), and also appears in drafts of I.3, I.4, I.6 and III.3. In I.3 and I.4, the references both seem to originate in “The Beech Tree’s Petition”, a poem from the Scottish Romantic poet Thomas Campbell. Joyce’s references to the beech tree nearly quote Campbell’s line, “Spare, woodman, spare the beechen tree” (1). The poem is concerned more with the loss of the tree from the perspective of the poet as opposed to a concern with the loss of the tree itself, and it is certainly this interaction of the artist and nature that has intrigued Joyce. Furthermore, the poem is an early nineteenth century example of woodland resource management and relates to Joyce’s interest in issues of land ownership, administration and politics.

The beech tree of Campbell’s poem is an invasive plant in Ireland. It is a “non-native” broadleaf tree, and according to Michael Viney, the beech-tree is significant because of its relationship to Anglo-Irish gardens and attempts at reforesting Ireland:

Only about a quarter of the ‘Big House’ planting promoted by the Royal Dublin Society from 1740 onwards was of broadleaved trees.

⁶ BL 47483-98, JJA 57: 313, FW 403.6-17. Added to the III.1 revisions for *transition* 12.

⁷ BL 47483-98, JJA 57: 313, FW 403.9.

Many of these were beech, the magnificent, satin-trunked tree that may have arrived with the Normans. (“Native’s Return”)

Joyce’s choice of the beech tree is politically charged due to this association with the Anglo-Irish and with afforestation, and his alignment of HCE and Shaun with such “non-native” trees places them in opposition with Shem, who is often associated with the native elm tree. (technically, he would be a Wych Elm [Hickie 77]). The choice of beech tree may also be related to the orthographical link between the German words for book (*Buch*), beech (*Buche*) and letter (*Buchstabe*). In I.4, the “wouldmanspare” is just after “*blaetther*”, the German for “leaves”. This depicts a recognition of the materiality of writing itself and strengthens the relationship between the natural history recorded by a tree (*Buche*) in its rings, and the story told by a book (*Buch*) through the insistence on “leaves”. The legacies of Ireland’s invasions are imprinted not only culturally, but also linguistically and botanically.

Fables: Insects and Animals

All cultures have their own versions of the “fable”; it is one of the most widespread and enduring forms of literature. The pure pervasiveness of the fable in cultural history certainly attracted Joyce, but the components of these fables, usually animals, insects, or elements of nature, also factor into Joyce’s use of such fables. Once used to explain the origins or causes of phenomena or as ways to impart morals and lessons, “fables” inevitably lost their credibility as scientific knowledge advanced. In the modern period, very few “fables” exist; John Dryden’s *Hind and the Panther*, Rudyard Kipling’s *The Jungle Book*, Kenneth Grahame’s *The Wind in the Willows*, George Orwell’s *Animal Farm*, and, perhaps, T.S. Eliot’s *Old Possum’s Book of Practical Cats*, would constitute the majority of these fables. In an essay on *Animal Farm*, Christopher Hollis agrees with Johnson’s criticism of Dryden’s *Hind and the Panther*, arguing that there is an inherent “absurdity” in the anthropomorphisation of animals, but that such an attempt can be “saved from ridicule” if the author can “draw his illustrations from the facts of animal life” (84). This being said, any modern attempt at fable must take into account current understanding of the animals employed in the fable in order for it to be successful. As an example, a contemporary fable involving crows would have to take into account the new understandings of the complexity of the members of the corvid family.

“The Ondt and the Gracehoper”, one of the most frequently discussed sections of *Finnegans Wake*, was drafted in February 1928,⁸ and presents Joyce’s engagement with fables, with popular entomology, and with contemporary implications of the “time/space” relationship. In addition to exploring “time” and “space” (Shem and Shaun, respectively),⁹ “The Ondt and the Gracehoper” (along with its companion, “The Mookse and the Griper”) is Joyce’s take on Aesop’s “The Ant and the Grasshopper”, which tells of an ant, busily preparing for the future by storing food, and a grasshopper, disregarding the future and preferring to enjoy the present moment.¹⁰ The composition of “The Ondt and the Gracehoper” provides a way for Joyce to explore ideas of the non-human in other mythologies¹¹ and belief systems as well (such as ancient Egyptian religion).

Like the earlier sketches of the *Wake*, “The Ondt and the Gracehoper” fable modernizes Aesop’s story. The “time” and “space” argument, when brought into the twentieth century, concerns technology’s ability to manipulate these two concepts. Hart, in *Structure and Motif in Finnegans Wake*, points out that Shem’s travels take him around the globe from North to South,¹² while Shaun travels along the equator (116-128). These movements both manipulate time, but in different ways. Shem’s movements correspond with changes in seasons (and thus align with the coming of winter for the grasshopper), while Shaun’s correspond with the newly introduced time zones. The establishment of world time zones in the late nineteenth century, which itself was largely because of the increasing importance of railroads, is a prime example of how contingent these concepts are (and of course, the railroad was responsible for one of the largest alterations in the way humans understand space).

⁸ BL 47483 81-89, 91. Composed as Joyce was proofing III.1 for publication in *transition* 12 and *transition* 13.

⁹ Van Mierlo explains that the development of Shaun’s association with space “forms an alternative device [...] for the idea of time/history developed in Book I” (HJW 348).

¹⁰ One translation of Aesop’s “The Grasshopper and the Ants” is as follows: “One fine day in winter some ants were busy drying their store of corn, which had got rather damp during a long spell of rain. Presently up came a grasshopper and begged them to spare her a few grains, ‘For’, she said, ‘I’m simply starving’. The ants stopped work for a moment, though this was against their principles. ‘May we ask’, said they, ‘what you were doing with yourself all last summer? Why didn’t you collect a store of food for the winter?’ ‘The fact is’, replied the grasshopper, ‘I was so busy singing that I hadn’t the time’. ‘If you spent the summer singing’, replied the ants, ‘you can’t do better than spend the winter dancing’. And they chuckled and went on with their work” (148).

¹¹ Some sources to look for a more comprehensive discussion of these questions include Laura Brown’s *Homeless Dogs and Melancholy Apes: Humans and Other Animals in the Modern Literary Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), Robert M. Grant’s *Early Christians and Animals* (London: Routledge, 2002) and Christopher Hollingsworth’s *Poetics of the Hive: The Insect Metaphor in Literature* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2001).

¹² E.g., “[T]he Boraborayellers” (416.34) and “Tossmania” (FW 416.30).

The Ondt/Shawn believes himself to be “beating time” because the clocks tell him he is, and he consequently feels himself quite superior to the Grasshopper.

The grasshopper and the ant differ at the core in their philosophies. Shawn’s belief in technologically engineered time and space sets him against Shem’s “poetic” approach, which accepts that the seasons change regardless of calendars and clocks. Epstein describes this as the tension between an idealist and a materialist, respectively, arguing that this fable “represents a powerful attempt by Shem to remind the flesh-mistrusting, Gnostic Shawn of the physical reality that inescapably underlies the spiritual universe” (EFW 173). Joyce has been using weather throughout the *Wake* as a twentieth century version of Viconian Providence, and the same is true for this sketch. In the first draft of “The Ondt”, Joyce writes of “[t]he June snow flocking thickly on the hegelstones”,¹³ with “*Hagel*” being the German for “hail” or “storm”, as well as clearly also punning on Hegel, the German idealist. The Grasshopper tosses himself in the “snow”, but this is crossed out and changed to “Vico”,¹⁴ pitting Vico against Hegel and syllogistically casting Vico as a materialist.¹⁵ Even without having the genetic “evidence” of the drafts, Campbell and Robinson had argued that this throwing oneself in the “Vico” here means “he gave himself up to fate” (263). Fate, for both in this fable, is encompassed in the progression of the seasons.

The “hegelstones”, the “snow” (or, the “Vico”), the “sleets”, the “nix” (which, in addition to being the German *nichts*, “nothing”, is Latin for “snow”), and the Ondt as “making chilly spaces at himself affront the icinglass in his windhome” all create a wintry scene, but Joyce specifies that this is “June”. Now, Dublin is certainly known for its unpleasant climate, but hail, sleet, snow, wind and “a lugly tornado”¹⁶ are even a bit excessive for June. In conjunction with the movements of Shem and Shawn, the weather suggests that the action has moved to the Southern hemisphere; what is normal in one space for a particular time is inverted for another. Bishop provides a Hegelian reading of Vico in fitting with Joyce’s present usage:

Well before the appearance of Hegel’s phenomenology of Mind, *The New Science* necessarily implied that human consciousness was an

¹³ BL 47483-84, JJA 57: 297, FW 416.33.

¹⁴ BL 47483-84v, JJA 57: 298, FDV 223.9-15, FW 417.5-6.

¹⁵ Later on in the drafts, Joyce adds Kant, another idealist, with “akkant” (FW 414.22).

¹⁶ BL 47483-84v, JJA 57: 298, FDV 223.9-15, FW 416.34.

evolutionary variable, changeable with history and society and that it depended on the whole human past for its definition. (*Book* 176)

This variability of human consciousness is demonstrated here through the conflation of Hegel and Vico with the subjectivity of time and the uncontrollability of the weather.

This correspondence between both time and weather and historical contingency is strengthened by additions made to one of the “Ondt” passages on the third proofs for *transition* 12:

Pou! What a zeit for the goths! Thought ^vented^ the Ondt who ^was not being a sommerfool^ was making chilly spaces at himself ^hisphex^ affront the icinglass of his windhome, which was cold ^antitopically^ nixnixundnix.¹⁷

“Windhome” is Wyndham Lewis, providing an explanation for the addition of “vented” (French “*vent*”, wind). The addition of “antitopically” is anti-tropical, cold, and the change of “trop-” to “top-” suggests the Greek *topos*, “place”, further aligning the Ondt with space and with the global movements of Shem and Shaun. Such determinism also evokes Metchnikoff, who put forth a spatially oriented theory in *Les grandes fleuves* that over time, the seats of Western civilization moved toward the poles (Athens/Rome, then Babylon, then France), whereas seats of Eastern civilization moved from the poles toward the equator (56-59). For Metchnikoff, this “trend” contributes to the decline in influence of Eastern civilizations, as in his view, climate and fate are permanently intertwined.

The “time” and “space” debate is updated in “The Ondt” to include modern technology, and the animals are also updated to include contemporary entomology. In VI.B.4, VI.B.27 and VI.B.21, Joyce records detailed notes (e.g. VI.B.4: 229 “arachnid”, “mandible”, “Siphonaptera”, VI.B.4: 242 “ocellus”, VI.B.4: 246 “pygidium”) on entomology, demonstrating Joyce’s emphasis on naturalistically representing the insects themselves and his emphasis on connecting nature and language through “entymology” (VI.B.21: 183) (entomology + etymology = entymology). Hart, writing in “His Good Smetterling of Entymology”, argues that “[a]part from the names of insects, Joyce includes, in several languages, many other terms from natural history, with a strong bias towards bees and butterflies” (57), further linking entomology and etymology. Why might Joyce have chosen a fable

¹⁷ BL 47483-94, JJA 57: 320, FW 415.26-29.

with insects as main characters to articulate another aspect of the Shem/Shawn tension? What could have drawn Joyce to insects? As was discussed in the introduction, there were several popular works of entomology during the Modernist period that would have made this a familiar topic, but additionally, the sheer number of species of insects (numbering in the millions), decentres the human presence on the earth, making the human only one species in a vast world of insect dominion. Entomology during the Modernist period focused on the behavior of insects, demonstrating that insects can have behavioral patterns and social structures as complex as any animal. Aside from this general familiarity with entomology from popular science, Joyce may also have been drawn to insects because of their historically polarized representations. Culturally, insects have served two distinct and opposing roles: in the first, insects are curses from above, sent to bring famine and misery to all forms of life, and in the second role, they are deities, worshipped for their association with rebirth and renewal.

In *The Golden Bough*, insects present themselves in several belief systems as curses of infertility, particularly infertility of the land. Biblically, insects (often translated as “locusts”) are curses from God, sent to destroy the land of Egypt. In Deuteronomy 28, if the commandments are obeyed, “Blessed shalt thou be in thy city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field” (Deut. 28:3); the earth will be fertile to provide for its citizens and the citizens will be fertile to provide for the earth. But if the commandments are *not* obeyed, “cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land” (Deut. 28: 18), the earth will become “iron” (Deut. 28: 23), all the seeds and “all thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume” (Deut. 28: 38, 42). Generally, insects appear in the Bible as signs of God’s fury, consuming crops, laying the land waste, and subsequently, starving the disobedient society. Insects ravage fields and bring suffering, representing a bond between the gods and the fertility of the land that endures throughout history. In the second role, insects are deified (as the scarab beetle has been in many religions ranging from Ancient Egyptian to Buddhism). Hart explains that Joyce approaches entomological terms in “The Ondt and the Gracehoper” in a similar way to how he layered the names of rivers into I.8, and roads into III.4, but that the biological terms here are perhaps more significant: “As insects have always been closely associated with superstition and with primitive gods, Joyce raises earwigs, beetles, and other small creatures to

divine status” (57).¹⁸ Joyce uses insects to set modern science against religion (and for this reason may use the Latin names of particular species). One of Buell’s criteria for an ecological text is that “The nonhuman environment is present not merely as a framing device but as a presence that begins to suggest that human history is implicated in natural history” (7-8), and the use of fables and myths in the *Wake* works with this criterion, allowing Joyce to merge traditional and Classical narratives with contemporary ideas of the non-human world.¹⁹

In *Finnegans Wake*, casting rivers, cities and mountains as protagonists takes the representation of the non-human voice to a new level from the very beginning. In the first drafts of “Mamalujo”, both the wind and the sea are given the power of speech, and this continues in the first drafts of “The Ondt and the Gracehoper”. It is the wind calling the Gracehoper’s name: “Grausssssss! Opr! Grausssssss! Opr!”²⁰. Atherton locates this voice of the wind through the word “Quileone”, added as “Aquileone”,²¹ to the first set of proofs for *Tales Told of Shem and Shaun*. He identifies the north wind²² and the Egyptian word *Aqa*, from a passage in *The Book of the Dead*: “Aqa is thy name. Tell me my name, saith the wind...” (165). There are several other instances in the *Wake* wherein other non-humans (features of the landscape, natural forces, natural phenomena, animals) are given a chance to “speak”. For example, the “Ass”, who “belongs” to Mamalujo, narrates the “keen for departed Shaun” (Campbell and Robinson 268).²³ The donkey is often a translator for Mamalujo since his position as a non-human allows him a certain amount of prelapsarian ability to understand all language. The ascription of speech to non-human

¹⁸ Hart refers to the scarab of Ancient Egypt who was “Khepera, the creator of the gods”, and explains that Shaun, by referring to Shem as a “leettle beetle”, unwittingly elevates him to this divine status (57). Atherton explains that “Hart sees this identification as explaining the interspersing into the text of the host of other gods that have at some time appeared in animal or vegetable form” (160).

¹⁹ In *The Fictions of James Joyce and Wyndham Lewis: Monsters of Nature and Design*, Scott W. Klein argues that “fables are bound up with *Finnegans Wake*’s issues of language and history” (181), and uses Vico’s gestural linguistic theories to argue that Vico ties “fable” to the concept of “logos”. Klein’s argument supports Joyce’s use of fables and myths as, along with contemporary science, alternative ways of reaching “truth”.

²⁰ Not present on third proofs for *transition* 12 for 2 March 1928 (JJA 57:311-338), but present on the setting typescript for *Tales Told of Shem and Shaun* for April 1929 (Yale 9.6-7, JJA 57: 347, FW 417.1-2). 14 and 21 February 1928 proofs for *transition* 12 are now held at the National Library of Ireland (NLI 36,639/15/1/B: pp. 1-8 [15-002-05] BL 47483, fs. 67-68: pp. 9-12; NLI 36,639/15/2: pp. 1-8 [15-006]; NLI 36,639/15/4: pp. 1-8 [15-008] and NLI 36,639/15/5/A-B: pp. 1-12 [15-09-16]; NLI 36,639/15/6/A-B: pp. 1-12 [15-17-18], respectively).

²¹ Yale 9.9-16a, JJA 57: 361, FW 418.26. Also, “*aquila*” is the Italian for “eagle”, implicating this in the Holy Spirit as bird and as wind relationship.

²² “Boaborryellas” (BL 47483084v, JJA 57: 298. FDV 223.9-15, FW 416.34-35). “The North Wind and the Sun” is another one of Aesop’s Fables.

²³ FW 427.10-428.27. Added to the *transition* proofs of III.1.

elements and organisms is another way Joyce explores the development of world mythologies and religions as well as a way for Joyce to stylistically and thematically link ancient literatures to Modernist experimentalism.

Even though Atherton's essay on III.1 was written long before the arrival of ecocritical interest in the post-human and animal studies, it does look towards an articulation of non-human speech and ability to communicate. In addition to attaching the Egyptian reference to the speech of the wind, Atherton also points to the addition to the first draft of III.1§C in 1928 of the word "grillies"²⁴ (which refers to the German *Grille*, "cricket") as a way to balance the introduction of Leibniz, "leivnits", in the same line (both Leibniz the philosopher and nits, the insects). Atherton connects "grillies" to Plutarch's *Gryllus* (usually translated to *Do Animals Think?*) and explains that it is "set in Circe's island, in which a pig attacks the stoic doctrine that animals cannot reason" (162). If Atherton is correct in this assumption, the "grillies" contradicts Leibniz's rationalist theory of "monads"; the link between insects, animals and spirituality provides an opposition to Leibniz's theory that easily reduces life to simple units. The ability given to the donkey to translate, interpret and narrate also challenges the Stoic (and later, Enlightenment) doctrine that animals cannot reason. During Joyce's lifetime, the natural sciences were quickly developing, and ethology and entomology had begun to suggest that animals and insects operated according to their own social and communicative systems, and that these systems were of value despite their indifference to human ideals and uses. Made possible by Darwin and by the ever-declining authority of the Church, these studies further contributed to the decentring of the human and of language.

Christianity, Science, and Nature

Continuing with the relationship between the non-human and religion, Joyce explores the relationship between Christianity, science and nature during this period of composition on the *Wake*. As discussed above, Yawn, asked by the inquisitors as to why he is shivering and if he wants his mother, responds: "The woods of Foglout! Omis padredge!"²⁵ In addition to evoking Saint Patrick's dream, Yawn's "padredge" is a blend of Patrick, *padres* (Spanish for "father"), *mis padres* (Spanish for "ancestors") and partridge. Without recourse to the mythological and theological

²⁴ BL 47483-84, JJA 57: 297, FW 416.29.

²⁵ BL 47484a-248, JJA 58: 316, FW 478.34.

implications of partridge, these three connotations of “padredge” create an image of birds as genealogically linked to humans, dissolving the boundary between the human and the non-human. Looking to the roles played by non-human figures in mythology and ancient religions (two topic clusters in the notebooks during this period), provides a clear precedent for this, and the fact that these themes are invoked in conjunction with Saint Patrick articulates (and consequently destabilizes) the authority of the typically anthropocentric Christian doctrine.

Examining the symbolic implications of the choice of “partridge” reveals possible ramifications concerning rivalry, falsity and infidelity. The merging of *padres*, father and partridge comes from the fact that the Latin name for the partridge is *Perdix perdix*. In Greek mythology, “Perdix” was the name of Daedalus’s nephew, and Daedalus became jealous as Perdix was proving to be a better craftsman than he (Perdix invented the saw, the compass, and the potter’s wheel). Enraged by a potential usurpation, Daedalus threw his nephew off of the Acropolis and into the sea, but Perdix was rescued by Athena and turned into a partridge (Werness 318). Thus, Yawn is in the role of the partridge, or Perdix, harshly excoriated by his brother, Shem, the Daedalus figure. In Brewer’s *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, one also finds that the partridge is aligned with sex, as the phrase “*Perdix, toujours perdrix*” refers to a French king teaching a lesson about monogamy to his confessor (699). In the Early Christian period, the partridge also stood for the devil, for the bird steals and incubates eggs that were not its own (699), as it was believed that the devil stole children and indoctrinated them. Shaun, in the role of Patrick/partridge, looks upon the Irish people as birds that have ended up in the wrong nest, in need of the Christianity he will bring to their land.

The bird’s transitional role between nature and culture also appears as Johnny MacDougal interrupts with an anecdote including three more bird types, added to the *transition* 15 pages²⁶: “greyleg” (graylag, European goose), “duck” and “plover”.²⁷ “Duck” is not a particularly specific term, but breeds of ducks, along with the plover and the Graylag goose, are migratory waterbirds for which Ireland is an important wintering habitat. The pre-Linnaean name for the Graylag goose, the “Wild Goose”, links with the “Wild Geese”, the Jacobins that fled Ireland after the Williamite Wars (D’Alton 4: 492). Johnny addresses Yawn as “greyleg”, warning, “that duck is rising

²⁶ Possibly begun in 1933 or 1934, but not dated by the printer until 1 July 1936 (JJA 61: 1).

²⁷ BL 47486b-451, JJA 61: 433, FW 478.35-36.

and you'll wake that stand of plover",²⁸ before describing his own relationship with the "woods of Focluth", which are historically situated in County Mayo (in Johnny's section of the country). Joyce also adds "Tir-non-Ogre"²⁹ (*Tír-na-nÓg*)³⁰ here, to the description of Mayo, locating the "woods of Focluth" in the Irish equivalent of Eden, Valhalla or Elysium. *Tír-na-nÓg* appears here because of its association with Irish myth and with the figure of Oisín and the *Tuatha Dé Danaan*, but also because of its atemporality and its defiance of spatial positioning (legend has it that *Tír-na-nÓg* was not able to be located on any map, and existed "far, far, west"). The addition of "zoedone of the zephyros",³¹ the land of the zephyr, the West Wind, is therefore also related to the addition of *Tír-na-nÓg*.³²

An alteration of the "woods of fogloot" addition introduces Irish wolves, extinct in Ireland since at least 1786 (Hickie 14 April 2011). Yawn as Patrick/Parnell senses that Johnny's story about *Tír-na-nÓg* is merely a way to trick him, and Yawn changes the "woods of fogloot" to the "wolves of Fochlut!",³³ and pleads that he not be flung "to the twelves" (FW 479.14). The change from "fogloot" to "Fochlut" brings in the Irish for wolf, *faolchú*, which translates roughly to "evil hound". This etymological link between "evil" and "wolf", "*faol*" and "*faolchú*", provides a context for the myth surrounding Saint Patrick, the wolf, and the lamb, and also explains the recurring presence of the wolf in *The Book of Kells* as a symbol of evil. Also containing the German for twelve, *zwolf*, this "twelve" becomes the 12 apostles, and the Yawn figure's plea to Johnny becomes a plea against betrayal, linking the figure back to Parnell.

Joyce's interest in the relationship between religion, language and the environment continued during this period, demonstrated by many of the notes taken in the *Wake* notebooks from the middle of 1928 to early 1929. Many notes from VI.B.4³⁴ and the next notebook, VI.B.23,³⁵ relate to elements of nature appearing in

²⁸ BL 47486b-451, JJA 61: 433, FW 478.35-36.

²⁹ BL 4748a-249, JJA 58: 317, FW 479.2.

³⁰ Irish; translates literally as "Land of the Young".

³¹ BL 4748a-249, JJA 58: 317, FW 479.8.

³² Neil McCaw, in his study *Writing Irishness in Nineteenth Century British Culture*, discusses, also, how the *Tír-na-nÓg* myth is used by Oscar Wilde in his *Portrait of Dorian Gray* (203). *Tír-na-nÓg*, McCaw argues, was particularly popular with the Anglo-Irish, for whom it represented a mysterious exoticism akin to the "Orient" during the Victorian period. Thus, the incorporation of *Tír-na-nÓg* may be referring to the Anglo-Irish cooption of Irish myth.

³³ BL 47484a-8, JJA 58: 109, FW 479.13.

³⁴ Van Hulle writes that VI.B.4 "seems to have been compiled with a revision of III.3 in mind" (2004, 118).

³⁵ Unused notes transferred to VI.C.10: 169-248.

religious texts³⁶ and join the ubiquity of nature in religion with modern questions about the human relationship to nature. Joyce continues to strengthen Shaun's relationship to Christ by aligning the "girls" (analogous to Swift's Vanessa and Stella) with the "leap year girls", and having them become mourners as Shaun prepares to leave. In an 8 August 1928 letter to Weaver, Joyce explains some of the significance behind these mourning girls in a passage that eventually becomes FW 468.23-471.34:

The Maronite (Roman Catholic) liturgy, the language of which is Syrian is at the back of it. On Good Friday the body of Jesus is unscrewed from the cross, placed in a sheet and carried to the sepulchre while girls dressed in white throw flowers at it and a great deal of incense is used. The Maronite ritual is used in Mount Lebanon. Ab departs like Osiris the body of the young god being pelted and incensed. (LI 263)

A ritual tying ancient Egyptian religion to Christian tradition was opportune at this point in the *Wake*, and Epstein explains of this mourning ritual that "[t]he rite itself, exalting Shaun as a series of lovely trees, is from the apocryphal book of Ecclesiasticus 24: 17-19" (EFW 189) and the presence of trees here can be understood through recourse to the notebooks from this period.³⁷ VI.B.4 contains a second list of the Irish "tree alphabet" that Joyce had already listed in VI.B.14 and included in the aforementioned 1925 letter to Weaver. The fact that the trees themselves are continually identified in the notes and appear in the drafts means that these Irish trees were of substantial importance to Joyce and to his vision for the *Wake*.

³⁶ As 1928 passed into summer and autumn, Joyce pursued this route by taking notes on numerous ancient religions, on the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, on hagiography and on the Hebrew language. In VI.B.4, clusters concerning topics already broached appear again, with notes relating to seasons, ancient religions (including for the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*), the Hebrew months and children (for the preparation of II.1), in addition to the notes on the Irish tree alphabet. VI.B.23 contains more notes on the Hebrew language, on Spanish months, and lists of colours and days of the week in Spanish, Russian and Danish. Notes from VI.B.4 and VI.B.23 find their way into drafts of I.6, II.2, III.1, III.3, III.4 and IV, and so looking at the notebooks themselves provides clues for what may unify the additions during this period of late 1928-early 1929.

³⁷ Most of these notes were taken in July, August and September 1928, Joyce travelled throughout Austria (Letters to Stanislaus from Salzburg are dated 31 July and 5 August 1928 [LIII 180-181]. [Joyce described Salzburg as "a very beautiful town and the most courteous people imaginable" but that "the climate helped to play havoc" with him]), Germany (Letter to Benjamin Conner from Munich, dated 1 September 1928 [LIII 181]), and France (Letter to Stanislaus Joyce from *Hotel Continental, Le Havre* dated 9 September 1928 [LIII 181]).

As the interrogators continue to question Yawn, they switch their tactics, moving from the time of the event to the place of the event, attempting to pinpoint its exact location. One possible location, of course, is the Garden of Eden, and on this draft level, Joyce continues to decouple the story from its Christian context through recourse to Darwin. The initial references to Darwin appeared on the fair copy of the revised typescript of this section, with Joyce adding “origin of spices and charlotte darlings with silkblue askmes chattering in dissent to them”³⁸ and “their unnatural refection”,³⁹ punning on Darwin’s name, on his *Origin of Species*, and on his *Descent of Man*. At this draft level, Joyce adds another Darwin reference, “Remounting a liffle towards the ouragan of spaces”,⁴⁰ in conjunction with “Orania epples”,⁴¹ placing three decidedly un-Christian elements, the *Origin of Species*, Newton’s apple, and Emania of the Apples (the locale to which Manannán MacLir, the Celtic sea-god, fled to escape Christianity), into the story of Eden. Fordham argues that Darwin’s presence here is largely due to the “tree of life” and to the larger metaphor of the “tree of knowledge” and science’s place on this latter “tree”. Fordham continues, arguing that Joyce juxtaposes Frazer with Darwin and later, quantum mechanics, to show the larger *subjectivity* of science and align it with other forms of “superstition” (HJS 1: par. 24). This may also contribute to the addition of “Let’s hear what science has to say”⁴² on this same draft level, again presenting science as just another point of view, no more valid than any other outlook.

The intersection of Christianity, mythology and nature is also demonstrated with several “bird” additions to this passage of III.3 and to contemporaneous drafts of I.6§3. One such addition to III.3 contains the infamous Sweeney, the Danish word for bird (*fugle*), the German word for goose (*Gans*), a play on “flamingo”, and a play on Phoenix (“flaming”): “and bird flamingans sweenyswinging fugelwards on the tipmast and Orania epples playing hopptociel bommptaterre”.⁴³ The Irish story *Buile Shuibhne* tells of “mad” King Sweeney and his “birdlike” behaviour, the “sweenysinging”. This story is often seen as an example of the “confluence” of the Christian and the Celtic, and has been interpreted as arising from “the monastic tradition of settlement” feeling “itself threatened by the dynamics of nature” (Foster

³⁸ BL 47484a-1, JJA 58:1, FW 504.28-29.

³⁹ BL 47484a-1, JJA 58:1, FW 504.33.

⁴⁰ BL 47484a-205, JJA 58: 356, FW 504.14.

⁴¹ BL 47484a-207, JJA 58: 357, FW 504.24.

⁴² BL 47484a-208, JJA 58: 358, FW 505.27.

⁴³ BL 47484a-205, JJA 58: 356, FW 504.23-24.

33). In the story, the Ulster King Sweeney is “turned into a bird-man by a curse from a saint whom he insults and is driven in madness to the tree canopies where he makes mad beautiful verse” (Foster 32-33). The story provides magnificent documentation of the landscape of twelfth century Ulster, cataloguing all of the Irish trees and shrubs inhabited by Sweeney, but the overall purpose of the story, according to John Wilson Foster, is to show that “spirit is separate from, and finally triumphs over, nature” (33). Sweeney’s occupancy of this “transitional” space, physically, mentally, and religiously, is echoed with the “*ciel*” and “*terre*” (French for “sky” and “earth”, respectively). Birds also occupy this space, hovering between earth and sky, and for this quality they are given supreme importance in the *Wake* in terms of their behaviour, their habitats, their symbolism, their role in augury, and their prevalence in mythology. Without knowledge of the theology behind the Sweeney tale, the relationship between the earth/sky binary and the importance of birds in the *Wake* is still visible. Birds serve to unite these two realms, as birds, accompanied only by certain insects, inhabit both.

The sheer ability of birds to fly, to inhabit both of these worlds, contributed to their importance in early religions and mythologies as well as to the association of the Holy Spirit with a bird in the Christian tradition. Joyce adds “Umpidgeon”⁴⁴ and “hagion pneuma”⁴⁵ (Greek for Holy Spirit) to III.3 and I.6§3, respectively. There is also another possible reference to the “Umpidgeon” embedded in a Christ addition: “Ichthyan! Hegvat! Tosser!”⁴⁶ The “Ichthyan”, *Ichthyus*, echoes the “Ich dean” a few lines before (FW 485.3) which is the motto of Yawn’s crest and means “I serve” (“Ich dean”). Yawn’s crest is composed of three feathers, and in this context is most probably an allusion to the Holy Spirit as “bird”.

The next addition, “Your bard’s highview, avis on valley!”⁴⁷ evokes the famed image of the God-artist figure “paring his fingernails”⁴⁸ in *Portrait*, but through the bird as “bard” and the Latin for bird, *avis*, the bird is given a certain creative agency. It is no coincidence that the “hen” plays such a central role in the understanding of “the Letter”. The “hen”, in addition to being a Greek term for “one” and *poule* being French slang for prostitute, is also used due to specific

⁴⁴ BL 47484a-178, JJA 58: 421, FW 485.20.

⁴⁵ VI.B.27: 4. Transferred to the proofs for I.6§3 (FW 156.14).

⁴⁶ BL 47484a-177, JJA 58: 420, FW 485.11.

⁴⁷ BL 47484a-205, JJA 58: 356, FW 504.16.

⁴⁸ “The artist, like the God of the creation, remains within or behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails” (P 15).

characteristics of poultry, such as their tendency to scavenge. Chickens/hens inhabit another transitional role due to their status as only semiflightless or as “reluctant fliers” (Roots 129).⁴⁹ The “avis” with the “bard’s eyeview” in the *Wake* is the hen, the creative force that exists between earth and sky, matter and spirit.

In his *Variation of Plants and Animals Under Domestication*, Darwin dedicated the seventh chapter entirely to “fowls”, and he believed that studying domesticated species was the best way to observe evolutionary patterns. Clive Roots explains that, “the unnatural loss of flight has occurred in several domesticated birds like the chicken and turkey, which have very inactive lives compared to their wild ancestors” (ix). On these same pages for *transition*, Joyce adds “ouragan of spaces”, which Fordham argues serves to again problematize the question of “origins”. The phrasing, “ouragan of spaces”, contains the French word for hurricane, *ouragan*, attributing our “origin” to the sky (and, again, placing our fate in the hands of the “weather”, or nature), but also provides the evolutionary angle as well as the “chicken or the egg” question. These questions are all intrinsically linked back to the question of creativity’s origins and of the origin of language and writing, but could not be articulated as clearly without recourse to specific biological detail. The “chicken or the egg” question is made clear by Joyce’s addition of “eggdrazzles”⁵⁰ at this draft level, returning to another explanation for the world’s origin, the Yggdrasil. The Yggdrasil also inhabits both “earth” and “sky”; the roots are dug deep into the earth, while the branches reach towards the sky. Thus, on this draft level, the “tree stuck up” of the first draft has become both the Norse Yggdrasil and Darwin’s Tree of Life from *The Origin of Species*.

In VI.B.27, in use from approximately May through July 1929,⁵¹ Joyce lists: “quantum”, “protons”,⁵² “finite space”, and “nebulae spiral”,⁵³ and earlier, in VI.B.23, Joyce listed “Avogadro”, “Athomic weight”,⁵⁴ “ampere”, “coulomb”, “electron”, “proton”, “volt” and “a nod to cathode”.⁵⁵ The addition to III.3 containing

⁴⁹ Species in the category “reluctant fliers” often adopt this “reluctance” due to environmental factors; they are either forest-dwellers and need only “hop” from tree to tree, are earth-dwellers and only need to scurry between patches of underbrush, or they are species that have been domesticated for millennia, such as the chicken (Roots 129-130).

⁵⁰ BL 47484a-205, JJA 58: 356, FW 504.35.

⁵¹ Unused notes from this notebook were transferred by Madame Raphael into VI.C.17: 64-150.

⁵² VI.B.27: 141.

⁵³ VI.B.27: 142.

⁵⁴ VI.B.23: 116.

⁵⁵ VI.B.23: 119.

“coulomb”, “Coloumba mea, frimosa mea”,⁵⁶ joins these scientific terms with the Holy Spirit; the phrase is from *Song of Solomon* 2:10 and translates to “My dove, my beautiful one”, with *Columba* meaning “dove” in Latin. The Coulomb is also the SI unit for electric charge, and is paired with the addition “Volted ampire”⁵⁷ (“volt” and “ampere” are the SI units for electrical potential energy and electric current). This is also the kingdom of heaven, the “vaulted empire”. Joyce also adds, to the same line in III.3, “from anodes to cathodes”,⁵⁸ echoing from “alpha” to “omega”. The juxtaposition of terms from physics with references to the Holy Spirit also suggests that in many ways, science becomes a contemporary form of religion.

This pitting of religion against science is demonstrated through the discussion of legend and fable with the Yggdrasil, the Garden of Eden, Darwin and physics. This debate is also apparent with the several additions and notes relating to technology and physics from contemporaneous notebooks; VI.B.4 contains clusters on mathematics, and VI.B.23 contains notes on radio and radiowaves, roads, cities and electricity. Much of the *Wake* during this period has not directly dealt with urban themes but has focused, instead, on the landscape of ancient Ireland, but the notes from VI.B.4 and VI.B.23 prepare to temporarily shift the perspective towards urban civilization and modern technology, constructing a thematic parallel between the “natural” and “technological” elements Joyce is working with. The way in which Joyce approaches urban themes at this phase of composition is much different from how he approached such themes earlier in the *Wake*’s genesis, as the urban is now inextricably bound to the environment.

City Vs. Country

Much of III.3 concerns the development of cities and their relationship to the environment upon which they are built and which surrounds them. The chapter also deals with the Viconian establishment of villages and of “community” on the way towards the birth of the modern city. The *Wake*’s narrative moves towards the development of community around FW 506.34, with Joyce describing HCE, his family, and their home (their “hut”, perhaps, in the Viconian sense). As Joyce revised this section of III.3, the narrative becomes increasingly focused on HCE as “city” and

⁵⁶ BL 47484a-294, JJA 58: 409, FW 549.14.

⁵⁷ BL 47484a-294, JJA 58: 409, FW 549.16.

⁵⁸ BL 47484a-294, JJA 58: 409, FW 549.17

ALP as “nature” as Joyce presents the development of civilization as the “marriage” of the urban and the rural, the city and the country.

At this stage in the *Wake*, the urban and the non-urban are linked through a shared history, mythology, environment and language, and the experiments with non-human voices from III.3 provided new ways in which Joyce was able to express these interrelations. This convergence of the urban and the non-urban is clearly demonstrated from December 1928 to January 1929 as Joyce was working on the typescript of III.3§A-B⁵⁹, including “Haveth Childers Everywhere”.⁶⁰ The “Haveth Childers Everywhere” sketch, first drafted in 1924, focuses on the development of civilizations and the building of cities, with HCE representing the urban and the patriarchal. This sketch, and the rest of III.3 surrounding it, underwent substantial expansions and revisions during this period of composition; on the 1929 and 1930 drafts, Joyce crowded the section with references to nature, crystallizing and expanding the tension between country and city. Jean Michel Rabaté, in his essay on III.3, deals considerably with the urban themes of this chapter and provides a theory for the development of this tension between the country and city. Although he does not go further with this point, Rabaté explains that some of the additions may be “a wry allusion to the city built by Cain after his murder and flight ‘East of Eden’” (HJW 399). Continuing with the tension between Cain and Abel as being an allegory for the supplanting of shepherding by agriculture, it is appropriate that on the 1929 typescript of III.3§A-B many of the additions engage this tension by demonstrating the move away from the countryside and from agriculture and into the cities (the Viconian movement from the forests to the villages and to the cities).

On a structural level, the contraries involved in the balancing of I.8 and III.3 contribute to the larger idea of history’s cyclical movements, the “*Courser*, *Recourser*” (FW 481.2) from Joyce’s “zigzag v spiral corsi ricorsi Vico” (VI.B.1: 29). This note derives from the first chapter of Metchnikoff’s book, titled “*Le progrès*”, which critiques modern ideas of “progress”. Using Vico’s cyclical history and Darwin’s theories of evolution, Metchnikoff argues that “progress” is entirely subjective and “*dans l’histoire, comme dans la nature, l’évolution ne suit jamais une*

⁵⁹ BL 47484a 156-247v, JJA 58: 307-413, FW 474.01-554.

⁶⁰ FW 532.06-554. On the latter typescript, Joyce extends the “city” theme of “Haveth Childers Everywhere” far beyond Dublin to encompass numerous cities, placing them firmly in the context of the “country”.

marche rectiligne” (4).⁶¹ He argues that this idea of “progress” has served “*ouvrir des abîmes entre la nature et l’homme*” (10).⁶² The “zigzag v spiral corsi ricorsi” note of Joyce’s provides a visualization of Metchnikoff’s non-linear conceptions of history, nature, and civilization. This subsequently explains the philosophical origins of Metchnikoff’s pursuit of the relationship between rivers and civilizations, and may also explain the additions Joyce makes to the 1929 typescript of III.3§A-B that relate to this critique of progress by collapsing the binary of “city” and “country”.

Joyce articulates this binary with the addition: “I have your tristich now. It recurs in three times the same differently. And speaking of this same famous site of yours, Mr. Tupling Towns, would be reoccur now in city or country if you know the difference”.⁶³ The “tristich”, “three”, and “Tupling” refer to three different periods of settlement in Dublin (Celtic, Viking, Anglo-Norman) as well as to Vico’s three ages. The layering of these tripartite structures (spatially and temporally) represents Vico’s idea of history in which one civilization rises, “progresses”, then falls, and then the cycle begins again. Each individual event may have a seemingly “linear” movement, but when looked at in a wider context, all of these movements are absorbed by larger rhythms of flux. The dissolution of the country/city boundary presages the coming “corsi ricorsi”, and also attempts to close this “*abîme*” between nature and man.

The second typescript of “Haveth Childers Everywhere”, from August 1929, relied heavily on notes from VI.B.24.⁶⁴ This notebook contains many topic clusters geared to an expansion of HCE as “city man”, to the various stages of human institutions, to the development of community, and to the development of civilization at the expense of the environment (there are notes on Americanisms, Carthage, Spain and Portugal, New York, Vienna, Islam, drink, Oslo & Norway, Russian religious rites, trade guilds and crafts, Ibsen, Holland, erotic texts, Irish names, Saints’ names, and notes on the ceremony of the “equatorial crossing”). Within these topic clusters, there are also approximately three dozen ecologically themed notes, most of them crossed through, signalling a pointed gathering of such material for this late 1929-early 1930 phase of the *Wake*.

⁶¹ “In history, as in nature, evolution never follows a linear path” (translation mine).

⁶² “To open an abyss between nature and man” (translation mine).

⁶³ BL 47484a 251-251v, JJA 58: 319-20, FW 481.10.

⁶⁴ From August 1929 to February 1930, Joyce was using notebook VI.B.24, which contained notes for III.4, for II.1, for an expansion of I.6 and for galleys of *transition* 18.

A few notes in VI.B.24 support this by referring to hydro-engineering: “Δ flow uphill”,⁶⁵ “Δ rolling logs/from sawmill”,⁶⁶ “conduit”,⁶⁷ “viaduct”, “acqueducted”,⁶⁸ “*mae d’agua*” and “sewage”.⁶⁹ Together, these notes concern the manipulation of nature in the establishment of cities, but other notes like “Humidia”, “Riverside Drive”, “Gramercy Park”, “Coney Island”, “Hudson Terminal”,⁷⁰ “Slutspark”,⁷¹ and “water of Liffey”,⁷² show the dependence of civilizations upon the nature they assume they have subdued. In earlier drafts of I.8, there is discussion of the Liffey “turning back”, referring to the Liffey’s tidal nature, and here, in conjunction with the other hydro-engineering terms and its appearance with “congested districts”,⁷³ the “Δ flow uphill” refers to Dublin corporation’s management of the Liffey’s flow (through channelization, walling, damming, etc.) and its proposed plan in the beginning of the twentieth century to change the direction of the river’s flow into Dublin Bay.⁷⁴

These thematic interpenetrations can also be observed through four other additions at this draft level: “Seven ills havd I habt”,⁷⁵ “And I raided a dome on the bog”,⁷⁶ “my carpets of guerdon city”,⁷⁷ and “Atlantic City”.⁷⁸ These four additions are representative of the work being done at this draft level and pave the way for the more substantial additions made from VI.B.29 to III.3 in 1930. The major themes articulated by these four additions are an interest in late nineteenth and early twentieth century urban planning, an interest in the toxicity of the modern city and the continuing interest in the relationship between religion and nature in the contemporary world.

⁶⁵ VLB.24: 9, FW 546.32.

⁶⁶ VI.B.24: 102, FW 580.4

⁶⁷ FW 537.14.

⁶⁸ VI.B.24: 198.

⁶⁹ VI.B.24: 199.

⁷⁰ VI.B.24: 206.

⁷¹ VI.B.24: 227.

⁷² VI.B.24: 279.

⁷³ FW 580.30.

⁷⁴ The various “uses” to which water can be put in industry also appeared in “Ithaca”: “its docility in working hydraulic millwheels, turbines, dynamos, electric power stations, bleachworks, tanneries, scutchmills: its utility in canals, rivers, if navigable, floating and graving docks: its potentiality derivable fromharnessed tides or watercourses falling from level to level” (U 17.220-224).

⁷⁵ BL 47484a-291, JJA 58: 404, FW 541.1.

⁷⁶ BL 47484a-290, JJA 58: 403, FW 541.5.

⁷⁷ BL 47484a-246, JJA 58:411, FW 553.8.

⁷⁸ BL 47484a-170, JJA 58:415, FW 482.9. This addition is from a retyped version of the previous typescript (3A.8+).

“Guerdon city” (“Garden City”) and “Atlantic City” are inserted at the same time, pointing to a source text discussing American urban development. The later addition of “lecheworked lawn”,⁷⁹ alluding to “Letchworth”, the English Garden City founded in 1903 by Sir Ebenezer Howard, also suggests that there is a larger interest in urban planning. Responding to the increasing pollution in industrial, urban areas, Howard’s planning concept of the “Garden City” (articulated in his 1898, *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path Towards Real Reform*) provided a utopian vision of self-sufficient communities living harmoniously with both industry and the environment. Garden cities, in Howard’s own explanation, would be a “group of slumless, smokeless cities” (qtd. Ward 4), and would be completely integrated with the natural world, as demonstrated clearly in contemporary advertisements for “Garden Cities” such as Welwyn (founded 1920). Joyce’s “guerdon city”, from the earliest drafts of III.3, is furnished with “selvage mats” and “carpet gardens”,⁸⁰ which are textiles of sorts, but “selvage” (VI.B.1: 126) is also *silva*, Latin for “woodland”. The mats and carpets are made from the trees and the flowers, reminding one of a suburban home that has brought nature indoors with its floral carpeting and pine mats. The suburbs, the transitional space between city and country, and these “selvage mats” are the nature that has been domesticated, tamed, and appropriated for interior decorating. However, according to Vico, all developed from the forests and all will eventually return to them. These suburban homes, the civilizations that have trampled upon nature, rejecting their origins and thinking they have mastered it, will one day be overrun by the forests again, their carpets growing flowers, their mats being grown through by trees.

The primary definition of “suburb” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* dates from the fourteenth century: “The country lying immediately outside a town or city; more particularly, those residential parts belonging to a town or city that lie immediately outside and adjacent to its walls or boundaries” (“Suburb”, Def. 1). The earliest definition, dating from approximately 1387, relates to the suburbs of Rome, and Harrison argues,

[T]he ancient city of Rome, whose destiny so preoccupied and fascinated Vico, was eventually reclaimed by the forests, first by analogy, then in the form of forest-peoples from the north, and finally

⁷⁹ The 1931 marked pages of *Haveth Childers Everywhere* are missing (JJA 61: 2, 300), but this phrase appears on the 1937 galleys for Book III (BL 47487-104, JJA 62: 193, FW 553.9).

⁸⁰ FW 553.8.

by the vegetation belt itself. The Forum became wild pasture land for Dark Age cattle. Wilderness overgrew the roads that led to Rome. The work of history fell to the ground it had tried to surmount under the auspices of god. (13)

The next addition, “Seven hills havd I habt”, refers to the founding of Rome by Romulus, a descendant, according to book six of *The Aeneid*, of “Silvius”. Romulus’s heroic founding of the great city of Rome was through the construction of a wall around the “seven hills”, a wall that separated the city from the forest. As a descendent of “Silvius”, of the forests, Romulus shut himself off from his own origins, codifying the separation of culture and nature in the mythology of Western civilization.

Descending from this founding of Rome, cities have been traditionally understood in terms of this outside the wall/inside the wall dichotomy, and it is no coincidence that HCE as builder of walls is a major theme in the *Wake*, or that the “suburbs” of Chapelizod and the Phoenix Park play a formative role in the text. HCE is Humpty Dumpty, “Balbus”,⁸¹ Ibsen’s “Master-Builder”, and Gilgamesh, the “builder of the walls of Uruk”, the Sumerian city. Harrison argues, concerning this point, that

[W]alls, no less than writing, define civilization. They are monuments of resistance against time, like writing itself...The basic activities that sustain life – agriculture and stock breeding, for instance – take place beyond the walls [...] Gilgamesh is the builder of such walls that divide history from prehistory, culture from nature, sky from earth, life from death, memory from oblivion. (15)

As a Gilgamesh figure, HCE believes himself builder of these walls, and believes himself in possession of power over nature.

Following from such confidence in human supremacy, HCE believes that he (as “city” or “culture”), has taught ALP (as “country” or “nature”) how to “write”. HCE believes his control of nature is ultimately for the benefit of nature (his wife, ALP), but this arrogance becomes his primary weakness when dealing with a violent, unforgiving nature. The fact that this line from the *Wake* contains the letters of the Ogham alphabet undercuts HCE’s belief, asserting nature’s role in the very speech

⁸¹ In the first chapter of *Portrait*, Stephen sees the following: “And behind the door of one of the closets there was a drawing in red pencil of a bearded man in a Roman dress with a brick in each hand and underneath was the name of the drawing: *Balbus was building a wall*” (P 43).

HCE believes himself to be in control of: “And hail or rain or drizzle or sleet with fairskin book and ruling rod, I did learn my little anne countrymouse in alpabeater cameltemper from alderbirch to tanneyou [...]”⁸². On the 1929 typescript, after the “ruling rod”, the phallic writing tool, Joyce adds “vein of my vergin page”,⁸³ which, when combined with the “selvage mats” makes nature a *tabula rasa* of sorts, a passive material upon which to inscribe one’s power. However, HCE as “city” is unaware of the arboreal origins of the alphabet he uses to construct his words. This is also supported by the addition “[a]s is uncommon struck on poplar poetry”;⁸⁴ the words of the poet derive from the poplar tree and are written upon paper made from the trees, as well as by the later incorporation of the note “Π totem on gravetrees” (VI.B.35:95),⁸⁵ to III.3§A. HCE is simply teaching ALP that which she already knows, but which has now been organized into a patriarchal system.

Another addition to III.3 at this draft level reenacts the Viconian cycle, beginning with pre-Christian cosmology and moving through religion, science, democracy and universities: “did not I festfix my unniversires, wholly national [...] rosetted on two stelas of littleegypt [...] democritas [...]”.⁸⁶ HCE has “fixed” the universe, another example of his belief that he has somehow gained control of nature. This “fixing” of the universe is also the goal of mythology, of religion, of science; really, it is the goal of all human institutions. The “national” and the “democritas”, particularly when placed alongside “littleegypt”, are nation and democracy, with “democritas” also being “Democritus”. The latter appears here because of Ancient Greece’s democracy, and because of Democritus’ pre-Christian perspective and atomic cosmology; Democritus, too, was an early “fixer” of the universe. If the universities are the final stage of human civilization before the “vicorso” occurs, before all crumbles and returns to the forest to begin anew, then this short line presents the history of the world from “universe” to the institutionalization of the universe, the “university”.

On a microcosmic level, HCE is relating all that he has done for ALP. He has brought culture and civilization to “nature”, to ALP, he has taught her about the world and about culture, and has taught her to speak properly. On the macrocosmic

⁸² BL 47484a-246, JJA 58: 411, FW 553.3. The trees are “alder”, “birch” and “yew”, or the letters A, B, U and T (corresponding to elm, birch, furze and heath).

⁸³ BL 47484a-246, JJA 58: 411, FW 553.3.

⁸⁴ BL 47484a-223, JJA 58: 462, FW 523.24.

⁸⁵ FW 481.4 Cf. “X totem (ass)” (VI.B.14: 140) and “totem – hunter – paleo” (VI.B.5: 136).

⁸⁶ BL 47484a-294v, JJA 58: 410, FW 551.28.

level, it is also culture telling nature what it has done for it through the founding of universities and the creation of language. HCE is the creator, claiming to have constructed the universe, the stars, language (“rosetted”, referring to the Rosetta Stone), and democracy. The physics references such as “Volted ampire” and “from anodes to cathodes” were added to this draft shortly before this passage, and alongside the Rosetta Stone and Democritus, they all serve here to undercut HCE’s boastings of his accomplishments. Democritus was one of the primary developers of “atomic theory”, positing a materialist explanation of the universe; he proposed that there were numerous possible worlds, each with an explicit beginning and end. Democritus’s theory did not involve questions concerning a “*primum mobile*” or a “final cause”, but, like Bruno’s cosmology, was a precursor to Enlightenment cosmology. In Democritus’s cosmology, the only governing force is natural law. In the context in which they were added to the drafts, the references to physics from VI.B.27 are specifically applied to the descriptions of light and electricity being introduced to cities, but when placed alongside this concurrent addition referring to Democritus, the “natural laws” of physics suggest a larger ordering force. Despite HCE’s belief that he controls his wife and controls nature, there are forces that cannot be entirely explained by reason nor harnessed with technology.

This natural law is also the weather-as-Providence prevalent throughout the development of the *Wake*, and here Joyce aligns this “natural law” with the water cycle represented by the Biblical Flood. The importance of weather in Joyce’s vision of renewal also explains the addition on the May 1929 proofs for *Tales Told of Shem and Shaun*: “brings us a rainborne pantomomiom, equilavant to kaksitosta volts, yksitoista volts...volts”.⁸⁷ The “;randemonium” is “rain born”; chaos and weather are linked in their unpredictability, and the “volts” refers both to *vaults* (of heaven) and *volts* (of electricity), the lightning and the source of the lightning. On the second set of the II.2§8⁸⁸ proofs, Joyce inserts “The Zitas Runnind Hare and Dart, The Yeggs in the Muddle, While the Caught and Dodged exark seems himmulteemiously the ersed ladest mand and the losed farce on erroroots”,⁸⁹ just before the “rainborne pantomomiom” addition, crafting another depiction of the Great Flood (“equilavant”, reducing everything to a common ground, the “equil”, as well as “washing” everything clean to start anew, the “lavant”), and Noah’s Ark (“exark”

⁸⁷ BL 47478-45, JJA 53: 123, FW 285.15.

⁸⁸ Yale 9.5 25-48, JJA 53: 145-168.

⁸⁹ Yale 9.5-28, JJA 53: 148, FW 285.3.

and “erroroot”, Mount Ararat). “Himmel” contains the German for sky, “*Himmel*”, also attributing a divine origin to the weather. Another related addition to the August 1929 second typescript of “Haveth Childers Everywhere”, “first city’s”,⁹⁰ comes just before “Nova Tara”. VI.B.27 also contains the seminal note “Dublin New Tara”,⁹¹ casting twentieth century Dublin as the new Hill of Tara, the ancient home of the High Kings near the River Boyne.

The conflation of science and religion, when paired with HCE’s boasting and the changes in the weather, suggests that nature cannot be tamed by man’s organizational impulses, despite what the Bible may command. Here, Joyce shows how the Bible itself betrays its own commands with the story of Noah, as the “zitas” or “*citas*”, cities, are repeatedly destroyed by floods. In the *Wake*, however, the floods are not always symbolic; the arbitrary nature of the weather in the text continuously reminds us that the Biblical stories are only one of the possible hypotheses for the workings of nature.⁹²

The importance of weather in this section also relates back to, and expands upon, its earlier implication with imperial history, explaining the additions of “*formosa*”⁹³ (French “*frimas*”, hoarfrost) and “Wastewindy”⁹⁴ (West Wind) alongside the VI.B.24 “physics” additions at this draft level. The “Wastewindy” and “Elgin” refer to Shelley’s “Ode to the West Wind” and Keats’s “On Seeing the Elgin Marbles”, providing another challenge to some of the more inflexible tenets of Enlightenment rationalism. The reference to the Elgin Marbles connects to the themes of conquest, dominion and subjugation in the larger discussion of human authority over the non-human. The Elgin Marbles, Grecian treasures on display in the British Museum, provide a clear example of the shift in power of world civilizations. The British empire (implicated in “*ampire*”) continued its slow collapse throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the Elgin Marbles, once a symbol of Britain’s might, are now a symbol of its imminent demise. The “*Coloumba mea, frimosa mea*”,⁹⁵ is also tied to colonialism through its link to Christopher Columbus

⁹⁰ BL 47484b-387, JJA 59:89, FW 535.7.

⁹¹ VI.B.27: 136. Joyce added this note later that summer, in June or July 1929, to III.3§B on pages of *transition* 15.

⁹² The fourth set of proofs for TTSS were revised in May through June 1929. ([II.2§8, Texas [Hanley 17-43] and [III.1§C, Yale 9.8 52-55]). In June and July 1929, Joyce was editing the “Haveth Childers Everywhere” printed in *transition* 15 (BL 47484b 347-54v). A typescript of III.3§B was also created during this period (Buffalo VI.F.8 [VI.E.1]).

⁹³ BL 47484b-450, JJA 59: 193, FW 549.14.

⁹⁴ BL 47484b-450, JJA 59: 193, FW 549.15.

⁹⁵ BL 47484a-294, JJA 58: 409, FW 549.14.

and to the island of Formosa, so named in the seventeenth century by Portuguese explorers. Like the Elgin Marbles, the Rosetta Stone, “rosetted on two stelas of littleegypt”, is also indicative of British imperialism. and like HCE’s belief in his teachings of ALP, it demonstrates here the supremacy of nature over language.

In conjunction with the themes of the “Letter”, of HCE and ALP, and of the city’s relationship to its environment, the current theme of imperialism (and largely British imperialism) also suggests the process of the Rosetta Stone’s discovery. E.A. Budge, in his 1929 *Rosetta Stone in the British Museum*, remarks that the “slab” was found

a few miles to the north of the little town of Rashid which Europeans generally call ‘Rosetta.’ Rashid stands on the left bank of an arm of the Nile [...] in the Western Delta, about 5 miles from the mouth of the river. (17)

HCE claims to have written the Rosetta Stone, but the fact that the stone was found in the Nile Delta, in ALP’s terrain (whose sigla is, of course, a delta), unravels his masculine power, placing the power of language again in the feminine, “natural” realm.

Following this change in the HCE/ALP dynamic, the next proofs Joyce revised, in May 1929, were the *Tales Told of Shem and Shaun* proofs of “The Triangle”.⁹⁶ On the first set, Joyce adds “whome” before “your eternal geometer”,⁹⁷ implying both “womb”, the home of Shem and Shaun, and “home”, Dublin Bay and the Liffey estuary as the home of ALP. The expanding role of the Liffey and of Dublin Bay occurs alongside the increasing importance of ALP, signalling a move away from her representation as a traditional, Molly Bloom-like “*Gaea-tellus*”. One can look to the note “Annapolis” from the next notebook, VI.B.29 (53) and to the later additions of “Annapolis”,⁹⁸ to II.1⁹⁹ and to II.3¹⁰⁰ for evidence of how this new balance between ALP and HCE evolved, as ALP gradually becomes her own “city”. Perhaps when Joyce started writing this section of III.3 this was not what he had in mind, but as he was the primary reader of his own text, it seems he constantly found new ways in which to read what he had already written and changed the text according to what he saw present.

⁹⁶ BL 47478 43-65. The second set, for III.1§C, are missing.

⁹⁷ BL 47478-59, JJA 53: 137, FW 297.1.

⁹⁸ VI.C.9: 39. JJA 42: 156.

⁹⁹ FW 222.7.

¹⁰⁰ FW 318.25.

The “city” themes of III.3 all ended up depending on the “nature” themes, and this possibly unexpected development led to a revision of Joyce’s current attitudes toward ALP and HCE. ALP’s connection to nature, the fluidity of her rhythms and fertility all uphold the “Mother Earth” stereotype, yet Joyce begins to engage with the complexities of this imagery, permitting the ALP figure more depth and more agency. As Deane, Ferrer and Lernout explain of notebook VI.B.29, it does show how “Joyce had determined that after his watery female ‘Anna Livia’ he would write a male city-building parallel in the second part of III.3” (4). However, VI.B.29 also figures in the collapse of these binaries, focusing on the ways in which cities are inescapably bound to nature, and the idea of the subjugation of the “watery female” by the “city-building” male is actually critiqued in VI.B.29 and the related drafts. As has already been mentioned, Joyce once said that the Liffey was more important than Christianity to Dublin’s history; certainly he knew that any history of Dublin city must include the role of Dublin Bay and the Liffey in its development.¹⁰¹

For the Modernist period, the privileging of city over “country” is often represented in terms of technology and mechanization, and the exploitation of nature by these modern forces is one of the main topics of this draft level. This can be easily seen in the expansion of the “engineering” theme that appeared in the August 1929 second typescript of “Haveth Childers Everywhere”. For example, there are three more additions relating to hydro-engineering at this 1930 draft level: “canal grand, my lighters”,¹⁰² “pons for aquaducks”,¹⁰³ “He walked in by North Strand with his towel in his hand”,¹⁰⁴ and “water gas telegraph telephone/ pneu all running inside the sewers —”.¹⁰⁵ On the next draft level for III.3§B, from April 1930, Joyce adds more engineering-related terms: “water tap / W tap”,¹⁰⁶ “never saw the sea”,¹⁰⁷ “precipitation works”,¹⁰⁸ “watertap 200 yards off”.¹⁰⁹ Together, these additions

¹⁰¹ The contrary belief is usually the one found in Joyce criticism, but this is not necessarily the fault of the Joyceans, but of a larger popular attitude towards Dublin’s physical setting. Brian Lalor, in his *Dublin Bay*, suggests that the divide between Dublin and its environment has existed for centuries. He explains how the epithets applied to Dublin have always focused exclusively on the urban conditions of the city and “no hint is given of a wider concern. No ‘Bride of the Adriatic’ here or even ‘City of the Bay’”. “Dublin lives on and from the bay”, he continues, “yet appears not to have been associated with it” despite the city’s “superb natural setting” (11).

¹⁰² BL 47484b-383, JJA 59: 104, FW 551.23.

¹⁰³ BL 47484b-385, JJA 59: 106, FW 553.21.

¹⁰⁴ BL 47484b-359, JJA 59: 108, FW 534.27.

¹⁰⁵ BL 47484b-413, JJA 59: 137, FW 542.4-7.

¹⁰⁶ BL 47484b-459, JJA 59: 206, FW 544.16.

¹⁰⁷ BL 47484b-460, JJA 59: 207, FW 544.31.

¹⁰⁸ BL 47484b-454, JJA 59: 197, FW 551.18.

¹⁰⁹ BL 47484b-459, JJA 59: 206, FW 544.16-17.

portray the harnessing of nature's resources for the establishment and endurance of the modern city.

The addition "Ballast office" derives from the note "Ballast Office / Ball" (VI.B.29: 44) and refers, on one level, to the Ballast Office appearing in *Ulysses*. However, looking back to the source for this note, Haliday's *The Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin* (from which Joyce had already taken notes in VI.B.7), it becomes evident that there is much more to this appearance of the Ballast Office, especially in conjunction with other additions during this period. Haliday's book begins with a biography of the author written by John P. Prendergast, but Prendergast continues well beyond information about Haliday's life. Deane, Ferrer and Lernout locate the source of the "Ballast Office" note in Prendergast's section concerning the history of the Pigeon-house, referring to the "the Ballast Office wall (as the Lighthouse wall is here called)" (cxvi). Prendergast asserts that the "original design" of Haliday's work "was to write a history of the port and harbour of Dublin, with a view to trace the progress of improvement in the navigable channel of the Liffey" (cv), and his introduction suggests that he finds more worth in the unfinished "original design" of Haliday's work. Prendergast details the importance of three maps related to Haliday's project that show the early history of the Liffey and Dublin Bay and Dublin Port: a 1673 map of Dublin port and harbour by Sir Bernard de Gomme, Petty Down's 1655 map, and Captain John Perry's map of 1728. Prendergast explains the history of Dublin port and harbour through these maps, recounting Perry's plan for a new entrance to Dublin harbour and how "the canal was to be carried through the sands of the North Bull, parrallel [sic] with the north shore of Dublin Bay" (cvii). Prendergast explains that with these maps and the information collected by Haliday, "a good conception can be formed of the extraordinary changes effected in the channel of the Liffey in the course of 200 years" (cix).

These details inform the present section of *Finnegans Wake*, with the "North Strand" addition coming from Prendergast's explanation of how, on De Gomme's map, the "northern shore of the bay is now represented by the line of Amiens-street and the North-strand, the latter still preserving the original denomination" (cix-cx). Joyce's interest in names and words preserving traces of other cultures, languages and in this case, geographies, surfaces again here, as the topographical "North Strand" no longer exists, but remains only in the name of the road itself. Prendergast explains how the river emptied into the Bay before "the commencement of the eighteenth century, when the Ballast Board was erected in 1708" (cx), and from their

foundation, the Ballast Board and the Corporation began to work on the construction of a new channel and the walling-in of the Liffey so as to ensure smooth passage for commercial shipping. The Ballast Board and Ballast Office considered themselves to own “the river and strand” (cxii), and these facts from Haliday contribute directly to Joyce’s inclusion of the Ballast Office at this particular draft level.

The next section of Prendergast’s introductory material is titled, “The Walling-in of the Liffey”, and gives a history of this feat of civil engineering. Another note taken from the first chapter of Haliday’s text, “Swell of the Liffey / Δ” (VI.B.29: 45), may also derive from the Prendergast introduction. Much of Haliday’s text unites interests Joyce has expressed in the *Wake* up to this point, bringing together natural history, cultural history, invasions (particularly by sea),¹¹⁰ Scandinavian origins of Dublin and of the English language, as well as the management of nature for human gain. These interests can also be supported by related notes further on in VI.B.29, from an entirely different source on an entirely different topic: an article on Washington D.C. in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. However, if we think back to the recent American references and to the interest in city planning, and remember that Washington D.C. like Dublin, is the capital city of a country, the turn to this article does not seem arbitrary. Several of Joyce’s notes on D.C. concern the urban layout of the city and derive from a section in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* that addresses the planning that went on behind the city’s layout. For example, the note “Lenfant” (VI.B.29: 52) refers to Pierre Charles L’Enfant, appointed by President George Washington in 1791 to design the layout of America’s new capital city. Joyce notes “beautification” and “park like” (VI.B.29: 52), both of which derive from a line describing the appointment of a commission in 1901 which was “to prepare plans for the beautification of the city” and had “submitted a design for a park-like treatment” of much of the area (qtd. VI.B.29 51). The note “reclaim” (VI.B.29: 53) refers to the Potomac Park, which “has already been reclaimed from the Potomac river” (VI.B.29 51). Only through reclamation, dredging, channelling, damming and walling nature’s resources did the modern city emerge.

This theme continues with another note that also relates back to Vico’s cycle: “Wilderness city capital / of miserable hutts” (VI.B.29: 56). This note belongs to the

¹¹⁰ A very good example of this can be found on VI.B.29: 108: “sea vomits floods of foreigners”.

Washington, D.C. cluster, which continues on the next page of VI.B.29 (notes crossed through were used immediately in drafts):

city of streets without
houses ~~city of magnifi-~~
~~cent distances~~
a mudhole almost
~~Equal to the great~~
~~serbonian bog~~
move capital
tara (VI.B.29: 57)

The entry from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* from which these notes derive reads as follows:

[M]uch of the land surrounding the Capitol was a marsh; there were no streets worthy of the name, the roads were very bad and the members of Congress were obliged to lodge in Georgetown. For many years such characterizations as ‘Wilderness City,’ ‘Capital of Miserable Hutts,’ ‘City of Streets without Houses,’ ‘City of Magnificent Distances’ and ‘a Mudhole almost Equal to the Great Serbonian Bog’ were common. Resolutions were frequently offered by some disgusted member of Congress for the removal of the capital. (qtd. in VI.B.29 55)

The “crossed” entries are added in February of 1930, to drafts of III§3B, alongside a phrase relating to the above information from Haliday: “Fort Dunlip, then-on-sea hole of Serbonian bog, now city of magnificent distances, good & walled”.¹¹¹ The use of “hole of Serbonian bog” with “then-on-sea” and “good & walled”¹¹² suggests a focus on engineering projects that enabled the existence of the modern city. Several other notes in VI.B.29 relate directly to this topic, like “Boullawards” (VI.B.29: 81), referring to the land reclamation involved in the improvement of the waterfront in Rio de Janeiro (VI.B.29, 79). The “wilderness city capital” and “of miserable huts”, though not “used” at this draft level, provide an extra example of Vico’s forest/hut/etc. formulation and also provides another example of the tendency to divide “wilderness” from “civilization”. Lastly, the “move capital/ tara” relates back

¹¹¹ BL 47484b-109, JJA 59: 133, FW 539.24.

¹¹² VI.B.29: 96. From Weston St. John Joyce’s *The Neighbourhood of Dublin* (231).

to the “Nova Tara”, “Dublin New Tara” (VI.B.27: 136), and the “New World” as “Eden” themes of this period.

Deane, Ferrer and Lernout characterize the sources for VI.B.29 as relating to “cities and city-builders” (VI.B.29 4), but even a cursory glance at the titles of many of the sources is enough to disprove this perspective. Many sources do explicitly discuss the city of Dublin, but an equal number look to locations outside of the city’s boundaries. Sources for VI.B.29 include James Hardiman’s *The History of the Town and County of Galway* (originally published in 1820 and reprinted in 1926 by the *Connacht Tribune*), A. Peter’s *Dublin Fragments* (which contains material of Dublin customs, parks, streets, theatres and houses), James Collins’s *Life in Old Dublin*, described as “a long guided tour of Dublin, revealing the many layers of history hidden beneath the surface of the modern city” (VI.B. 29 6), John Warburton, James Whitelaw and Roger Walsh’s *History of the City of Dublin* (1818), Samuel A. Ossory Fitzpatrick’s *Dublin: A Historical and Topographical Account of the City*, Weston St. John Joyce’s *The Neighbourhood of Dublin*, D.A. Chart’s *The Story of Dublin*, Dillon Cosgrave’s *North Dublin: City and Environs*, a 1928 *Official Guide to the City of Dublin*, *Thom’s Directory*, B. Seebohm Rowntree’s *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, Washington Irving’s *A History of New York*, and Charles W. Ferguson’s *The Confusion of Tongues*, a text comparing modern spiritual groups in early twentieth century America. In terms of these VI.B.29 sources, it is important to emphasize that while Dublin is the major theme, the texts are not strictly “urban” by the common definition: one of the histories is *topographical*, one is about Dublin *and environs*; another is the *town and county of Galway*, and yet another is a study on *town* life. With VI.B.29, Joyce continues his move towards *Finnegans Wake* as presenting a theory of urbanisation and the natural world in the twentieth century. In *Finnegans Wake*, the city and the country are *not* radically separate from one another, but deeply interrelated communities that depend on the other for their existence and survival. The “back-to-the-land” ideology largely rejects civilisation and its so-called “trappings”, but Joyce sees the inescapability (and this is not to say that he does desire such escape) as well as sees the futility in urbanites rejecting their rural counterparts. To support this argument, I now turn to the specific notes taken from sources for VI.B.29.

While accounting for each individual note in VI.B.29 is outside the scope of this argument, a few notes can be highlighted as examples of Joyce’s theories of the city and its environment. The first notes from *The History of the Town and County of*

Galway (which even the editors of VI.B.29 shorten to *History of Galway*, ignoring the “Town and County”), are “Galliv”, “Iren for Galliv”, and “It borrows its name from the river that slides by it” (VI.B.29: 58). These notes all derive from a passage linking the name “Galway” to the name of the river: “*Galvia*, or *Galiva* [...] seems to have given name to the town” (qtd. VI.B.29 56). Extending this even further, the introductory exhibit in the Galway City Museum endorses a claim set forth by Mary Kavanagh’s *Galway-Gaillimh: A Bibliography of the City and County*, that the name “Galway” itself derives from the Irish for “stony river” (Kavanagh 103). From a passage in *Dublin Fragments* which discusses the relationship between the seasons and the itinerant “salmon-vendor” (213), Joyce records “Salmon Boyne / Alive / Salmon water / Boyne alive” (VI.B.29: 64). From *Life in Old Dublin*, Joyce continues with the wilderness versus city motif, noting “wood of Selcock” (VI.B.29: 69), the eighteenth century name for the area now occupied by the North Circular Road (VI.B.29 68). On VI.B.29: 75-76, Joyce lists several suburbs of Dublin whose names derive directly from their geography: “Conra’s ridge / -dram” (Drumcondra), “Farnham’s rath” (Rathfarnham), “Still of Lorcan” (Stillorgan), “Meadow of Dalkin” (Clondalkin), and “Inchicore = Island / of Berries”. Clondalkin, *Cluain Dealgáin* (O Hehir 284), “meadow of Dalkin”,¹¹³ appears in the text as “Farnum’s rath or Condra’s ridge, or, the meadows of Dalkin of Monkish tunshep”.¹¹⁴ O Hehir, in his *A Gaelic Lexicon for Finnegans Wake*, suggests that the origin is *Fearannan*, or “landholder” (284), while *rath* is “fort”. Thus, we have another image of HCE “walled” in his Chapelizod homestead: a landholder’s “fort”. “Clondalkin” is also noted in VI.B.29: 45 from a passage in Haliday concerning what constituted “Dyflinarskidi”, the area around the city of Dublin (VI.B.29 43). Two notes on the next page, “the Bay Limesoiled”, and “Greater Dublin” (VI.B.29: 77), now from the *Encyclopedia Britannica* entry on Dublin, continue with this trend. “The Bay Limesoiled” relates to Dublin’s location on Ireland’s central limestone plain, and to the runoff from the limestone into the ground water and into Dublin Bay.

“Greater Dublin” comes from a passage describing the proximity of Dublin to the wilderness: “Mountains practically touch the confines of Greater Dublin” (qtd. VI.B.29 74). Then, Joyce takes two notes from Fitzpatrick’s *Dublin: A Historical and Topographical Account of the City* that also continue with this theme, this time

¹¹³ BL 47484b-356, JJA 59: 86, FW 532.13.

¹¹⁴ BL 47484b-356, JJA 59: 86, FW 532.12-13.

adding political weight with “bushments” and “underwoods” (VI.B.29: 89). These notes originate in a passage of the *Holinshed Chronicles* concerning Sir Arthur Grey’s failed attempt to fight the Irish troops that had retreated to the Wicklow mountains: “the sides are full of great and mightie trees upon the sides of the hills, and full of bushments and underwoods” (qtd. in VI.B.29 86). Richard Cox, in his 1689 *History of Ireland*, provides a clear example of the way in which woodlands were aligned with the Irish and subsequently maligned by the English:

The rebels being well acquainted with these woods, laid their ambushes so cunningly that the English could neither fight in that devilish place, nor retire out of it; courage could but little avail them, whilst being mired in the bogs, they were forced to stand still like butts to be shot at. Discipline or conduct were of no use in that place, where it could not be practised; in short, the English were defeated, and the whole company slain. (170)

These notes are not transferred to drafts until those for II.1§6 in 1931 or 1932, but their presence in the notebook at this time is nonetheless significant. The woods are the space of the “rebels”; they are “devilish” and completely foreign to the “discipline” of the English. Prior to independence, the English belief that the Irish people were more “in touch” with nature even extended to the level of policy. In the late nineteenth century, then Prime Minister William Gladstone wanted to plant 3 million acres of Ireland with new trees, believing that this could somehow “restore peace and quietness to that country” (qtd. in Burke 22). To Gladstone, the reforestation of Ireland would somehow cheer the Irish people by giving them back their “natural” landscape and make them forget their desire for Home Rule. The attitude presented by Cox in the above passage endured until Irish Independence and contributed to the correspondance between woodlands and nationalism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Modernity, Disease, Famine, Housing

VI.B.29 also exhibits a concurrent interest in nature’s own versions of “engineering”. For example, two additions, one relating to the Roundwood Reservoir, a preoccupation for Joyce since *Ulysses*,¹¹⁵ refer to “tubers”: “I collected the rain’s riches in my bathytub of roundwood and I conveyed it with cheers and cables

¹¹⁵ U 17.164-228.

through my longertubes of elm”,¹¹⁶ and “tuberclerosies I reized up from the spudplants & berriberries from the great”.¹¹⁷ The former addition corresponds to the note “elm wood conduit pipes” (VI.B.29: 109) from the following passage in D.A. Chart’s *The Story of Dublin*:

In 1308 Dublin obtained its first public water supply. A three-mile conduit was constructed from the Dodder [...] into the city, where it flowed like an ordinary brook down the main street [...] At first the pipes laid by the Corporation to supply the side streets were of lead, but in the seventeenth century, on the plea of economy, these were replaced by wooden ones made of elm, which existed until some eighty years ago. (28-29)

Elms, like all trees, have their own form of botanical “plumbing” which enables nutrients and water to move throughout their body. Here, the trees are put to use doing what they are already designed to do; the art of industrial plumbing collapses when the original inspiration, the transport systems existent within plants, is uncovered due to economic necessity. The “tubes” comes from the combination of this function of the elm trees with “tuberclerosies” and “spudplants”, as potatoes are stem tubers. The “reized spudfully” of 542.1 also refers to *rhizomes*, which, before becoming a favoured term of Deleuze, was simply a horizontal plant stem able to grow roots and shoots from its various nodes. Tubers and rhizomes are their own forms of engineering, storing and carrying nutrients for the plant and being the location for asexual reproduction.

This joining of plant ecology, the city, and engineering is not dissimilar to the arguments set forth by Ernest Burgess, Roderick McKenzie and Robert Park, in their formative 1925 work of urban ecology, *The City*:

The plant ecologist is aware of the effect of the struggle for space, food, and light upon the nature of a plant formation, but the sociologist has failed to recognize that the same processes of competition and accommodation are at work determining the size and ecology organization of the human community. (64)

This conception of the modern city-dweller as subject to the same laws that dictate the survival of plants provides a splendid metaphor for understanding the relationship

¹¹⁶ BL 47484b-393, JJA 59: 119, FW 542.6-7.

¹¹⁷ BL 47484b-393, JJA 59: 119, FW 541.36.

that develops between the city, famine, disease, overpopulation and ecology in the *Wake*.

In the context of VI.B.29, the notes “tubercolrosis”, “potatoeplant” and “berries berries / berriberries” (VI.B.29: 81-82) derive from an *Encyclopedia Britannica* article on Rio de Janeiro. These notes relate specifically to issues of public health in the modern city responsible for many of the major civil engineering projects of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, such as the walling of the Thames¹¹⁸ and the institution of sewage systems. The notes “Swan Water” (a now buried river in the Rathmines area of Dublin) and “New Holland” (VI.B.29: 94) concern the 1792 embankment and reclamation of the “delta” or “slobland” formed at the “confluence of the Swan Water, the Dodder and the Liffey” (W. Joyce 23) that was called “New Holland”.¹¹⁹

The notes “Thames”, “The Lea”, “lagoon”, “estuarine character” (VI.B.29: 119), “Pimlico / Moor-gate”, “Fleet (river)”, “Tributary”, “Kentish town”, “King’s Cross”, “Hollow: Hole-bourne: Holborn”, “a navigable creek”, “pebble beds of Blackheath and Woolwich”, “Croydon”, “Battersea” (VI.B.29: 120), “suburban railway”, “Walthamstown”, “fourteen road bridges”, “Serpentine river (lake)” (VI.B.29: 121) and “288 miles of sewers” (VI.B.29: 122) all come from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* entry on “London”. These notes describe public works projects involving water, town names derived from their proximity to water, towns located due to their proximity to water, or simply, names of bodies of water. The entry “embankment” (VI.B.29: 177) later in the notebook certainly also applies to London and the Thames embankment, as well to the embankment undertaken in Dublin. Some of these notes appear in the context of HCE “conquering” the Liffey while representing issues of public health in the urban world: “the crown to my eastuarine munipicence?”,¹²⁰ “Rivierside and drive,¹²¹ and embankment large”.¹²² The former is from the note “estuarine character” (VI.B.29: 119) and is directly from *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* entry explaining the original geography of the area that is now London:

¹¹⁸ Notes on the Thames appear on VI.B.29: 119-120.

¹¹⁹ “Swan Water” is not added until drafts of II.1 in 1931 or 1932, appearing as “Sweet swanwater!” (BL 47477-137, JJA 51: 126, FW 248.23).

¹²⁰ BL 47484b-418, JJA 59: 151, FW 549.20; FW 549.20.

¹²¹ BL 47484b-378, JJA 59: 144, FW 547.19, FW 547.18.

¹²² BL 47484b-418, JJA 59: 151, FW 549.20; FW 549.19.

The low ground between the slight hills flanking the Thames valley [...] was originally occupied by a shallow lagoon of estuarine character, tidal, and interspersed with marshy tracts and certain islets of relatively firm land. (qtd. in VI.B.29.118)

Inferring from the notes on both the founding of London and of New York City, Joyce is interested in linking Dublin's "estuarine character" with that of London and New York, as well as demonstrating the uninhabitable land upon which many of the modern world's major cities were constructed. "Rivierside Drive" is New York City's Riverside Drive, along the Hudson River, and "rivier" is Dutch for river. Since New York was originally a Dutch colony, the "rivier" implies both linguistic and territorial colonization by the Dutch.¹²³ The note "sycamore"¹²⁴ (VI.B.29: 201), from Washington Irving's the *History of New York*, discusses the "founder" of New York City, Pieter Stuyvesant, and the the overrunning of New York City by plants (again, referring back to Vico's cities/forests cycle):

[Stuyvesant] fortified the city, too, with pickets and palisadoes, extending across the island from river to river; and above all, cast up mud batteries or redoubts on the point of the island, where it divided the beautiful bosom of the bay. These latter redoubts, in process of time, came to be pleasantly overrun by a carpet of grass and clover, and overshadowed by wide-spreading elms and sycamores; among the branches of which the birds would built their nests and rejoice the ear with their melodious notes. (240-241)

When the land that now hosts New York City was first colonized by the European settlers, it was a lush and fertile area, and there was (and still is), a sense of the environment constantly fighting back against its occupants.

The note "embankment large" refers to the Thames embankment project undertaken in the late nineteenth century, largely because of devastating outbreaks of water-borne illnesses cholera and typhoid. Metropolitan Engineer Sir Joseph Bazalgette constructed London's underground sewers and the embankments of the Thames as a way to control the city's waste and prevent the stagnation of Thames

¹²³ The Dutch influence on New York City also appears in I.5 with the reference to Peter Stuyvesant, "Pieter's in Nieuw Amsteldam" (FW 117.24), and to the "dutchy hovel" (FW 117.31).

¹²⁴ BL 47484b-428, JJA 59: 167, FW 533.17.

water that led to the spread of disease. Charles Dickens, in his *Dictionary of the Thames*, wrote:

[F]ew London improvements have been more conducive to health and comfort. The substitution of the beautiful curve of the embankment, majestic in its simplicity, with its massive granite walls, flourishing trees, and trim gardens, is an unspeakable improvement on the squalid foreshore, and tumbledown wharves, and backs of dingy houses which formerly abutted the river. (qtd. in Hanson 34)

Other plans during this period related to the crisis in public health included the transplanting of the urban poor to the outskirts of town, and the note “cottage green”, also from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, refers to “an extensive scheme taken up in 1904” for the housing of the poor that “included the provision of cottage dwellings in the suburbs” (VI.B.29 77).¹²⁵

The paradox of moving the city’s poor onto lands once traditionally associated with the aristocracy is of particular interest to Joyce at this point, and several notes from VI.B.29 reinforce the Anglo-Irish relationship with the countryside and the suburbs. Notes relating to another part of “greater Dublin”, the Phoenix Park, appear again with the notes “demesne”, “magazine”, “Fifteen acres” (VI.B.29: 75), and “Queen’s Garden at the Phoenix” (VI.B.29: 113), from Cosgrave’s *North Dublin: City and Environs*. The note “suburban Viceroy” (VI.B.29: 124) displays the relationship between English imperialism, the suburbs, and, specifically, the “suburban” Phoenix Park, home of the Viceregal Lodge. The note “Dolly Monnroe” (VI.B.29: 95) from *The Neighbourhood of Dublin* refers to the origin of the name “Dollymount”, describing a house that was originally “built as a hunting residence” (121-22), like the Viceregal Lodge in the Phoenix Park. These notes tie together the urban poor and the Anglo-Irish aristocracy through their relationship to the land.

The next source used in VI.B.29 is Rowntree’s *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*.¹²⁶ If Joyce knew it was impossible to tell the story of a city in the twentieth century without telling the story of its environment, he also knew it was impossible to

¹²⁵ Joyce has two entire pages of notes listing various suburbs of Dublin: Artane, Balbriggan, Baldoyle, Ballybrack, Booterstown, Cabinteely, Carrickmines, Castleknock, Chapelizod, Swords, Tallaght, Clonsilla, Clonskeagh, Coolock, Cullenswood, Donabate, Dundrum, Foxrock, Gleenagary, Goldenbal, Loughlinstown, Milltown, Raheny, Ranelagh, Rathcoole, Rush, Saggard, Seapoint, Sandford, Santry, Skerries, Stillorgan (VI.B.29: 134-135).

¹²⁶ Atherton covers this text in detail in *The Books at the Wake* (75-79).

tell the story of a city in the twentieth century without telling the story of poverty.

The previous notes on public health and housing continue in VI.B.29 with “dying by houserows”, “condemned”, “Jerrybill”, “yardless”, and “W tap” (VI.B.138).

“Yardless” is in direct contrast to the “demesnes” and “hunting lodges” referenced above, and later notes like “house lost in dirt”, “nightsoil has to be removed through house” (VI.B.29: 146), and “Drip coming through ceiling” (VI.B.29: 150) connect the impoverished to nature, but in a drastically different way than the upper classes relate to it. “W tap” and another note, “Labourer at plant” (VI.B.29: 140), place the narrative at a specific time in the history of the city when the class of urban working poor was expanding greatly, especially in Ireland, due to the post-famine decline in agriculture and rural life and the subsequent shift into the city’s factories and slums.

When viewed in the context of the urban working poor and related social issues, the “city vs. country” tension presents another location of conflict between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish. At this stage in the *Wake*, the clash between the “demesnes” of the Anglo-Irish and the “yardless” homes of the urban poor adds a political weight to issues of the Irish environment and its appropriation by social and political forces.

In 1925, the addition “in *Urbs in Rure*”,¹²⁷ a confusion of *Rus in Urbe*,¹²⁸ Latin for “Country in City”, to the first typescript of III.3, provides a concrete reference for this opposition. The *Rus in Urbe* motto appears on Dublin’s Aldborough House (1793), one of the last great mansions to be built in the city in the eighteenth century. Chart wrote that the house was “‘a sermon in stone’ on the extravagance which ruined the Irish nobility” (326). This house, like many other eighteenth century mansions, was accompanied by a large parcel of land, thus creating the effect of *Rus in Urbe* and imitating the rule of the Earls in the countryside. The larger role of the Phoenix Park is implicated in this “*Rus in Urbe*” through the idea of providing an organized version of nature within the space of the city.

The relationship between the Anglo-Irish and environmental conservation was briefly discussed in the introduction, and this “*Rus in Urbe*” provides a valuable

¹²⁷ BL 47484a-120, JJA 58: 202, FW 551.24.

¹²⁸ This phrase also appears in “Ithaca”, when Bloom is thinking of his dream home: “Not to inherit by right of primogeniture, gavelkind or borough English, or possess in perpetuity an extensive demesne of a sufficient number of acres, roods and perches, statute land measure (valuation £42), of grazing turbary surrounding a baronial hall with gatelodge and carriage drive nor, on the other hand, a terracehouse or semidetached villa, described as *Rus in Urbe*” (U 17.1499-1550).

image to accompany the fact that in the twenty-first century “nature conservation is still largely identified with an Anglo-Irish culture” (Viney, *Smithsonian* 307-308). Feehan’s discussion of how the Romantic movement only impacted Ireland “within the walls of the demesnes” (583) is also relevant to this section of the *Wake*. The frequent alignment of HCE with an Anglo-Irish landlord becomes a locus for Joyce’s examination of the politics of land ownership and tenancy, and of what such politically inscribed land has meant for the Irish people and for their relationship to the physical land. The earlier sections of *Finnegans Wake* drafted focus on a historical relationship with the land, but as Joyce continued reading (both his source texts and his own already drafted work), nature became increasingly politicized and began to play a major role in the *Wake*’s discussion of the politics of nation, nation-building, nationality and nationalism. Landscape, along with language, becomes a decisive factor in Joyce’s understanding of culture, history and identity.

One characteristic that sets *Finnegans Wake*’s treatment of land apart from many of the popular works associated with the Revival is its portrayal of the relationship between ideas of land ownership and agriculture, issues which led almost directly to the growth of the Home Rule movement in the post-Famine years.¹²⁹ HCE’s landlordism becomes associated with Irish famine (including, but not limited to the Great Famine). For example, in I.3, HCE, in the position of landlord, exists “behind faminebuilt walls”,¹³⁰ bringing the theme of the walled city to other binaries created by physical walls. It is important to note that the Great Famine is not the only Irish famine present in the *Wake*, but only one in a continuous cycle of plenty and scarcity. For example, “her turlyhyde I plumped with potatums”,¹³¹ refers to an account in Chart’s *The Story of Dublin* that explains how the wars of the fourteenth century “produced a famine over the whole country” (33). This famine, however, was “providentially relieved by the stranding of a whole school of whales at the mouth of the Dodder at Ringsend. The chronicler calls them ‘Turlehydes’” (33). While this provided a temporary source of food for Dublin, Chart explains, the city was “only to find, later on, that the terrible famine had bred the still more terrible pestilence. Every

¹²⁹ For more information on these topics, please refer to Paul Bew, *Land and the National Question in Ireland: 1858-1882* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1978), R.W.G. Carter and A.J. Parker, eds. *Ireland: A Contemporary Geographical Perspective* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), Samuel Clark, *Social Origins of the Irish Land War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), John Davis, ed. *Rural Change in Ireland* (Belfast: Queen’s Institute of Irish Studies, 1999) and Joseph Lee, *The Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918* (Gill and Macmillan: Dublin, 1973).

¹³⁰ Added to typescript in 1927, BL 47472-155, JJA 45: 197, FW 71.2.

¹³¹ FW 549.31.

few years it descended on the cramped, refuse-strewn streets of the mediaeval town and carried off thousands of victims” (33). One note from the 1928 *Thom’s Directory* following immediately from the Rowntree text is “Two-toothed locust worms” (VI.B.29: 156). This note derives from a passage in *Thom’s* concerning a plague of “strange worms”, “supposed to have been locusts”, that descended upon Ireland and “devoured everything green in the land” (qtd. in VI.B.29 155). The line to which this note was added reads “famine with English sweat and oppedemics the twotoothed dragon worms with allsort serpents”,¹³² at this draft level. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, this “English sweat” refers to a pestilential disease appearing in England in the fifteenth century that spread to other parts of Europe, including Dublin, in 1528 (“Sweating Sickness”). “Oppedemics” combines the Latin *oppidum*, “town”, with “epidemics”, creating a specifically urban disease.

Clive Ponting’s *A New Green History of the World* presents a reading of world history through world resources, discussing Ireland’s agricultural practices in context of its recurring famines (listing, in addition to the Great Famine, famines of 1318, 1594-97, 1739-41, 1816-1817). He devotes most of the discussion, justifiably, to the Great Famine, and explains the agricultural conditions from the preceding decades that led to the extensive devastation of this famine in particular. Ponting asserts how the Great Famine did not arise unexpectedly, but that “by the 1830s poor harvests were becoming the norm” (103), and that even with a good crop, a large number of the population was at risk for starvation. Ponting includes all of the popularly acknowledged causes of the famine in his account (overpopulation, poor climate, economic disparity, trade regulations, and land politics), but he also focuses on two crucial and often overlooked causes of the famine: the potato itself and the devastation of both land and community caused by monocrop agriculture. The potato, though suited to the “need to provide food from tiny plots of land”, is low in nutritional value, and “not well adapted to growing in the wet climate of Ireland” (103). Joyce records “Hawkins – Spud” (VI.B.29: 156) from *Thom’s*, referring to the man who introduced the potato to Ireland, John Hawkins. The line “frozen black patata” (FW 495.10) refers to the potato blight, the direct cause of the Great Hunger, which turned potato crops black.

Conscious of the role the potato has played in Ireland’s history and culture, Joyce refers to the crop at least one hundred times in the *Wake*, with “Fweet”

¹³² BL 47484b- 438, JJA 59: 179, FW 539.36-540.1.

producing no fewer than 84 elucidations for “potato” and another 35 for “spud”. The VI.B.3 note discussed earlier, “child (found chalice in potatofield)” (VI.B.3: 11), from Flood’s *Ireland: Its Saints and Scholars*, shows that the “unearthing” of Ireland’s history depends on the potato; cultivating the crop has shaped much of the Irish landscape, has been responsible for the discovery of Ireland’s most valuable artefacts, has changed the makeup of the Irish population and has, at least for the last century and a half, greatly shaped the collective consciousness and memory of Ireland. The relationship between the land and language in *Finnegans Wake* reaches an important crux when faced with the issue of the Great Famine. Who is left to carry on the names of the places, the history of these names, the stories associated with the topography? Stuart John McLean, in his study *The Event and its Terrors: Ireland, Famine, Modernity*, agrees with Angela Bourke’s argument that in addition to the lives lost, the 1840s were a period of real “cultural loss” for Ireland, “marking the disappearance not only of specific practices and idioms, but of an entire corpus of orally transmitted knowledge and belief actualized through the lived relationship between people and landscape” (5).

Famines may be of particular interest to Joyce at this stage of *Finnegans Wake* because they are one of the first instances of the conflict that arises between humanity and nature. In the essay “Environmental Crises – Past and Present”, A.S. Boughey also identifies famine as the first “environmental crisis”, citing both the Old Testament story of Joseph and his interpretation of Pharaoh’s dreams, and “written records of famine in China over a period of 2,000 years” (10). One of the most visible effects of human dependence on the environment, famine has recurred across all continents for as long as living creatures have needed to eat. The causes of famine may vary, but they generally include crop failure, either as a result of uncooperative weather or of populations that require more food than the land can sustain (or both). With Ireland integrated into the English market economy, those who once farmed for subsistence now saw their product become a tradable commodity, and basic laws of supply and demand led to the exacerbation of any food shortages. Food prices would rise and become too high for those dependent on potatoes for their survival, while other goods from Ireland continued to be exported to England.¹³³ In Ireland, discussion of the Famine often centred on issues concerning British control of the

¹³³ In 1784, John Foster’s “Corn Laws” prohibited grain from being imported to Ireland (Cf. FW 76.35).

land and the economy and the resultant poverty of the Irish people, and Ponting explains that leading up to the Famine, there were “about 650,000 landless labourers living in permanent destitution and most of the rural population lived in squalid, one-room cabins” (105). At this point, there was little difference between the urban and the rural poor.

Joyce may have turned towards the subject of famines due to the emergence of widespread fears of disasters such as “erosion and famine” (Bramwell 7) in early twentieth century Europe. The cycle of famines in history demonstrates that famines will continue to appear, as they are, after all, a negative feedback cycle that controls populations and regulates resources such as soil, minerals and water. Though many believe that technology, in the forms of industry, transportation, medicine or GMOs, will be able to alleviate fears of disasters such as famine, the appearance of these fears in the early twentieth century reveals an underlying distrust in technology’s effects and efficacy. In an era when war redefined suffering, when national boundaries were being constantly redrawn, when balances of power were continually shifting, there was a fear that nature might also react to its own repression. Furthermore, this fear indicates a shift in perceptions of the environment, moving from a belief in nature as “objective” to that of nature as undeniably responsive to human actions in unpredictable ways. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, millions of lives were lost around the world as a result of erosion, famine, disease, floods, earthquakes, tornados, hurricanes and tsunamis, and with the new developments in cinema, these natural disasters were often up on the big screen, thousands of miles away, within days of their occurrence.¹³⁴ The extensive loss of life from these natural disasters unquestionably ended residual faith in human abilities to understand and control nature and questioned confidence in the ability of technology to manipulate and harness natural resources.

As a result of this change in the human attitude towards nature, there was, on the one hand, the decoupling of nature from human responsibility, while on the other, there was an increase in the sense of humanity’s responsibility for the environment. This may seem contradictory, and it certainly is, and this contradiction accounts for the disparity even in current debate over environmental issues. Spiritual beliefs in the

¹³⁴ John McCourt, in his introduction to *Roll Away the Reel World: James Joyce and Cinema*, describes Stanislaus’s comments about films showing the devastation from the late 1908 earthquakes in Italy that killed “some 200,000 people” (6). In this same collection, Luke McKernan, in the essay “James Joyce and the Volta Programme”, provides the detail that the Volta showed “newsfilms of the Paris floods” of 1910 (23-24).

benevolent (or not so benevolent) treatment of humans by nature were no longer viable for most, and careful preparations, rituals, or ceremonies (perhaps called “superstitions” at this point) believed to ensure good weather, and subsequently, good harvests, were irrelevant. Nature would do what it pleased, regardless of human actions and wishes. For some, this was due to the “laws” of nature, but for others, these “laws” of nature were actually proof of God’s design.

The decoupling of nature from religion is one of the most important historical shifts in human attitudes towards the environment; for social policy: for medicine, for science, for literature, for art, for nearly any endeavour in the modern world, the separation of the environment from divine providential control is essential. This is what ultimately divides Romanticism and Modernism, for the providentially controlled wind of Wordsworth’s *Prelude* has become the drought and dry lightning of *The Waste Land*. Nature is uncaring, unforgiving and uncontrollable. However, nature’s ability to *respond* (through such events as famine) replaced its divinity with a different agency, and, as Christa Grewe-Volpp argues, such “responses” mean nature becomes “an autonomous actor” (78). She continues, arguing that with this understanding, nature “can no longer be depicted as a mere setting, but becomes a protagonist capable of articulation” (78). Grewe-Volpp takes her point from Donna Haraway, one of the primary theorists of the post-human, who maintains that while nature does not have language in the “human sense”, it is capable of articulation, of signification.¹³⁵ Grewe-Volpp concludes:

The land, for example, or, more generally, a place, subtly or explicitly influences the psyche and the actual behaviour of individual protagonists. Climate, wilderness conditions, technologically altered landscapes, topographies and many other environmental elements – never as pristine nature, never as mere text – function as a powerful force that human beings have to- and do – react to. (Haraway qtd. in Grewe-Volpp 78)

In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce attempts to represent the way in which nature possesses its own agency, its own ability to articulate. Though this articulation is obviously radically different from our own, it is undeniable that nature reacts to human behaviour in a way that is not aligned with human beliefs and desires (for example,

¹³⁵ “Nature may be speechless, without language, in the human sense; but nature is highly articulate” (qtd. in Grewe-Volpp 78).

our current global climate crisis). Through issues of public housing, agriculture, disease, engineering and famine, Joyce explores the way in which the environment reacts to human manipulation, but through the construction of “place”, he also explores how these places define the course of human life and identity.

Growth

Returning to Burgess, Park and McKenzie’s idea of the growth of cities following the laws of growth in the plant community, the present section will now turn to the next chapter of the *Wake* to be drafted, II.1. This chapter is largely about “children’s games”, but on a larger level, it addresses growth and maturity in various different terms. In VI.B.32,¹³⁶ Joyce continues his interest in Darwin and evolutionary growth, extending to the Darwinian reading of language and speech present in one of the source texts, Sir Richard Paget’s *Babel and Human Speech*.¹³⁷ Deane, Ferrer and Lernout explain that in this text, “Paget states the theory that the development of the child recapitulates the evolution of the species” (VI.B.32 9). Children in the *Wake* represent processes of growth: the growth of children into adults, the growth of flora and fauna, the growth of civilizations, the growth of languages, and the growth of species and individuals through evolution. Throughout the *Wake* up to this point, the girls have typically been associated with “flowers”, but the composition of II.1 greatly develops the importance of this relationship for the *Wake* as a whole.

Christina Alt, in the admirable introduction to her *Virginia Woolf and the Study of Nature*, recounts the prevalence of short nature documentaries preceding feature films throughout the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s and their extreme popularity with cinemagoers. Alt quotes film historian Laura Marcus, who observes that

the fascination with films which speeded up natural processes, as in the growth and unfolding of a flower, and with filmic slow-motion’ arose from a sense that film could show the very workings of nature, opening up entirely new dimensions of the visible, and the invisible, world. (qtd. in Alt 59)

¹³⁶ Slote explains that the notebook(s) Joyce used for the composition of the first drafts of II.1 §2-5 are missing, but that VI.B.31 was used in revising some of the typescripts for these sections (HJW 186). VI.B. 32 was begun around May 1930.

¹³⁷ See Eugene Jolas’ “Marginalia to James Joyce’s *Work in Progress*,” *transition* 22 (1933): 101-105.

John McCourt, speaking of the “cinematic” qualities of *Ulysses* in his introduction to *Roll Away the Reel World: James Joyce and Cinema*, quotes another critic, Jean Epstein, who also describes this type of “nature” film. Epstein writes of how “a documentary shot describing in a few minutes twelve months in the life of a plant [...] seems to free us of terrestrial, i.e. solar time, of the rhythm to which we seem ineluctably bound” (qtd. in McCourt 9). McCourt calls on this quote due to the phrase “solar time”, using it to describe Joyce’s method of showing “the evolution of English prose” in the “Oxen of the Sun” episode of *Ulysses*, but this linguistic “evolution” is also relevant to the structure of II.1. The popularity of these types of films in the 1920s and 1930s indicates that Joyce would have been familiar with such cinematic portrayals of botanical growth (and other new representations of nature),¹³⁸ and that such different representations of time would have influenced how Joyce incorporated this material into II.1.

One form of “growth” demonstrated in II.1 is botanical growth. From the first draft, Chuff (Shaun) is associated with light: “Chuffy was a nangel then and his soard fleshed light like likening”.¹³⁹ Glugg (Shem) has the task of guessing the colour “heliotrope” which, as Slote explains, is ambiguous in and of itself because it is not only a colour but also “a stone, a flower, and an orientation (*heliotropos*: turning toward the sun). Variants of the word ‘heliotrope’ pervade this chapter from the first draft” (HJW 189). This botanical agency also appeared in the “Ithaca” chapter of *Ulysses* with phototropism, as “the influence of gaslight or the light of arc and glowlamps on the growth of adjoining paraheliotropic trees” (U 17.13-14), is one of the subjects discussed by Bloom and Stephen while returning to 7 Eccles Street. Due to the presence of the responsiveness of plants as far back as “Ithaca”, the unique

¹³⁸ Though Luke McKernan does not advocate that Joyce had any relationship to or paid any attention to the films screened at the Volta after his return to Trieste (26), McKernan’s appendix (“Volta Filmography”) of these films is useful, even if just as an example of the type of films being shown during this period in cinematic history. The films Alt describes in her introduction would not be included in McKernan’s appendix as they are the shorts before the feature film. Some relevant feature films include “The Waterfalls of Tanforsen” (27-9 December 1909), “The Fascination of the Snowy Mountain Peaks” (27-9 December 1909), “A Storm at Sea” (20-2 January 1910), “A Grand Procession of Elephants” (27-9 January 1910), “First and Second Parts of the Dreadful and Disastrous Sicilian-Calabrian Earthquake! In two very fine films taken at Messina” (7-9 February 1910), “The Floral City” (14-16 February 1910), “Agricultural Industry in Denmark” (21-3 February 1910), “The Paris Floods, Entirely Different from those Films Already Shown” (3-5 March 1910), “Crocodile Hunting” (7-9 March 1910), “The Aviator Blériot Showing Flights Over Vienna” (10-12 March 1910), “Modern Agriculture” (14-16 March 1910), “Niagara” (17-19 March 1910), “The Icefields of Finland” (31 March- 2 April 1910).

¹³⁹ BL 47477-6, JJA 51: 14, FDV 130.6, FW 222.22-31.

choice of “heliotrope”¹⁴⁰ is due to its relationship to heliotropism. As Joyce is working with the agency of nature at this point in the *Wake*, the ability of a plant to move in response to the sun’s path would be of particular interest. This “natural attraction” also proves a useful way of representing sexuality, and Shaun’s association with light also associates him with the sun, thus influencing the movements of the girls.

Van Hulle explains that after Glugg (Shem) fails to answer the riddle for a second time, “the rainbow or flower girls dance and sing in praise of their sun hero Chuff” (*Textual* 118). Then, in the first draft of II.1§3,¹⁴¹ the flower girls expose themselves to the sun (Chuff); they “tournasoled”¹⁴² in, as Van Hulle argues, “heliolatry”. The reproductive parts of a flower are presented in this draft in quite sensual terms:

Just so stylled are their petals each of all has a stalk unto herself
love and all of all of their understamens is as open as he can posably
she and tournasoled straightout or sidewaist according to the courses
of things feminite towoerds him, their lord & stigmatiser, that they
may catchup in these calyzettes those parryshoots from his muscalone
pistil, (O my goodmiss! O my greatness! O my pricelestly preshoes!)
while dewyfally as dumbelles they allisten to his elixir.

Enchanted, sweet dear Stainusless, dearest dearest, we herehear
aboutabuds thee salutant Pattren of our unschooled, deliverer of
softmissives, send us a wise and letters play of all you canceive of
from your holy post. Sweetstaker, we toutes were drawpaitis so want
lotteries of ticklets. Will bee all buzzy one another again minmie for
you are pollen yourself.¹⁴³

Flowers themselves are useful for understanding evolution, as they have evolved in terms of colour, fragrance and texture to become more appealing to insects and animals for pollination purposes. Pollination, the reproductive act of flowers, is the movement of pollen (which contains the sperm) from the anther (part of stamen, the male reproductive organ) to the stigma (part of pistil, the female reproductive organ).

¹⁴⁰ See Joyce’s July 1939 letter to Frank Budgen explaining the choice of “heliotrope”: “Page 626, line 17 (the word heliotrope appears here again after baffling Glugg in the mime, Isolde’s colour too)...” (LI 406).

¹⁴¹ FW 236.33-240.4. The first draft and the first fair copy of II.1§3 were both completed in December 1930 (BL 47477 33-36 and BL 47477 38-41, respectively).

¹⁴² BL 47477-33, JJA 51: 74, FDV 135.10, FW 236.36

¹⁴³ BL 47477-33, 34, JJA 51: 74-75, FDV 135.8-21, FW 236.33-238.35.

Once the pollen reaches the stigma, the ovule is fertilized and the seeds of the next generation are produced; thus, the girls bare themselves to Chuff, wishing for pollination (Wilmer 3-4). The fair copy alters the aforementioned line slightly: “Just so stilled with the nattes are their flowerheads now and each of all has a lovestalk”.¹⁴⁴ The addition of “nattes” points toward “night”, contrasting with Chuff’s sun and providing the necessary change in temperature required for flowers to blossom. “Gnats” are an insect conducive to pollination (Wilmer 533), and the “lovestalk” instead of just “stalk” clears this passage up for anyone not well versed in the biology of flower reproduction.

“Heliolatry”, or heliotropism, enables the growth and pollination of plants, but also reminds one of “Heliopolis”, the Egyptian city of the sun. As Burgess, Park and McKenzie argue in *The City*, the same requirements are necessary for the success of the individual plant as for the individual city dweller. This Darwinian approach to city life is also linked to the Viconian rises and falls of civilization in this draft: “Charley, you’re my darwing. So sing they sequent the scent of man. Till they go round if they go roundagain before breakparts and alldismissed”.¹⁴⁵ It is not possible to talk about *Finnegans Wake*, cities and flowers without mention of the Quinet quote, which appears twice in the first draft of II.1 §2,¹⁴⁶ once with an emphasis on the flowers, once with an emphasis on the foundation of cities.¹⁴⁷ The Quinet reference emphasizing flowers reads: “Not Rose, Sevilla nor Citronelle; no Esmeralde, Pervenche nor Indra; not Viola even nor all of them four themes over”.¹⁴⁸ The *pervenche* comes directly from Quinet, and “Citronelle” echoes the *columelle*; other than these two, however, the other names are added to provide the seven colours of the rainbow (brought by the sun): “Rose”, “Pervenche” and “Viola” are flowers, “Sevilla” and “Citronella” refer to fruit (oranges and lemons), “Esmeralde” is a gem, emerald, and the remaining term, “Indra”, is “indigo” (as well as a Vedic God of war, storms and rainfall from a note on VI.B.28: 41). The girls are then

¹⁴⁴ BL 47477-38, JJA 51: 78, FW 236.33-34.

¹⁴⁵ BL 47477-122, JJA 51: 121, FW 252.28-29.

¹⁴⁶ BL 47477 6-21, JJA 51: 14-29 (October and November 1930). FW 222.22-236.32, FW 255.18. Cf. Letters to Weaver: 21 May 1926 (LI 240-241), 7 June 1926 (LI 241-242), 15 July 1926 (LI 242), 22 November 1930 (LI 295).

¹⁴⁷ Van Hulle mentions the sun and the flowers, but when discussing the Quinet quote, which largely relies on flowers for its impact, ignores them: “The section ends with a variation of the sentence by Edgar Quinet, alluding to the cyclical nature of history and the transitoriness of human civilizations” (Van Hulle, *Textual* 118).

¹⁴⁸ BL 47477-7, JJA 51: 15, FDV 130.22-24, FW 223.6-8.

described as “yengg frilles-in-pleyurs”,¹⁴⁹ a reference to the second volume of Proust’s *A la recherche du temps perdu, A l’ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs*, often translated as “In the shadow of young girls in flower” (Grieve). In the context of this chapter concerning growth, this Proustian reference asserts Joyce’s link of the coming of age of the female with the growth of flowers.

The establishment and growth of cities, continuing from “Haveth Childers Everywhere”, is a key theme of the first draft of II.1§6A, and the second reference to Quinet combines the passage of (seasonal) time with the plant “thyme” and with the development of cities:

Since the days of Roamaloose and Rehmoose the pavanos have been strident through their struts of Chapelldiseut, the vaulsies have meed and youddled through the purly ooze of Ballybough, many a mismy cloudy has tripped taintily along that hercourt strayed reelway and the rigadoons have helf ragtimes revels on the platauplain of Grangegorman; and, though since then sterlings and guineas have been replaced by brooks and lions and some progress has been made on stilts and the races have come and gone and Thyme, that chef of seasoners, has made his usual astewte use of endadjustables and whatnot willbe isnor was, those danceadeils and cancanzanies have come stimmering down for our begayment through the bedeaftom of po’s taeorns, the obcecity of pa’s teapucs, as lithe and limbfree limber as when momie mummied at ma.¹⁵⁰

Romulus and Remus refer, obviously, to the legendary founding of Rome, but instead, “Roamaloose and Rehmoose” have founded Dublin, beginning with Chapelizod, “Chapelldiseut”. Slote, in his essay “A Wake in Chapelizod”, examines the changes Joyce made here to Quinet’s quote, explaining that the flowers “have become dances” and that such a dance “endures through decay and entropy” (49). “Furthermore”, Slote continues, “in this particular variation on Quinet’s theme, Joyce substitutes Chapellldiseut for Quinet’s ‘les Gaules’, thereby returning, in this game, Isolde back to Ireland from France. In so doing, he places Chapelizod at the centre of the myth of historical continuity and change” (49). The “sterlings and guineas” passing to “brooks and lions” are, in addition to the change in currency, a change in

¹⁴⁹ BL 47477-9, JJA 51: 9, FDV 131.11-12, FW 224.22-24.

¹⁵⁰ BL 47477-21, JJA 51: 29, FW 236.19-32.

species present, the “races” that “have come and gone” over “Thyme”. The dominant species of the area may once have been starlings and guinea fowl, replaced by rooks and lions (and also, the guinea fowl is a guinea hen, ALP, and the lion the “lion in our teargarten” [FW 75.1]). In the context of the Phoenix Park, the “guinea fowl” would have been there to be hunted, and the lion would have been placed there for exhibit in the Dublin Zoo, both representing various forms of oppression that mark the growth of society and civilization.

In line with Rome’s translation to Chapelizod, two other elements added at this draft level reinforce the return to Ireland: Isolde merges with the figure of Grainne, and Joyce reintroduces Tara. The additions “Look sharp, she’s signalling again from the asters. Turn again wishful-toned loud mere of Doubtluin. Arise, land under wave”,¹⁵¹ and “even though mode grow mannerish and the Tarara boom decay”,¹⁵² convey the birth of modern Ireland, starting with the mythical Tara and “Land-Under-Wave”, the kingdom in which the king’s daughter was a lover of the mythical Diarmuid (of Diarmuid and Grainne). The “land under wave” phrase (VI.B.35: 31)¹⁵³ is most likely from a Gaelic myth, a version of which can be found in Lady Gregory’s 1904 *Gods and Fighting Men*. This story, “The Daughter of King-Under-Wave”, has Diarmuid of the Fianna as its protagonist, and deals with the ephemeral nature of love and beauty; “Land-Under-Wave” is the place Diarmuid ends up as he searches for the woman who has run from him.

Weston’s *From Ritual to Romance* also discusses the Celtic “Land-Beneath-the-Waves” as dealing “with an inexhaustible submarine source of life”, and points the reader towards “the ‘Sampo’ of the Finnish Kalewala, and the ever-grinding mills of popular folk-tale”. “The fundamental idea here”, Weston argues, “seems to be that of the origin of all Life from Water, a very ancient idea, but one which, though akin to the Grail tradition, is yet quite distinct therefrom” (74). The fact that human life evolved over millions of years from anaerobic organisms in the ocean was a revolutionary hypothesis during Joyce’s lifetime,¹⁵⁴ and the fact that it aligns with folklore and creation myths such as those Gregory and Weston present highlights these narratives. The “land under wave” also bears traces of Atlantis, the mythical city lost forever under the sea. Coupled with the “decay” of Tara (also *terre*), and the

¹⁵¹ BL 47477-116, JJA 51:114, FW 248.8.

¹⁵² BL 47477-121, JJA 51: 119, FW 247.28.

¹⁵³ JJA 37: 220.

¹⁵⁴ Also appears in “Ithaca”, in answer to the question “Were there obverse meditations of involutation increasingly less vast?” (U 17.1057-1069).

Viconian thunder (“boom”) of this decay, these are further examples of Joyce’s view on the rise and fall of both cities and civilizations.

The interrelation between the vicissitudes of nature and the growth of civilizations continues to be a key theme as Joyce progresses with II.1. The “boom” is also “*baum*”, and when juxtaposed with “decay”, the rise and fall of civilizations (such as that centred around the Hill of Tara) is illustrated with an image of the growth and decay of trees. Two other additions to this section reprise the Ogham alphabet, its trees a constant reminder throughout the *Wake* of the enduring role of nature in all human accomplishments. Joyce adds two aforementioned notes from VI.B.29, “bushments” and “underwoods” (VI.B.29: 89), at this draft level, incorporating them into the addition: “Underwoods spells bushment’s business. So if you sprig poplars you’re bound to twig this. ‘Twas my lord of Glendalough benedixed”.¹⁵⁵ This line refers to Saint Kevin again, the “lord of Glendalough”, and these were the two notes from VI.B.29 derived from the passage about Irish rebels hiding in the forests of Wicklow from Fitzpatrick’s *Dublin: A Historical and Topographical Account of the City*. Both Kevin and the Irish “rebels” (“woodkerne”) are aligned through this ability to “speak tree” (the Ogham alphabet). “Sprig” is *spreche* or *sprichst* (German, “speak”), and “twig” is Hiberno-English for “understanding” or “knowing” (deriving from the Irish *tuigeann*, Dolan 245). Joyce also adds, “that the turtling of London’s alderman is ladled out by the earful to the regionals of pigmy land”,¹⁵⁶ at this draft level. Poplar, alder, twig and sprig work together to assert the place of nature in culture through language and narrative, returning to the earlier orthographical link between the German words for book (*Buch*), *bee.ch* (*Bu che*) and letter (*Buchstabe*).

The relationship between nature and writing is also demonstrated by Joyce’s interest in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, another topic for VI.B.32. Joyce had already taken notes in earlier notebooks concerning this theme,¹⁵⁷ but in VI.B.32, the notes derive from a guide to the *Book of the Dead* by E.A. Wallis Budge issued by the British Museum.¹⁵⁸ Based on the above link between writing and trees, notes like “Greenfield Papyrus” (VI.B.32: 159), or those referring to Thoth, or to the

¹⁵⁵ BL 47477-135, JJA 51: 127, FW 248.28-30.

¹⁵⁶ BL 47477-129, JJA 51: 130, FW 253.10.

¹⁵⁷ For a comprehensive overview of these notes, their sources, and their appearance in the final text of *Finnegans Wake*, consult Danis Rose’s *Chapters of Coming Forth By Day* (Colchester: A Wake Newslitter Press, 1982).

¹⁵⁸ Deane, Ferrer and Lernout explain that the notes on *The Book of the Dead* in VI.B.4 and VI.B.40 come from E.A. Wallis Budge’s translation of the “Theban Recension” (11).

inscriptions written on papyrus that were placed in burial tombs (“of honouring Osiris”, “of breathing”, “of traversing eternity”, [VI.B.32: 160], or “Osiris buried / sycamore grove” [VI.B.32: 161]), develop this historical relationship in a more theologically determined context.¹⁵⁹

The colour “heliotrope” is closely linked to any mention of “heliolaty” or “Heliopolis”, such as the notes “heliopolitan” (VI.B.32: 160) or “Anu = Heliopolis” (VI.B.32: 161). The note Joyce draws a line to connect with “greenfield papyrus” (VI.B.32: 159) is “Royal Mother / Netchement” (VI.B.32: 159), and along with “I have not stopped water / when it should flow (VI.B.32: 165-166), “my heart of my mother” (VI.B.32: 167) and “great Cackler” (VI.B.32: 170), there is an increasing attribution of creative power for ALP. The relationship between Shem and Shaun also becomes implicated in the cult of the sun god Ra, said to judge the deceased at dawn (“Ra’s court in dawn” [VI.B.32: 164]). This cult of the sun god is explicitly linked, through Annapolis/Heliopolis, to ALP and to the Nile, as well as to the Shaun figure. ALP as “The Great Cackler”,¹⁶⁰ the hen, is added just after the pollination passage of an early 1931 typescript, giving ALP/hen authority over such natural processes.

On typescripts of II.1§3 made in early 1931,¹⁶¹ within the description of pollination, Joyce adds that the flower girls bend towards Shaun “in heliolaty” and that they are “troping”.¹⁶² Joyce also adds: “You are pure. You are pure. You are in your puerity. You have not brought stinking members into the house of Amanti”.¹⁶³ In *The Books at the Wake*, Atherton explains that “Amenti” (VI.B.32: 166, “Amenit” and VI.B.32: 169, “Ament = hidden”) is an Egyptian word meaning both World of the Dead and the West (194). The phenomenon of plants following the sun’s movement during the day, from east to west, is heliotropism, and in this context, the movement west is growth, but “West” also tends to imply death, for example, at the end of “The Dead”. The flower girls bend toward their sun, Shaun, in “heliolaty”, in sun-worship, not knowing that they are actually hastening their judgment.

¹⁵⁹ Additionally, the three places offered as home in the afterlife for those of the cult of Osiris are noted by Joyce: “Osiris field of reeds / --grasshopp / --offerings / of food” (VI.B.32: 163), meaning The Field of Reeds, The Field of Grasshoppers, and The Field of Offerings of Food. All three are easily tied to the *Wake*: The Field of Reeds is easily linked to themes concerning the act of writing and artistic creation, while The Field of Grasshoppers links to the “Ondt and the Gracehoper” sketch and The Field of Offerings of Food links to various themes of consumption and fertility.

¹⁶⁰ BL 47477-68, JJA 51: 88, FW 237.34.

¹⁶¹ BL 47477-66v, 68-74, JJA 51: 82-87.

¹⁶² BL 47477-69, JJA 51: 88, FW 237.1-2.

¹⁶³ BL 47477-68, JJA 51:83, FW 237.26.

The *Book of the Dead* notes concerning Osiris and Isis are also related to the development of theosophy and mysticism, major topics of the next notebook, VI.B.33.¹⁶⁴ Joyce punned on Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* in VI.B.32 ("O Sire is unveiled" [VI.B.32: 153]), and then for VI.B.33, sources include Arthur Edward Waite's *The Occult Sciences*, George Trobridge's *A Life of Emanuel Swedenborg* and Swedenborg's *Angelic Wisdom*.¹⁶⁵ Influenced by Budge's work on *The Book of the Dead* and the rituals incorporated into II.1, Joyce returns to the interest, first displayed in "Saint Kevin", in environmental foundations of world religions. Notebooks VI.B.28, VI.B.33, VI.A,¹⁶⁶ VI.B.31 and VI.B.35 and sections II.1§3-7¹⁶⁷ frequently refer to the origins, customs and beliefs of many ancient religions.

The drafts of sections of II.1 weave together tides, the moon, the sun and trees with religious customs. On an early 1931 typescript of II.1§4,¹⁶⁸ Joyce adds a passage regarding the affinity between Jewish ceremonies and the moon,¹⁶⁹ referencing "Neomenia" (the Jewish festival of the new moon) and "Seder" (the Jewish feast commemorating Exodus, made possible because of full moon). "Seder" is spelled like the cedar tree, as "Ceder", and is linked also to "pire",¹⁷⁰ "lolave branches",¹⁷¹ and "log foyer".¹⁷² The moon continues to appear throughout notebooks and drafts of this period, with VI.B.35 containing: "HCE sol / ALP luna (her phases)/ 2 Easters (P.S. & E.S.)" (VI.B.35: 23), and "rhythm of sea / tide transgression / 1/ 4 1/2 / 9 / 18 / 111" (VI.B.35: 27). These notes signal an association of the tides with the phases of the moon, and a "transgression", in geological terms, is a period denoting a shift in sea level that alters the shoreline and results in flooding and can be induced by isostatic changes, orogenies, or climatic change (Goudie 2: 1060). In the context of Joyce's notes, it seems the interest lies in the way in which human cycles (in this case, holidays and the female menstrual cycle) align with non-human cycles of the moon and the tides, which are themselves part of a larger cycle of geological transgression and regression. The "2 Easters (P.S. & E.S.)" (VI.B.35: 23) note concerns the 325 A.D. fixing of the Easter date (the first Sunday after the first full

¹⁶⁴ February – April 1931. Used largely for drafts of II.1 in late 1932.

¹⁶⁵ JJA 37: xi-xii.

¹⁶⁶ In March 1931, Joyce began using VI.A again, and pages 1-21 and 22-47 date from this period.

¹⁶⁷ II.1§5 (FW 244.13-246.35) drafted January 1931.

¹⁶⁸ BL 47477 74v-75, JJA 51: 94-95.

¹⁶⁹ BL 47477-74v, JJA 51: 94, FW 244.3-12.

¹⁷⁰ BL 47477-74v, JJA 51: 94, FW 244.3.

¹⁷¹ BL 47477-77, JJA 51: 101, FW 244.4

¹⁷² BL 47477-77, JJA 51: 101, FW 244.12.

moon on or following the vernal equinox), decreed by the Council of Nicaea, which bestowed the task of calculating the date of Easter upon the Church of Alexandria (“Easter”). What once began as a pagan holiday, wherein the date was aligned with the seasons, became a Christian holiday with a carefully calculated occurrence.¹⁷³ With the establishment of the calculation of Easter, the phases of the moon were “commoditized” by the Church and the understanding of “time” was forced to align with Church doctrine.

In the *Wake*, Joyce undoes this commodification of time through the alignment of the feminine, creative power with the cycles of the moon and the tides. It is only at nighttime, under the reign of the moon, that boundaries are allowed to blur. The children turn into “chickchilds” as night descends, the progeny of “the Great Cackler”, and as the draft continues, this blurring of the human/non-human boundary increases with the appearance of the “new moon”. On the first draft of this section, Joyce writes:

It darkles, all this our fun nominal world. Man and beast are chill. In deeryard imbraced, alleged, injointed and unlatched, the birds, even thumbtit, quail silent. Was vesper ere awhile. Now conticinium. No chare of beagles, frantling of peacocks, no muzzing of the camel, smuttering of apes.¹⁷⁴ Lights, pageboy, lights! When otter leaps in outer parts then Yul remembers May.¹⁷⁵

Night, cold, and quiet are ushered in. The “fun nominal world” becomes the “funnaminal world”, containing within it both the *phenomenal* and the *noumenal* world of Kant, along with “anima” (spirit) and “animal”, allowing the boundary between man and “animal” to dissolve. We are presented with tomtits, quails, beagles, peacocks, camels, apes and otters. In following with the idea that the severing of the human from the non-human is a type of fall, the “deerpark” here returns us to the primordial scene in the Phoenix Park, before the estrangement of the human from nature.

¹⁷³ In “Ithaca”, the passage concerning whether or not Bloom fell when he climbed over the railings of 7 Eccles Street contains the year 1904 in a few different forms, some of which are used in the calculation of Easter (U 17.91-99).

¹⁷⁴ Cf. “charming of beagles frantling of peacocks” (VI.B.32: 126), “nuzzing of camels smuttering of monkeys” (VI.B.32: 127).

¹⁷⁵ BL 47477-45, JJA 51: 96, FDV 137.9-14, FW 244.13-245.6. Cf. “when otter leaps in outer parts then Yul remember May, mohns to blume, arcglow warnerforth’s, siemensize lure, hookercrook” (VI.B.32: 122).

The first ten years of *Finnegans Wake*'s composition saw the natural world change in Joyce's mind from mere backdrop to a protagonist (the waves and the river became protagonists after only the first two years), assuming a prominent role in the development of language, religion and culture. Like many of his contemporaries, Joyce questioned the Romantic perspective of nature as a static, enduring entity there to ensure our immortality and strengthen our faith. Gradually, the influences of developments in biology, physics, psychology, anthropology, entomology, ethology, zoology and ecology, combined with expanding populations, increasing urbanization, disease, technology and war, contributed to a massive shift in the perception of nature as predominantly passive. In the early twentieth century, nature lost its designation as the defense against the chaos of modernity; it too became part of the chaos. This return to nature as "cruel" and chaotic did, however, provide new metaphors, new ways of understanding the disillusionment, the devastation, the alienation, the disorder that characterized much of the Modernist period's major achievements. This "new" understanding of nature did not only provide analogues for the negative, however. The changing perception of nature in the early twentieth century also provided new ways of understanding desire, sexuality, endurance, preservation; it provided new ways of understanding ourselves and thus, new ways of redefining and reorienting humanity's position in space, place, and history.

Chapter Four

“No Wind, No Word”: Nature, Language and Identity

The changing perception of nature during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may have rejected the sentiments of Romanticism, but many still adhered to the idea of overarching order in nature, with the concept of biological “holism” pervading many disciplines and modes of thinking. There could be chaos on the microcosmic level (e.g. habitat destruction by wildfires), but individual events were still part of a larger design of nature (e.g. negative feedback cycles dictate that these wildfires periodically occur to clear out old underbrush and allow new seedlings access to life-giving sunshine). The new discipline of ecology told the early twentieth century, struggling to find its way in the unpredictable, unstable, and increasingly secular world, that the events shaking the foundations of society were part of a larger *natural* system and would eventually lead to balance and harmony as occurs in nature. During the Modernist period, nature replaced religion, and for many Modernists, this view of nature allowed a perspective that taught one how to inure oneself for the inevitability of change. Understanding our place in the environment does not preclude us from using nature to express ourselves, but enables us to connect to nature more fully by recognizing our presence in it.

The final five years of work on *Finnegans Wake* saw an increasing sentimentality in the way Joyce represented nature in the text, and this can partially be traced to the fact that both he and Lucia were in declining health. While with the Jolas’s in Feldkirch, Joyce learned from Dr. Vogt that it was too dangerous to undergo another eye operation, and Ellmann provides, through the words of Jolas, an account of Joyce’s Quinet-influenced mindset:

Joyce felt some relief at this respite from surgery. He took long walks with Jolas along the mountain river Ill near Feldkirch, and climbed the hills. Of the mountains and river he said solemnly, ‘They are the phenomena that will remain when all the peoples and their governments will have vanished’. (Jolas qtd. in JJ 659)

Much of the final work on *Finnegans Wake* from 1933 until its publication can be understood through this quote. While the Quinet passage became a key structural device for the philosophical, historical, natural and civic framework of the *Wake*, it is also fundamentally sentimental and nostalgic. Such sentimentality colors the

relationship between the Norwegian Captain and the tailor's daughter, the story of Buckley and the Russian General and especially, the final monologue of ALP that closes the book. The relationship between cycles of nature and civilization becomes ever more intertwined with death in these final years of the *Wake's* composition. As the present chapter proceeds to the lyrical farewell of ALP, of the passing of the Liffey into the sea, remembering Joyce's own attitude towards nature as he confronts his own illness during these final years provides a sympathetic reading of the ways in which Joyce writes the environment during these last years of work on *Finnegans Wake*.

Religion, Nature, and Divination

In his *Conversations with James Joyce*, Arthur Power recalls an exchange wherein Joyce questions the relationship between religion, nature, and modernity:

The parable of the lillies of the field touches on a deeper note, but one wonders why that parable was not taken further, and why the great subconscious life of Nature was ignored, a life which without effort reaches to such great perfection. Nowadays the churches regard the worship of God through nature as a sin. (48)

When Joyce says "nowadays", he refers to the modern world and to the modern Judeo-Christian belief in the human supremacy over and separation from this "subconscious life of Nature". One theme developed at this stage of the *Wake* closely relates to this belief as well as to theological anxieties science had stirred in many during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "Divination", a primary topic of VI.B.33, presents an alternative to the conviction that the human has no control over nature, but also presents a non-Christian world wherein the human is more concerned with its relationship to nature.¹ The popularity of mysticism and of the "occult" during the Victorian and Modernist periods represented another attempt to return to a pre-Christian, animist order and realign the human position in the universe.

The "occult" sources for VI.B.33, introduced at the end of the previous chapter, greatly color the revisions to the II.1 pages for *transition 22*, as Glugg's attempt to guess the colour "heliotrope" becomes one of divination and the black arts.

¹ Vico also deals fairly extensively with the issue of "divination", painting it as a nation-constructing force. For example, he writes: "The true God founded Judaism on the prohibition of divination. By contrast, all the pagan nations sprang from the practice of divination" (85).

The dominance of the sun and flowers in II.1 influences the addition of “Meteoromancy”,² as the “divination” of “heliotrope” must include weather patterns. The note “meteorom-” (VI.B.33:62) is from Waite’s *The Occult Sciences*, deriving from a passage that reads:

Aeromancy. This is the art which, sometimes under an alternative appellation, Meteoromancy, is concerned with the prediction of things to come by the observation of atmospheric variations and the different phenomena of the air, particularly those of thunder, lightning, and fiery meteors. (123)

The primary definition for “divination” in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is, “the foretelling of future events or discovery of what is hidden or obscure by supernatural or magical means” (“Divination”, def. 1a), and “divination” was once considered a crime because it was seen as an affront to God’s design. However, in *Finnegans Wake*, “God’s design”, providence, is manifested largely through the weather. “Meteoromancy” and “aeromancy” thus become the perfect arts for inquiring into this chaotic natural world, and they influence the change from “weather permitting” to “weather prophetting”³ in III.3. “Weather permitting” implies that the human action is dependent upon the will of nature, but “weather prophetting” places some of this agency onto the human.

Frazer explains that in many cultures, magicians became kings due to their assumed power over nature, largely embodied in their ability to “make rain” (85). Towards the end of the II.1 *transition* 22 revisions, Joyce adds “A fork of hazel o’er the field”,⁴ referring to hazel twigs being “used by diviners or dowsers to seek water or hidden veins of metal” (MacCoitir 74).⁵ In addition to divination through nature, the addition of the hazel is linked with these ideas of kingship through the introduction of Finn MacCool at this same draft level. MacCoitir, in his *Irish Trees: Myths, Legends and Folklore*, explains the many roles played by the hazel tree in Celtic lore: “The hazel, with its nourishing nuts and habit of growing near water, is a

² BL 47477-102, JJA 51: 192, FW 228.20-21.

³ BL 47486b-451, JJA 61: 433, FW 480.7-8.

⁴ BL 47477-94, JJA 51: 178, FW 250.23.

⁵ The note appears as “a fork of hazel” in VI.B.33: 59, also deriving from Waite’s *Occult Sciences*; a required material for the “evocation” of fiends is “a forked branch of a wild hazel which has never borne fruit, and which must be cut on the day of the evocation, when the sun is just rising” (Waite 59). This addition here follows from the development of the “growth” themes in the previous drafts and aligns Shem’s role in the sexual awakening of the young girls with the invasive cutting of the plant. There is also a note from VI.C.1: 209 that is crossed and reads “I divine hazel”.

symbol of fertility, wisdom, kingship, poetic inspiration and mystical knowledge” (74). He continues, explaining that the “Salmon of Knowledge”, from which “Finn Mac Cumhaill” acquired his wisdom, initially gained this wisdom because it fed off hazelnuts (75-77).⁶ MacCoitir links the hazel and Finn by explaining how “the English name hazel itself derives from an Anglo-Saxon word meaning ‘authority or kingship’ while the Irish word *Coll* also had the meaning of a chieftain” (79). This information provides an explanation for the addition “Hetman MacCumhal foots the funeral”,⁷ with “MacCumhal” also linking to meteoromancy with “Cumhal” implying (among other things), “cumulus”.⁸ Possessing power over nature (or at least being believed to have this power) was once a primary way of bringing a sense of order to a group of people, and the hazel provides a way for Joyce to unite the themes of kingship, religion and nature through the figure of Finn MacCool.

The specific link between trees and prophecy appears to herald the downfall of certain individuals, philosophies or civilizations. At this draft level, Joyce adds an allusion to *Macbeth* in II.1 that blends prophecy and divination with religion, kingship, and cosmic order: “For a burning woould is come to dance inane”.⁹ The prophecy itself, “Fear not Till Birnam Wood / Do Come to Dunsinane” (*Mac* 5.5.42-43), refers to the disturbance of nature, of the “natural” order by Macbeth, and here in *Finnegans Wake*, in conjunction with the violation of the flower-girls, this appears in the context of the male “invasion” of the female. This “violation” or “invasion” is part of earlier critiques against inquiries into nature; to many, nature was not to be questioned, as such questioning was a challenging of the gods. Contemporary attempts to understand “nature” are here aligned with the questioning of the flower-girls, and both end with the postlapsarian knowledge that brings with it the paradox of sadness and celebration.

Discussions of *Macbeth* have seldom focused on the fact that in the prophecy, the “wood” itself is to come to Dunsinane. Extending from earlier sections in the *Wake*, Joyce’s literal interpretation of the witch’s prophecy addresses historical issues

⁶ Later, in VI.B.47, Joyce returns to Finn McCool and makes the note “nutsnolleges” (VI.B.47: 43).

⁷ BL 47477-110, JJA 51: 169, FW 243.14.

⁸ Clouds will be discussed separately in this chapter, but it may be useful to note here that this “Cumhal” as “cumulus” is not in isolation, but that there are a few additions to this draft relating to clouds: “in the nebohood” (BL 47477-111, JJA 51: 161, FW 235.16), “Ayatherept they / fleurly to Nebuose / Will & Rofucale” (BL 47477-94, JJA 51: 178, FW 250.27), and “That cry’s not Cucules” (BL 47477-100, JJA 51: 191, FW 248.16). On the final typescripts of Book IV in 1938, in conjunction with the addition of the lengthy cloud passage of FW 599, Joyce adds, along this same line “[...] it was Captain Finsen’s cumhulments [...]” (BL 47488-220v, JJA 63: 324, FW 624.28-29).

⁹ BL 47477-101, JJA 51: 198, FW 250.16.

of the relationship between kingship and forest. In the *Wake*, the control of the forest by the monarchy is apparent through the treatment of the Phoenix Park and other “demesnes” in the Irish countryside, and serves as a metonym for the imperialist project. Harrison argues that Shakespeare’s use of forests is related to the deforestation of England’s woodlands (well underway before the eleventh century and continuing into Tudor and Stuart times), and that this is a primary reason for their inclusion. He also links this deforestation to Lady Macbeth’s sterility, her “barrenness” (100-102); in the case of feminized Ireland, this prophecy implies that the Irish landscape will recover from English deforestation. Shakespeare inverts the traditional iconography of the forest: “the savagery that once traditionally belonged to the forests now lurks in the hearts of men – civic men” (Harrison 100). Harrison argues of the final act of *Macbeth*:

The soldiers of the opposing army advance toward the castle camouflaged behind boughs cut from the trees of this forest [...] The lawlessness that Vico associated with the ‘nefarious forests’ has here found haven in Macbeth’s civic barbarism, but by the end of the play the moving forest of Birnam comes to symbolize the forces of natural law mobilizing its justice against the moral wasteland of Macbeth’s nature. (104)

The addition of this prophecy from *Macbeth*, in conjunction with the other “meteoromancy” additions, provides a clear link between ideas of “nature”, origins of kingship, and the development of religion.

Joyce balances the male-dominated prophecies of II.1 with the Quinet passage that was on his mind, as seen through Jolas’s recollection, in 1933.¹⁰ Through recourse to flowers, Quinet’s passage communicates a belief in the endurance of nature as compared to culture, and Joyce’s use of this passage in the chapter concerning the children’s lessons takes on both hope and hopelessness. Representing all youth, the flower girls hold the same promise of rebirth, renewal and persistence as Quinet’s flowers. Quinet’s flowers do not recognize political boundaries, and their sense of space derives from chemical responses to climate, soil, sunlight and temperature, not from man-made lines. In II.2, the flowers have an innocence akin to children and in 1934, on the first drafts of II.2§7, Joyce adds the Quinet quotation in

¹⁰ In July 1933, the Joyce’s left for Zürich again, and it seems this trip triggered the previous year’s sentiments, as on 4 July Joyce sent a letter to Paul Léon, asking him to find the Quinet quote (from Metchnikoff) in the notebook (VI.B.1: 84-85) which had been left behind in Paris.

its entirety.¹¹ Flowers do not recognize humans and their battles, and Quinet thus trivializes many of humanity's trials and tribulations. However, Quinet's passage is also deeply sad for a man who was slowly losing his daughter, as it suggests the inevitable decay of all that seems young and everlasting.

In II.2, Joyce continues to explore the idea that the female is more "in tune" with the natural world than the male. This association between the feminine and an earth-centered, maternal knowledge is problematic today, but in the 1930s would have been quite progressive, looking forward to the environmental movements of the 1960s and 70s when the image of "Mother Earth" was capitalized upon in an effort to convey the need to respect the planet.¹² Many feminists of the "essentialist" camp also grasped onto the nourishing, life-giving qualities and intuitive knowledge of the female body in their discourse. The designation of the girls as flowers for II.1 was a statement about rebirth, regeneration and renewal, and the presence of Quinet's quote in II.2 expands the importance of the "flower girls" and their education about nature. In terms of Vico, II.2 (and parts of I.5 and I.6) stands for "the academies", the last phase before the flowers grow up again in the cracks and ruins of human civilizations. Philip Kitcher, in *Joyce's Kaleidoscope*, explains how in II.2 the boys are beset with "academic learning" while Issy has no need for such things; her knowledge is somehow "inbourne" (FW 268.16, Kitcher 147). In the 1935 revisions of II.2 for *transition* 23, Joyce combines one of Quinet's flowers, *la margu rite*, with the above "meteoromancy" to form the "margaritomancy" of VI.B.33: 62, also taken from Waite's *The Occult Sciences* (149).¹³ "Margaritomancy"¹⁴ is added after the full quotation of Quinet, and this combining of divination through nature with one of the flowers of Quinet implies an inherently feminine ability to understand the processes of nature and subsequently, of history.

This innately "feminine" understanding of nature also returns to the "invasion" of nature through scientific inquiry. One theme of II.2 is the differing paths by which humankind has sought truth and knowledge, and the opening of II.2

¹¹ Yale 10.13-1, JJA 52: 252.

¹² While the feminine is almost always represented through the natural in the *Wake*, the natural is not always feminine, as demonstrated by the associations between HCE, Shem and Shaun and mountains, trees and stones, respectively.

¹³ The passage from Waite reads: "The art of divination by pearls was denominated Margaritomancy. The precious stone was set by a fire and covered with a glass vessel. The inquiry was conducted for the recovery of stolen goods; it consisted in the repetition of the names of suspected persons, repeated in a loud voice. When that of the guilty party was pronounced by the speaker, the pearl was supposed to leap up to the top of the glass, which it occasionally shivered with its force" (149).

¹⁴ "Wake II.2. Margaritomancy, 26". Jahnke bequest. Z rich James Joyce Foundation. FW 281.14-27.

equates some major thinkers to roads, suggesting that each thinker did no more than lead us down another inherently circular path. In the first draft of II.2, Joyce adds references to figures engaged in history, linguistics, philosophy, theology, poetry, physiognomy, physics, alchemy, and astronomy: “Down Livy Lane, along Mezzofanti Mall, then across Lavatory Square, up Tycho Brahe Terrace, along Isaac Newton avenue [...]”.¹⁵ Each figure referenced contributed to human “knowledge” in some ostensibly significant way, but the fact that each thinker was famous for revising existing beliefs undercuts the permanence of this knowledge and suggests that any “knowledge” exists only to be revised. To further support this point, Joyce adds “of course. Recourse”,¹⁶ and “by New Livius Lane till Vico’s roundpour”¹⁷ to 1934 revisions, reinforcing the futile circularity of the human pursuit of knowledge.

The main lesson that the children should learn, then, is that nothing is static and nothing is certain. One section of II.2’s first draft continues this theme by opposing Creationism and evolution: “Saa, leddies, er it in this warken-werlden minn boerne and it vild need olderwise since primals made alter in garden of Idem”.¹⁸ The “primals” are “primates” as well as Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. The first line, when translated from the Danish, is “It is like that in this beautiful world, my children”, a Miltonic evocation of the world that has become more beautiful because of the fall of Adam and Eve: “a paradise within thee, happier far” (Milton 12.585-586). The line continues with the Hermetic, “The tasks above are as the flasks below, saith the Emerald Canticle of Hermes. And all is solarsystematized by that original sun”,¹⁹ uniting the celestial and the terrestrial and enforcing the Creationism/Evolution debate. Joyce has undermined the “original sin” with the other great “creator” of all life, the “original sun”, the source of all energy and subsequently, all life. Then, on the March 1935 typescript of II.2§1-3,²⁰ Joyce adds “in a more and more almighty expanding universe”,²¹ alluding to Arthur Eddington’s belief in an indeterminate cosmos in *The Expanding Universe*, published in 1933. Eddington differed from Einstein in that he did not believe the uncertainty in

¹⁵ BL 47478-138, JJA 52: 31, FDV 142.1-3, FW 260.9-11.

¹⁶ BL 47478-138, JJA 52: 31, not in FW.

¹⁷ BL 47478-138, JJA 52: 31, 260.14-15.

¹⁸ BL 47478-139, JJA 52:33, FDV 145.26-146.3, FW 263.18-27.

¹⁹ BL 47478-139, JJA 52:33, FDV 145.26-146.3, FW 263.18-27.

²⁰ FW 260-274.13. Sent to Harriet Shaw Weaver, 29 March 1935.

²¹ BL 47478-187, JJA 52: 89, FW 263.25-26.

quantum mechanics and relativity was due to a larger, obscure design, but was due to, in short, uncertainty.

William York Tindall, in his article “James Joyce and the Hermetic Tradition” argues for a larger applicability of Hermes Trismegistus to *Finnegans Wake*, positing that Joyce’s construction of metaphor and his cosmological vision partially derive from the Hermetic tradition:

But for writers like Joyce, who had lost belief in the upper half of Hermetic reality, except in so far as it could be equated with the poetic imagination or the unconscious, correspondences were generally horizontal, and *The Emerald Tablet* was modified, as we have noticed, to mean *as here, so there*. The method of Hermes, separated from his world and adapted to what was left, still seemed a way of exploring, unifying, or revealing the relationship of part with part. Joyce used correspondences to show the connection between man and man, man and society, man and nature, and, as if to prove himself a romantic, between past and present. The sublunary reality so revealed seemed, as a result perhaps of nineteenth century biology, an organic and changing whole. (34-35)

The mention of Tycho Brahe as one of the ineffectual roads down which humanity has travelled in its quest for truth supports Tindall’s assertion that Joyce has “lost belief in the upper half of Hermetic reality”, and most of the astronomical and cosmological references appear in this draft level for this reason, to balance with the female-dominated lower half.

The earth-centred female knowledge continues with the first draft of II.2§1 exhibiting an affiliation between trees and the feminine. The initial association of “Storiella” is with Persephone, the Greek goddess of the underworld (and daughter of Demeter, the goddess of grain and agriculture) whose abduction myth provides a reason behind the changing of the seasons: “Singalingalying. Storiella as she is syung. Whence plutonically pursuant of a glimpse of gladrags followeup with endspeaking nots for yestures Pretty Prosepronette whose slit satchet spilleths peas: &”.²² The “peas” are the pomegranate seeds Persephone eats in the underworld, ensuring her internment there for half of the year. Later, to the fair copy of II.2§1-3A,

²² BL 47478-117, JJA 52: 15, FDV 142.11-143.2, FW 267.10-11.

Joyce adds “urges and widerurges in a primitive sept”²³ to the right margin, supporting “Proserpronette” as related to Persephone and the myth of the seasons (the coming of autumn with “sept”, September). Like the flowers of Quinet, the female figure in II.2§1 stands as the representative of naturally given ideas of time.

The first draft of II.2 also contains: “Mimosa multimimetica, the miming of miming (or is it an ash sapling)”.²⁴ “Mimosa” is a genus of plant whose name derives from the Greek “mimic”. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, “The name alludes to the movements of the leaves (‘mimicking’ animal life) shown by many plants of this type” (“Mimosa”, Etymology) which are called “sensitive plants”, meaning that the leaves of these plants fold up in response to touch. Joyce’s selection of “mimosa” carefully entwines the botanical specificity of the flower reproduction in II.1 with the behaviour of the “flower girls”, and the “mime” refers to the “Mime of Mick, Nick and the Maggies”. In this sense, the children’s game not only, as Atherton asserts in *Twelve and a Tilly*, “re-enact[s] the history of their race” (58), but it also imitates the behavior of nature. The flower girls turn their petals inward, protecting their reproductive organs, just as the mimosa flower shies away from touch. This relationship between female sexuality and trees is also evident in the first draft of II.2 with:

who once under the branches of the elms, their shoes as yet unshent by the stoniness of the way, went, arms enlacing along by fancied banks of blooms & rambler roses, thinking about it, the It with the itch in it, the business we were born for.²⁵

The tree/stone motif retains the dynamic/static parallel, but also adopts the female/male duality. The youthful, virginal female (“shoes as yet unshent by the stoniness”) is placed under the elm tree, but the moving branches of the elm presage sexual maturity (“the business we were born for”), as does the association with the ALP-like language of “arms enlacing by fancied bank of blooms”. Additionally, the line “the business we were born for” may allude to the penultimate line of Gerard Manley Hopkins’s poem “Spring and Fall”, “It is the blight man was born for” (ln. 15) which with its themes of natural decay and sexual maturity, is more than appropriate to this passage from the *Wake*.

²³ BL 47478-155, JJA 52: 80, FW 267.R1.

²⁴ BL 47478-286, JJA 52: 14, FDV 142.10, FW 267.2-3.

²⁵ BL 47478-118, JJA 52: 16, FDV 143.4-7, FW 267.25-268.6.

The theme of maturity and “growth” continues with the introduction of several phrases relating to gardening, planting, and roots, helping to strengthen the link between adolescent sexuality, flora, and history. One line of this draft, “The mar of murmury mermers to the mind’s ear, uncharted rock, evasive weed”,²⁶ echoes ALP with its dynamic “murmury mermers” (with “mer” and “mère”, the French for “sea” and “mother”, respectively), and with the rock/weed relating to HCE, the static male figure. The “evasive”, or invasive, weed suggests a foreign object planting itself on foreign soil: either HCE as the land copulating with ALP as the river, or HCE as city attempting to subjugate ALP as nature.

To the 1932 fair copy of II.1 §4-5, Joyce adds “Artho is the name is on the hero, Capellisato, shoehanded tree murderer”,²⁷ changed later to “shoehanded slaughterer of the shader of our leaves”. The designation “tree murderer” is from “tree murderer = woodsman” (VI.B.3: 107), a note taken from O. Henry’s story “An Adjustment of Nature” in *The Four Million*. The story is largely focused on a waitress named Milly who is couched in imagery of “Evehood” and “motherhood” and spoken of as a “Goddess” of a down-home diner. The narrator and his friend, a painter believing in the “Unerring Artistic Adjustment of Nature”, imagine what may become of Milly: “Milly, like some vast virgin stretch of pine woods, was made to catch the lumberman’s eye” (106). They then dislike their own image of Milly as a “virgin stretch of pine woods” and picture her marrying a “tree murderer” (105).²⁸ In O. Henry’s context, the “tree murderer” destroys the “virgin stretch of pine woods” as the husband despoils the wife.

As we saw earlier in the *Wake* with the presence of “woodwards” and “vert”, the addition of this “tree murderer” note from O. Henry (and also in conjunction with *Capellisato*, which contains within it *Chapelizod*) refers to the management of the woodlands and to the “domestication” of both nature and of women. The VI.C notebooks provide a couple of forestry references, with “deforestation” (VI.C.3: 8) and “timber ceased 1765 / deforesting the military” (VI.C.7: 224), both eventually transferred to these later drafts. Though Ireland’s deforestation began in the Stone Age with the clearing of land for agriculture, England’s policies often tended to exaggerate the problem. Much of Ireland’s remaining woodlands were cut down to

²⁶ BL 47477-105, JJA 51: 196, FW 254.18-19.

²⁷ BL 47477-91, JJA 51: 173, FW 254.36-255.2.

²⁸ The story ends with the work of the painter, Kraft, titled “Boadicea”. It is a representation of Milly’s feminine, Edenic essence distilled onto canvas; another example of nature-as-female being “tamed”.

build the British naval fleet, and by the end of the nineteenth century, Ireland was the most deforested land in Europe (McCracken 95). The establishment of the Forestry Commission from the 1919 Forestry Act (UK) was primarily due to the timber shortage during World War I; thus, some of Ireland's early environmental policy was enacted because England exhausted the timber in its colony and needed to ensure the sustainability of woodland resources for national and economic security. In the early twentieth century, the Irish State made a decision to take direct action in reforesting Ireland, a project inherited from the British government that was turned into a nationalist cause.

The forest management terms, in addition to their political implications, also refer back to the Garden of Eden and to larger questions concerning the management of nature. The complication of the "tree murderer" murdering the phallic tree in O. Henry is translated to HCE being both tree murderer and tree on the revisions of II.1 for *transition 22*. Joyce adds a line concerning the male HCE/Finn figure just before the "tree murderer": "Why will thou earwaken him from his earth, O summonorother: he is weatherbitten from the dust of ages".²⁹ HCE is described as being awoke "from his earth", as if he has been sleeping, embedded, like a tree, in the soil (similar to the description of his re-awakening following his burial in I.4). He is described also as "weatherbitten", or weatherbeaten (and also referring to the earlier "Prost bitten"), meaning that he is to be felled because he is dying; the weather (and perhaps the aforementioned "Mermer", the Sumerian storm-God) has taken a toll on him and he can no longer recover.

The HCE/tree correspondance is in contrast to the flower girls and to their associated garden imagery. Like the park, the "garden" is a space wherein nature is arranged into an externally determined pattern and it provides another plane for the intersection of women and nature. References to gardening continue in the first-draft of II.2. One such reference, "Eire, Eire, clane cuntrary, how does your girdle grow? Eat earthy earthapples. Leap the law. Wide hiss, we're wizening. Hoots fromm, we're globing",³⁰ begins with the nursery rhyme "Mary, Mary quite contrary, how does your garden grow?" and moves on towards the story of Adam and Eve with the "earthapples" and the "hiss" of the serpent. Replacing "Mary" with "Eire" turns Ireland into a gardener, watching over her plants and waiting for them to mature.

²⁹ BL 47477-104, JJA 51: 195, FW 255.5-6.

³⁰ BL 47478-121, JJA 52: 20, FDV 143.18-20, FW 272.1-8.

“Clane” is Clane, Co. Kildare, mentioned because it is both by the Liffey and because it is the location of Clongowes. Because of Clane’s proximity to the Liffey, “Leap the law” is probably another reference to Leixlip. The theme of “gardening” is related to the fertility associated with riverbanks and the reference to Clongowes links the education of the children with their “growth”. The “seeds” of knowledge are, if you will, “planted”, and will be harvested like a potato, *Erdäpfel* in German. “Earthapple”, in addition to *Erdäpfel*, is also apple, providing a relationship between knowledge, growth, and sin and bringing the references to gardening back to the Garden of Eden.³¹

The second reference demonstrates that these motifs of gardening and planting are directly linked with the progression of history and the development of children:

Dark ages clasp the daisy roots. Stop if you a sally of the allies, hot on
 naval actiums pitched engagements banks of oars & lightlicked estudis
 are a B.C. minding missy, please do³²

In French, daisy is “marguerite”, one of the flowers used by Quinet, but also related back to “margaritomancy”. The children studying their “ABCs” (“estudis are a B.C.”) are the *marguerites*, the Maggies, advancing towards maturity and sexual knowledge. The “dark ages” are in contrast to “illumination” (required for the growth of the daisies, the maturity of the girls and the advancement of all human civilizations out of the Dark Ages). The lines following the “daisy roots” all relate to war, with “sally” meaning either “sallyport” or “sally forth”, “allies”, “naval Actium” (the Battle of Actium; Octavius against Anthony and Cleopatra) and “oars” referring to Viking oarsmen. Like the poppies that reveal the war dead in Flanders’ Fields, history reveals itself here through the “daisy roots”.

During these final years of the *Wake*, the association between sexuality, botany and history becomes a leading structural device for the expansion of Book II. When Joyce composes II.2§6, the lengthy footnote of FW 279 continues to join marriage and sexuality with the earth’s “fertility”: “Wait till spring has sprung in spickness and prigs begin to pry”.³³ “Nature tells everybody about it”, Joyce continues, referring, like the “the business we were born for”, to the instincts of

³¹ Additionally, the French for “potato” is *pomme de terre*, and this reference to the famous Irish crop connects to Adam’s curse.

³² BL 47478-121, JJA 52: 20, FDV 144.1-3, FW 272.9-14.

³³ BL 47478-306, JJA 52: 232, FW 279.42.

reproduction. Through such instincts, “Nature” is given its own voice, it is allowed to speak. This develops logically from the text since, as Joyce progressed with the *Wake* and continued to align the “human” figures with flowers, trees and water, their relationship grew to be inseparable and inextricable from the “universal history” being told.

At this particular phase of the *Wake*, the increasing authority of nature combines with a returning stress on Vico in 1934 (with small additions appearing across different sections and chapters), instilling the non-human with the power of speech, like Vico’s thunder. On the first draft of II.2§1, Joyce wrote: “Hoo caved in earthwight. fursht krach of thunder”,³⁴ referring to Vico’s pagan phase and to the “first crack of thunder” that caused men to retreat into caves and to recognize their own humanity. Thunder initiates the process of language acquisition, and this also informs “the Letter” (which becomes the footnote) which includes: “Nature tells everybody about but I learned all the runes of the gamest game ever from my old nourse Asa”.³⁵ Asa, or “Æsir”, includes Thor, and in this sense, language descends from nature (with Thor, thunder) and from “old nourse”, Old Norse. In the main body of the text, corresponding to “runes”, there are the “rainstones ringing”, referring to both runestones and to rainstorms/hailstones. The footnote continues one more Viconian phrase, “Sago round, rite go round, kill kackle, kook kettle and bolt the thor”,³⁶ with the last clause, “bolt the thor”, being the basis for one of the *Wake*’s thunderwords (“bolt the door”) as well as adding lightning (“bolt”) and thunder (“thor”) to the “rainstones”.

Chapelizod & The City

As Joyce begins to bring *Finnegans Wake* to a close, he returns to many of his initial interests from 1923, including the particular setting of the Earwicker household in Chapelizod. A long section of the first draft of II.1§6³⁷ concerns itself with describing Chapelizod. Joyce relied heavily on a *Thom’s Directory* “Chapelizod”³⁸ entry for much of this passage, though that is indiscernible when

³⁴ BL 47478-138, JJA 52: 31, FDV 145.15-16, FW 262.12.

³⁵ BL 47478-304, JJA 52: 228, FW 279.F19.

³⁶ BL 47478-307, JJA 52: 233, FW 279.53.

³⁷ Early 1932 (HJW 486).

³⁸ In “The Localization of Legend”, Fritz Senn explains that the “Chapelizod” entry for *Thom’s Directory* remained largely unchanged during Joyce’s career, so he could have used one for any year. Senn, however, suspects that the *Thom’s* Joyce consulted for this section “is likely to have been one from the early thirties” (11).

reading the final text of the *Wake*. A trend to note concerning the *Thom*'s transfers is that Joyce uses the names of at least one dozen houses, pubs, or streets in the neighbourhood whose name relates, in some way, to the natural world (terms directly from *Thom*'s are italicized):

In these places sojournamous. By this *riverside*, on this *sunnybank* how buona the vista, by Santa Rosa! *Afield of May*, the very *vale of spring*. *Orchards here are lodged*: sainted laurels evremembered: you have *view ashgroves, aglen or marrons and of thorns*: *Glannaulinn*, *Ardeevin*, purty glint and plaising hoyt. This Norman court at boundary of the ville, yon ivied tower of a church of Ereland with our king's house of stone, *belgroved of mulbrey*, all is for the retrospectioner. Sweet as auburn cometh up as a flower that fragolance of the *fraisey beds*: the phoenix, his pyre, is still flaming away with true Pratt spirit: *the wren, his nest*, is niedelig, as the turrises of the Sabines are televisible. There is the cottage and the bungalow for the cobbeler and the brandnewburgher but Isolde, her gardens are for the fairhaired daughter of Aengus. All out of two barreny old perishers and one inn, one tap and one tavern and only two million two hundred and eightythousand nine hundred and sixty lines to the wuestworts of a general poet's office.³⁹

This description of Chapelizod exhibits several levels of "colonization" and of the human reorientation towards nature. Most of the italicized terms (like "riverside" and "sunnybank") refer to the names of houses along the Liffey in Chapelizod and on the road towards Lucan. "Saint Lucan's" also points towards the town of Lucan, upstream from Chapelizod, and the importance of this oft-mentioned village in the *Wake* may stem partially from its being the point where the Liffey is met by its tributary, the Griffeen River (Warner 74). Many of the names refer to specific types of plants which grow in the region, like "Orchard Lodge", "Mulberry Hill" or "Strawberry Beds". Much like Joyce's "selvage mats" (associated with the Garden City concept) to describe the relationship between suburbanization and the environment, the house known as "Orchard Lodge" would have likely cleared a substantial portion of that eponymous orchard for its construction. Another source Joyce seems to have used for this passage is the six volume *A History of the County Dublin*, published from 1902-

³⁹ BL 47478-127,128, JJA 52:10-11, FDV 146.5-19, FW 264.15-265.28.

1920 by Francis Elrington Ball. Joyce describes Chapelizod as a “Norman court at boundary of the ville” with the “king’s house of stone”, referring, according to Ball, to the Anglo-Norman claim on the lands of Chapelizod and to the house of King William III which was located on a bank by the river (4: 163). Lastly, the “boundary of the ville” once again reinforces the suburban location of Chapelizod and its location outside the city walls.⁴⁰

The reference to the Rape of the Sabines in this passage also continues with this idea of conquest, with the male patriarchs (Romulus and friends) asserting themselves over the Sabine women, claiming their bodies as their property. This event was said to have occurred shortly after Rome’s founding, and like the king’s hunt, this story represents another instance of the urban, patriarchal force asserting its dominance over the untamed female wilderness. “The wren, his nest” refers to the Wren’s Nest weir (by the Strawberry Beds [“fraisey beds”]), used to power various industries since the 18th century (W. Joyce 1939, 348).⁴¹ The *Liffey Valley Park Alliance* explains that the other weir near Palmerstown, also known as the Glenaulin weir, was used “to provide a water supply and to generate electricity for the Guinness estates” (“Strawberry Beds”, par. 7). The inclusion of both the Wren’s Nest weir and the Glenaulin weir, both along the Liffey before it reaches Chapelizod, provide another image of this conquering of nature and of woman (the Liffey represented as ALP).

The importance of the Liffey for Guinness, and consequently, of Guinness for Dublin, is mentioned at this draft level as another example of our economic dependence on natural resources. In his portrait of the Liffey, Dick Warner digresses at one point to discuss the important role that these Liffey mills played in the growth of the Irish economy and emphasizes just how important “water power was to industry in this country before the introduction of the steam engine” (56), citing the “nearly two hundred mill sites [...] identified on the Liffey and its tributaries” (58). Warner also explains just how *old* this technology really is, tracing the harnessing of water power back to the Ancient Greeks in the first century BC and to the Chinese Han Dynasty (56). He explains that in Ireland “there were small water mills

⁴⁰ Ball also explains in his chapter on Chapelizod how the “Isolde” of Chapelizod was said to be the daughter of the Irish King “Anguisshe”, and on the integrated typescript of II.2§1-3A, Joyce changed “Aengus” to “Aengoisse”, merging Ossian’s Aengus with the aforementioned king (4: 163)

⁴¹ In *The Neighbourhood of Dublin*, Weston St. John Joyce provides this detail: “At the close of the 18th century this village [Palmerstown] possessed six calico printing mills, two oil mills, one dye mill, three wash mills, as well as lead, iron and copper works” (348).

associated with monastic sites in the Early Christian Period and some massive ones associated with the medieval monasteries of the great continental religious orders” (56). This relationship between mills and Christianity was quite strong in Dublin City; St. Mary’s Abbey, the wealthiest Cistercian Abbey in Ireland, was located on the north bank of the Liffey and had an extensive mill system of its own (D’Alton 520). At this stage of *Finnegans Wake*, the endurance of water power over centuries and across cultures would have provided Joyce with a way to connect disparate sections of the text, and even the relationship between water power and the development of Christianity in Ireland would appeal, due to his imminent return to the sketches of both Saint Kevin and Saint Patrick.

Returning now to the “Chapelizod” passage under examination, the distance provided, “two million two hundred and eighty thousand nine hundred and sixty lines”, is the number of twelfths of inches in three miles (Senn 12) the distance, according to the 1928 *Thom’s Directory* (253), from Chapelizod to the General Post Office. In Dublin, distance had been traditionally based on the General Post Office, and Joyce’s allusion to this demonstrates the colonial authority over even spatial matters. The General Post Office, built while Ireland was under English control, did not formally belong to the Irish until the 1980s.⁴²

These interpretations of subjugating relationships are all conveyed through the landscape, explaining the marginalia on the right of the Chapelizod passage, added to the fair copy of II.2§1-3: “The localisation of legend leading to the legalisation of latifundism”.⁴³ The “localisation of legend” also comes from the Latin “locus”, meaning “place”, thus rooting “legend” (story, tale, myth, history) firmly in *place* (and the story of HCE in Chapelizod). To Campbell and Robinson, this reference to the “latifundia” is also evidence of the development of “patriarchal landed estates” (168). Chapelizod and many of its townlands were originally laid out as these types of “landed estates”, and Joyce’s use of the term “latifundia”, from the Latin “*latus*” (broad/spacious) and “*fundus*” (estate/farm) (“Latifundia”, Etymology), but now typically associated with Latin America, universalizes patriarchal organizations of land. Later in II.2, Shem’s marginalia refers to the Irish Gavelkind (“Old Gavelkind the Gamper and he’s as daff as you’re erse”, FW 268. L4), the practice of land inheritance from Brehon Law. According to William Ernest

⁴² According to a 1981 proceedings of the *Dáil Éireann* ground rent was still being paid to England and the United States (“GPO Ground Rent”, §§3092-3093).

⁴³ BL 47478-166, JJA 52: 58, FW 264. R6-R13.

Montgomery's *The History of Land Tenure in Ireland*, the term "gavelkind" comes from the Irish *gabhail-cine*, meaning "accepted from the tribe", and refers to the process in which, following a death, the deceased's lands do not pass to the next male heir, but are passed to the entire "sept", or community/tribe (6, 2n.). Then, to the 1934 typescript, Joyce adds "Yeomansland", which appears in conjunction with the "the loftleaved elm Lefanunian abovemansioned",⁴⁴ presenting the small landholders against the "Big House" estate. Together, the "latifundia", "gavelkind", "Norman court", "bungalow", "mansion" and "Yeomansland" display the history of land ownership in Chapelizod and in Ireland in general, passing from communally owned space to imperial mansion to private home.

Continuing from the history of land ownership in Chapelizod, these "Chapelizod" sections also engage with the village's history from past to present, from its associations with Brian Boru and the Norman Court to its modern designation as "ribbon development"⁴⁵ (added to the 1934 typescript). On the December 1938 galley proofs for Book IV, ALP refers to HCE's "green belt", the Phoenix Park: "With your brandnew big green belt and all".⁴⁶ A "green belt" is "an officially designated belt of open countryside in which all development is severely restricted, usually enclosing a built-up area and designed to check its further growth" ("Green belt", def. 3), and was a term popularized in the 1920s and 1930s in relation to fears of urban sprawl. This fear was prevalent in Britain, and extended to Ireland with the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland launching "an international competition to plan the restoration and development of Dublin in 1914" (Anne Power 326). This competition was won by Patrick Abercrombie, who "proposed a green belt, satellite towns, and a newly planned national capital, which fitted, according to his perception, with the spirit of the Irish independence movement and with what Abercrombie had seen (and liked) of Haussman's Paris" (Anne Power 326). While Abercrombie's plan ("Dublin of the Future") did not come to fruition due to the Easter Rising, Anglo-Irish War and Irish Civil War, these early inroads into planning led to the development of suburbs modelled on the "garden city" idea (such as Marion, Drumcondra and Crumlin) and a general move to suburbanize the working classes of the inner-city (McManus 182-194).

⁴⁴ BL 47478-189, JJA 52: 91, FW 265.4-5.

⁴⁵ BL 47478-141, JJA 52: 36, FW 265.24.

⁴⁶ BL 47488-217v, JJA 63: 318, FW 620.2.

In the beginning of Joyce's work on *Finnegans Wake*, Chapelizod had been chosen largely for its association with the story of Tristan and Isolde, but as the text developed, Chapelizod and the Phoenix Park became a way for Joyce to explore the changing perceptions and roles of cities, suburbs, and countryside during the early twentieth century. From the Liffey's weirs to the list of houses in the village, to the Norman castle and Chapelizod's modern "ribbon development", this section of II.1 "localises" the "legend" of Tristan and Isolde, HCE and ALP, firmly in the Chapelizod of the twentieth century. Joyce's detailed portrait of one village throughout the years allows that village to serve as a metonym for all communities.

The Norwegian Captain & Exploration

The next major section of the *Wake* to be drafted was "The Norwegian Captain" (II.3§1A, C) in early 1935.⁴⁷ In this story, a humpbacked Norwegian Captain attempts to have a suit made for himself by a Dublin tailor. Due to his irregular shape, the suit is quite difficult to fit, and the captain eventually gives up after three tries to fit the suit, marrying the tailor's daughter instead. Continuing with the themes developed across different sections of the *Wake*, this story of marriage also functions as an image of the "marriage" of man and nature, as well as a parable of the founding of both a family and a city.

The "marriage" between HCE and ALP appears first in the section, as HCE, the "man that means a mountain",⁴⁸ "weds", or "wades" ALP.⁴⁹ The addition "Humph in his doge"⁵⁰ at the end of I.3 links HCE to the Venetian Doge, who, as mentioned earlier, "marries" the Adriatic Sea as a recreation of Venice's symbolic wedding to the Adriatic Sea. "Marriage" is also here because of its place as the second Viconian institution, with "burial" already present in "balk of the deaf"⁵¹ (The Egyptian *Book of the Dead*). HCE's burial in Lough Neagh from I.4 is revisited here (perhaps from the VI.C.2: 19 "Lough Neagh = Dead Sea", used at this draft level), and he is now a "bog body" ("yet that pride that bogs"):⁵²

⁴⁷ BL 47479 2v-22, JJA 54: 2-42, FW 309-331.36.

⁴⁸ On the marked pages of *transition* 2 (I.2), this characterization continues with the addition: "Bear in mind this man is mountain and unto changeth doth one ascend" (BL 47475-104, JJA 45: 114-115, FW 32.5).

⁴⁹ BL 47479-3, JJA 54: 3, FW 309.4-5.

⁵⁰ BL 47475-31v, JJA 45: 299, FW 74.15-19.

⁵¹ BL 47479-3, JJA 54: 3, FW 309.3.

⁵² BL 47479-3, JJA 54: 3, FDV 168.5, FW 309.6.

Yet is it, this ale of man, for him just a tug and a fistful as for Culsén the Patagoreyan, chieftain of chokanchuckers, and his moyety joyant, under the foamer dispensation when he pullupped the turfeycock by the greats of gobble out of Lough Neagk. When, pressures be to our hoary frother, the pop gave his sullen bulletaction and, bilge, sled a movement of cathartic emulsipotion down the sloppery slide of a slaunty to tilted lift-ye-landsmen.⁵³

The “turfeycock” and the “hoary frother” are turf and hoarfrost, geological elements in Ireland responsible for the preservation of many artifacts and for the mummification of the many “bog people”.⁵⁴ HCE’s burial continues with “We rescue thee, O Baass, from the damp earth and honour thee, O Connibell, with mouth burial!”⁵⁵ The “mouth burial” refers to the Egyptian “Opening of the Mouth” ceremony from *The Book of the Dead*, but also refers to Howth and the burial of the Parthalonians, Knowth and ancient “mound” burial, and the Viking practice of burial in scuttled ships at the mouths of rivers. Two notes from VI.C.5, “Π at sea pebbles mouth” (VI.C.5: 194) and “nose = River mouth” (VI.C.5: 261),⁵⁶ may also link to this material from *The Book of the Dead* as Joyce is preparing for the “death” of ALP, the movement of the river out to the sea.

Continuing with HCE’s “wading” in ALP (imagery also used in I.8), Joyce expands the role of the Norwegian Captain into a polar explorer, emphasizing the themes of colonization and conquest of land. In drafts of II.4, these themes also combine with three additions of “Shackleton”,⁵⁷ referring to both the polar explorer (Ernest Shackleton) and to the Liffey’s “Shackleton’s” weir, named as such because the adjacent mills were operated by George Shackleton (“Towards a Liffey Valley Park” 32). The correlation of engineering and natural resources is made explicit with two more additions: “shekleton’s”⁵⁸ and “Fletter O’Ford, that, honey, I hurdley chew you”.⁵⁹ “Shackleton’s” is one of the weirs on the Liffey, also known as the Anna Livia Weir, and has been the site of a mill since the end of the eighteenth century (“Towards a Liffey Valley Park” 32). The second addition contains one of the names

⁵³ BL 47479-5, JJA 54: 5, FDV 168.13-20, FW 310.30-311.1.

⁵⁴ According to the *Irish Peatland Conservation Council*, “bog bodies” have been discovered as far back as 1750 (“Bog Factsheets”).

⁵⁵ BL 47479-4v, JJA 54: 6, FDV 169.3, FW 311.17-19.

⁵⁶ These notes originate in VI.B.17 and VI.B.7, respectively.

⁵⁷ FW 392.33, FW 393.01, FW 397.17.

⁵⁸ BL 47486b-467, JJA 61: 469, FW 512.28.

⁵⁹ BL 47486b-467, JJA 61: 469, FW 512.31.

for Dublin, “Town of the Ford of the Hurdles”, which refers to the first “ford” of the River Liffey that led to the development of the city of Dublin.⁶⁰ D.A. Chart argues that this ford, or bridge, went back to the time of the Danes and possibly even earlier. This site, Chart explains, was also the scene of their undoing, as it was “where the Norsemen, fleeing into the city from Clontarf, were overtaken by their enemies and slaughtered as they crowded into the narrow entrance” (268-269). “Shekleton” is the owner of the mills that harness the Liffey’s power, the explorer who claims new lands, the Scandinavian invaders establishing the ford over the Liffey for the development of the city, and the Norwegian Captain, looking for a wife.

Like HCE’s conquering of ALP and Dublin’s conquering of the Liffey, the Norwegian Captain is also presented as a conqueror of lands. Joyce aligns both the Captain and HCE with other Scandinavian explorers, alluding to both the “fram”,⁶¹ Fridtjof Nansen’s ship, and to “Franz José Land”,⁶² which is Franz Joseph Land, an archipelago close to the North Pole, “arguably discovered” by Norwegians in 1865 (Mills 305), who called it “Fridtjof Nansen Land” (though its present name comes from that given by Austro-Hungarian explorers in 1873 [Mills 286]). Franz Joseph Land was in the news throughout the mid-1930s as a group of Russian sailors (the USSR had annexed the territory in 1926 [Mills 305]) completed a circuit of the islands “long regarded as impossible” (“Small Boat”, 359), but feasible that year due to a shift in climate that had melted some of the polar ice. Many aspects of “Franz José Land” are important for the *Wake*: the invasiveness of “exploration” and the audacity of claiming territory for another nation, the ability of these nations to squabble over their claim on a territory, the politics associated with such claims, the naming of land for a person, and the new conception of the earth’s space brought about by a subtle shift in weather.

This passage is framed with waves and tides, relating to the seafaring of the Norwegian Captain, but also reinforcing the description of invasions as “tides” and “waves”. The “explorer” topic continues, with “godthaab”⁶³ (the Danish name for Greenland’s capital, Nuuk)⁶⁴ and the Cape of Good Hope as poles, which are then

⁶⁰ To the galley proofs for the section of III.2 concerning Jaun’s plan for improving the city of Dublin, Joyce also adds “way, O way for the autointoxication of our town of the Fords in a huddle” (BL 47487-30, JJA 62: 59, FW 447.22-24, FW 447.29-30).

⁶¹ BL 47479-5, JJA 54: 8, FDV 169.19, FW 312.7. Also appears FW 317.9.

⁶² BL 47479-5, JJA 54: 8, FDV 169.19, FW 312.7-8.

⁶³ BL 47479-6, JJA 54: 9, FDV 169.26, FW 312.19.

⁶⁴ Joyce added “greeny land” (BL 47478-276, JJA 52: 185) to a II.2§4 typescript during this period as well.

translated to an Irish context with “Loritz off his Cape of Good Howthe and his trippertrice”.⁶⁵ The exploration of Ireland continues with references to Irish coastal locations: “skibber breezed in”⁶⁶ and “Skibberen”⁶⁷ (Skibbereen), “skerries”,⁶⁸ and “dalkey”.⁶⁹ The relationship between “exploring”, colonization, and conquest is clarified with Joyce’s reference to “landlords”: “And for a landlord, noting, nodding a coast to moor was cause to mear”.⁷⁰ “Moor” refers to a ship *mooring*, the topographical feature *moor*, and to “Moors”, the people. All three uses of the word support the present theme, as the ship of the explorer *moors*, invades the *moors* and subjugates the *Moors*.

The “Norwegian Captain” sketch also continues the marriage between water and land:

Place the scaurs wore on your groot beg bailey bill, he apullajibed oblifffious of the headth of hosth that was still trystfully acape for Granmaile in precious memory and that proud race her, in gait, a movely water, of smile a coolsome cup. Floodlift, her ancient of rights regaining, so yester yidd, even remembrance. Him her first lap, her his fast pal, for ditcher for plower, till deltas twoport. He would withsay, that is two me mean. If the flowers of speech valed the springs of me rising the hiker I hilltapped the murk I mist my blezzard way.⁷¹

The “Bailey” is the oft-referenced Bailey Lighthouse off Howth Head (“the headth of hosth”) and “Granmaile” is the Prankquean of I.1. Grace O’Malley, or “Granuaile”, is here due to her nickname, “The Pirate Queen”, and to her association with the Tudor conquest (Cook 32-44). Like HCE’s first “wading” in ALP (the first “lap” and the fast “pal”), the Norwegian Captain, representative of all “seafarers”, invades the sea ruled by Grace O’Malley. The marriage vows, “for richer for poorer till death do us part” are echoed, but include “ditches”, “plovers”, “plow”, “deltas” and “ports”; all indicative of the harnessing of nature.⁷²

⁶⁵ BL 47479-5v, JJA 54: 8, FDV 169.26-27, FW 312.18-20.

⁶⁶ BL 47479-9, JJA 54: 15, FDV 172.6, FW 315.13-14.

⁶⁷ BL 47479-9, JJA 54: 15, FDV 172.14, FW 315.34.

⁶⁸ BL 47479-10, JJA 54: 17, FDV 172.25, FW 316.12.

⁶⁹ BL 47479-11, JJA 54: 19, FDV 173.2, FW 317.5.

⁷⁰ BL 47479-9v, JJA 54: 16, FDV 172.19-20, FW 316.6-7.

⁷¹ BL 47479-9v, JJA 54: 20, FDV 173.14-22, FW 317.29-318.30.

⁷² As Joyce continues to revise and expand this passage, it becomes increasingly more focused on the land and less focused on the tailor story. The binary of mountain/sea expressed by Howth Head and the Liffey is also present with “like a dun darting dullemitter, with his moultain haares stuck in plostures upon it” (FW 317.34-35) and “do you kend yon peak with its coast so green?” (FW 317.35-

The “Floodlift, her ancient of rights regaining, so yester yidd, even remembrance”, when examined in relation to other parts of the passage, may refer to the Nile’s (or any river’s) life-giving yearly floods. The renewal provided by the Flood is in following with how Rose and O’Hanlon explain that Issy, akin to a flower awaiting spring,

has been lying in her truckle-bed all winter long, thinking romantic thoughts and praying for the bad weather to come to an end and wanting the primroses to spring up again and all the leaves to appear on the bare boughs in the wood. (Rose and O’Hanlon 170)

The imminent marriage of the sailor with the tailor’s daughter is characterized here as the imminent arrival of springtime, returning to the themes present in II.1 and II.2, but also looking forward to the “flood” at the end of Book IV.

As the tale of the Norwegian Captain continues, it is interrupted by other radio announcements including advertisements, news, and a weather forecast. The weather forecast is a modern “divination”, extending from the above discussion of “meteoromancy”, and belongs to the second Viconian stage of auspices and marriage (and subsequently, appropriate for this story of marriage). There are numerous “weather” additions at this late stage of the *Wake*; a 1937 addition to III.3 includes “orege forment”⁷³ and “isobaric patties”,⁷⁴ referring to a storm (*orage*) fomenting, and to isobars (lines representing atmospheric pressure that are used to predict weather patterns), bringing us back to when this storm was forecast in this section of II.3:

Welter focuseed. The allexpected depression is over Schiumdinebbia, harolded by faugh sicknells and umwalloped in an unusable suite of clouds, having filthered trough the same gorgers’ kennel on its wage wealthwards and incursioned a sotten retch of low pleasure, missed in some ports but with lucal drizzles, the outlook for tomarry (Streamstress Mandig) beamed brider, his ability good.⁷⁵

The report tells the patrons that a band of low pressure is moving in (“depression”, “a sotten retch of low pleasure”) from the east and that there is considerable fog

36) The “dullemitter” is the Dolomites and the “plostures” are the pastures. The “moultain haares” are mountain hares, but “haar” being “a cold sea fog” introduces the sea, and the hair/haar suggests that the mountain top is obscured by cloud.

⁷³ BL 47476a-77v, JJA 49: 174, FW 132.9.

⁷⁴ BL 47476a-77v, JJA 49: 174, FW 133.4.

⁷⁵ BL 47479-18v, 19, 20; JJA 54: 34, 35, 37; FDV 175-176.33-39; FW 324.24-324.34.

(“faugh sicknells”), cloud, and drizzle. This ridge of low pressure is coming in from the east, from Scandinavia and Saint George’s Channel (“Schiumdinebba” and “same gorgers’ kennel”), and Joyce adds to the typescript: “Wind from the nordth. Warmer towards muffinbell, Lull”.⁷⁶ “*Nord*” is “north” in Scandinavian, and the merging of “north” and “nord” into “nordth” again comments on the influence of Scandinavian languages upon the English language, as well as invokes the provenance of the Vikings. In conjunction with the “incursion” of this low-pressure trough, the weather itself becomes another of Ireland’s marauders. Earlier in the sketch, Joyce had changed “gale” to “gael”,⁷⁷ further supporting the role of the weather as foreign invader through the homonymy of *gale/gael/gall*.

Two 1936 additions to III.4, to the lengthy description of the Phoenix Park, continue to develop this link between weather, land, and colonization: “blue and buff of Beaufort”⁷⁸ and “from fury of the gales”.⁷⁹ Blue and black are Whig colours, as well as the colours of the Duke of Beaufort and his hunt. On George IV’s visit to Dublin Castle (during his 1821 visit), those on horseback were made to wear these colours. The “from fury of the gales” is added to a line describing why the Queen remained in England during George IV’s visit. The first attempt to cross the Irish Sea was thwarted by high winds, and Joyce translates this to “fury of the gales”, also implying fury of the *gaels*, i.e. the visit is unwanted by Ireland. The wind itself is colluding with the Irish to repel the Royal Party. The relevance of Beaufort and the hunt relates back to I.2 and the king’s encounter with HCE while on his hunt, and also provides another connection to the *gaels/gales* pun, as it was an Irishman, Sir Francis Beaufort, who devised the scale of wind speed known as the Beaufort scale.

Despite the evening storm of II.3, however, the forecast looks promising for the next day, “tomarry” (tomorrow). “Tomarry” is also “to marry”, and the marriage of the Norwegian Captain (the invader) and the tailor’s daughter (the indigenous), will usher in a new day, a new “era” of sorts. This new “era” is also embodied in the new language that arises as a result of the marriage between the Norwegian Captain and the tailor’s daughter; a hybridization of Irish and Norwegian also constructed by Mutt and Jute in I.1. On one hand, “marriage” in the *Wake* is a conquest of nature by civilisation (personified in the land’s alignment with the female), but perhaps because

⁷⁶ BL 47479-35v, JJA 54: 80, FW 324.25. According to “Fweet”, Joyce is referring to a 1934 book by Joseph O’Neill about the Danish in Dublin titled, *Wind from the North* (324).

⁷⁷ BL 47479-14v, JJA 54: 28, FDV 175.15, FW 320.35-321.19.

⁷⁸ BL 47486a-121v, JJA 61: 98, FW 567.25.

⁷⁹ BL 47486a-179, JJA 61: 252, FW 567.14.

Joyce himself had recently married, “marriage” has also become a metaphor for the way in which Joyce understands and represents the union of opposing forces, the resolution of Bruno's “coincidence of contraries”. The “marriage” of the Captain and the tailor’s daughter in II.3 is also between the seafarer and the land, the colonizer and the colonized, man and woman, and extends to Joyce’s interest in the influence of migration on both land and language. The collision of these opposing forces ends positively: marriage brings children and a new family; the blending of different tongues produces a new language, the storm brings rain and creates fertile soil.

Evolutions: Fossils, Rocks and Rivers

On the late proofs for *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce expands the relationship between evolution, nature, and language. Following the passage in II.3 which revisits the story of Grannuaile from I.1, Joyce writes:

And aye far he fared from Afferik Arena and yea near he night till
Blowland Barring. And the sea shoaled and the saw squalled. And,
soaking scupper, didn't he drain!⁸⁰

In Norwegian, “*Blaaland*” is the old name for Africa. In the “Afferik Arena” term, “*Affe*” is “ape” in German, “*Afer*” is “African” in Latin, “*rik*” is Danish for “realm” and “*arena*” is Latin for “sand”. Following from the influence of Darwin, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed an intense interest in the study of human evolution. The discovery of early human fossils during these decades dramatically altered perceptions of humanity’s place in creation, and were, unsurprisingly, a popular subject and a common topic in the news (for example, a 1925 issue of *Popular Science* contained the large headline, “The ‘Missing Link’ at Last? : Discovery of ape man’s skull may prove theory that Africa is the birthplace of man” [50]). After two major discoveries, the first being an 1891 discovery of a human fossil on the island of Java by Eugene Dubois, and the second being the 1907 discovery of the “Heidelberg Man” in Germany, most attention was turned to Africa, believed by Darwin to be the cradle of civilization. In 1924, Raymond Dart discovered a small child’s skull in a quarry near Tuang in South Africa and named it *Australopithecus africanus*, meaning “Southern Ape from Africa” (Rice 107). Dart’s success in Africa led to other major discoveries during the 1920s and 1930s, particularly by the Scottish archaeologist Robert Broom, who found the first adult

⁸⁰ BL 47479-15, JJA 54: 25, FDV 175.1-4, FW 320.27-320.31

fossils of an *Australopithecus africanus* in 1936. In 1935, Mary Leakey also began her work at the Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania that led to Donald Johanson's 1974 discovery of "Lucy" ("Australopithecus"). "Afferik Arena" likely refers to these discoveries, and with the "Affe" ("ape"), this sketch also contains the Greek *anthrôpos* (FW 318.5), the Latin *homo* (FW 318.6) and the German *Mensch* (FW 318.27). The name by which we refer to man evolves in the same way in which the physical man does.

In addition to II.3, Joyce also adds references to prehistoric humans and Neanderthals to the 1936 *transition* pages of I.1. The addition, "Heidenburgh in the days when Head-in-Clouds walked the earth",⁸¹ refers to religion in the *New Science*, implying both giants (with their heads in the clouds) and the pagan belief in deities' embodiment in nature. However, it also refers to the "Heidelberg man", an early human posited from the 1907 discovery of one fossilized jaw-bone in Germany (and perhaps the "fossilwise" of FW 13.32) ("Homo heidelbergensis"). H.G. Wells, in *A Short History of the World* (1921), discusses the impact of the discovery of this "Heidelberg man" upon our understanding of ourselves. When Wells first mentions the Heidelberg man, he writes of the "single quasi-human jaw-bone" that was "absolutely chinless, far heavier than a true human jaw-bone and narrower, so that it is improbable the creature's tongue could have moved about for articulate speech" (25). Thus, biological evolution was necessary to the development of speech; an idea that would have appealed to Joyce's interest in theories of gestural language.

Additionally, the discovery of these early humans delegitimizes colonial hierarchies organized around race and religion. Joyce's description in I.4 of "the same man (or a different and younger him of the same ham) asked in the vermicular with a very oggly chew-chin-grin",⁸² with its mention of the vernacular ("vermicular") appears in conjunction with a reference to an 1843 Act against the slave trade. The "different and younger" refers to an ancestor of modern man, and "of the same ham" refers to Noah's son Ham, placing all humans within a common ancestry. Joyce's juxtaposition of early human ancestry with the modern slave trade is an argument for the equality of all creatures and against the artificial hierarchies that resulted in such an abominable economic practice to begin with. The "chin-grin" accompanying the "vermicular" demonstrates the same relationship between speech

⁸¹ BL 47475-10v, JJA 44: 246, FW 18.23.

⁸² FW 82.12.

and physiology implied by Wells. Wells continues, writing that the jaw-bone of the Heidelberg man is:

like looking through a defective glass into the past and catching just one blurred and tantalizing glimpse of this Thing, shambling through the bleak wilderness, clambering to avoid the sabre-tooth tiger, watching the woolly rhinoceros in the woods. (24)

Wells' focus on the "wilderness" and the "woods" is characteristic of the rhetoric of the period as so many felt threatened by the idea that the rational human descended from something that seems so alien and so *animalistic* in physical appearance. This prehistoric man was not one of us; he was a heathen, an animal that lived in the disarray of the wilderness and the woods. By placing this "Thing" in the "bleak wilderness", Wells reduces the Heidelberg man to a plane equal with the "sabre-tooth tiger" and the "wooly rhinoceros". This equation of the human and the animal, or rather, this rehabilitation of the human to its proper category of "animal", is one of the most important ideas of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Joyce's inclusion of non-human animals and prehistoric humans is representative of these changes.

From 1935 to July 1936, Joyce was revising copies of *transition* 1-7 for the printer of *Finnegans Wake*. This was the first time that Joyce had revised some of these *transition* pieces in several years, and their arrangement together as "Book I" presented Joyce with a different narrative than what he had in mind when the *transition* editions were first published. Many of the revisions of the *transition* 1-7 pages relate to themes, terms and imagery used for the "Norwegian Captain", including, most prominently, the "Master Builder", the connection between weather and language, and the symbolic "marriage" of the civic and natural that results in the building of civilizations. Other themes focused upon include Darwin and the repercussions of his work, trees, civil engineering, fertility and agriculture, urban development, the interdependence of humans and nature (specifically, of language and nature and of religion and nature), parks and Eden, seasonal rituals and festivities, territorial boundaries and their relationship to identity, war, and the inevitable return to the earth of all things.

While Joyce was revising the *transition* pages, he was also still composing new pieces for the *Wake*, and it is interesting to explore how the temporal proximity leads to similar themes being present in entirely different sections of the *Wake*. Joyce's method of not working on the book in the order it would be presented in the

published version and of working on differing sections simultaneously meant that he was able to spread material related to particular themes widely across the *Wake*. The 1936 revisions of the first chapter of the published *Finnegans Wake*, I.1, are of great value because at this point, the additions made expose how Joyce had come to see his own book through the intervening years. I.1 had not been revised in nearly a decade, and the fact that Joyce considerably revises themes intertwined with geography and the environment on the marked pages of I.1 from *transition* 1⁸³ illustrates how prominent these themes had become. The additions made to I.1 at this draft level are also significant due to the chapter's place in the text as a "prologue" of sorts; not unlike the opening to the "Sirens" episode of *Ulysses*, I.1 functions as a sounding of all the themes in *Finnegans Wake*.

The recurring theme of the dependence of a city on its natural resources appears in one of these revisions concerning "Bygmester Finnegan", described as a "freeman's murer".⁸⁴ On the one hand, "freeman's murer" refers to the Freemasons, but on the other, it refers to "*Mauer*", the German for "wall". Finnegan/HCE reassumes his alliance with Balbus (P 43), Humpty Dumpty, Romulus, Gilgamesh, and the Master Builder; the building of a wall, the demarcation of boundaries, is a primary feature of a civilization. This addition also features another requirement for civilization, the presence of a water source:

(one yeastyday he sternely stuck his tete in tub for to watsch the future of his fates but ere he swiftly stook it out again (the very water were eviperated all the guenneses had made their exodus) so that ought to show you.⁸⁵

This addition refers to the giant Finnegan sticking his toe in the "bath", and, because he is a giant, the "bath" here is actually Dublin Bay. The "yeastyday" paired with the "tub" emphasizes the relationship between water and the sustainment of all life, and particularly, urban life, as "yeast" again suggests the brewing of Guinness, of "guenneses", whose success was largely credited to the water provided by the Liffey. The merging of "Guinness" with the book of "Genesis" suggests that Dublin's "creation" is inextricably linked to the activities of St. James' Gate.

To the *transition* pages of I.1, Joyce also makes several revisions and additions to sections concerning Dublin Bay and the Liffey. Directly linked to the

⁸³ Dated 11 July 1936.

⁸⁴ FW 4.18-19.

⁸⁵ BL 47475-3, JJA 44:232, FW 4.21. Cf. VI.B.31: 228.

looming composition of Book IV's final monologue, these revisions establish foundations for the tying together of the first and last pages of *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce merges the Viconian cycle with the movement of the Liffey by altering the direction of the water's flow. The relationship between language and nature assumes a place at the forefront of the integration of I.1 and Book IV. On a duplicate of the *transition* 1 pages, further overlay adds the famous opening lines from the *Wake* that present the circular movement of the river: "past Eve and Adam's" and "by a commodious vicus of recirculation".⁸⁶ These additions provide the larger movement of river into sea and sea again into river that Joyce requires here, but, in keeping with the larger historical cycles, these additions also provide a smaller metaphor for historical movement through the motion of tides and waves. It has often been assumed that the river is flowing "backwards", but the designation of the water's movement from "shore" to "bay" also implies these smaller waves and tidal movements. The water that flows into the bay from the Liffey constantly mixes and "rearrives", as does Sir Tristram, on the banks of Dublin, of "Howth Castle and Environs".

Sir Tristram is also "violer d'amores" and he has "rearrived" from "Armorica". "Armorica" is usually glossed as either "America" or "Armorica/Aremorica", the latter being an ancient name for an area of present day Brittany. According to Pliny's *Natural History*, the name "Armorica" was Celtic in origin, denoting, as Charles Anthon explains, "a region bordering on the sea, and derived from the Celtic words *ar mor*, 'on the sea'" (2: 115-116). More generally, "Armorica" was also the name given to the coastal area of Gaul, and the region "*Aquitainia*" was merely the Latin word for "Armorica" (Anthon 2: 116). There are other possible referents for "Armorica", such as Amory Tristram, who (in addition to having a surname pleasingly close to "Tristan") according to Chart, was "one of the Norman adventurers, who followed Strong-bow, defeated the Danish inhabitants, who still lingered here after the fall of Dublin, and took their lands for himself" (342). On a larger scale, "Armorican", like "Ordovician", is also a name for a geologic time period.

Another referent could be to Jonathan Amory, a wealthy merchant who had a lease on part of the Liffey and who was involved in 18th century projects leading towards the construction of the Liffey embankment (Cosgrave 78). In 1675, Amory's

⁸⁶ BL 47475-92, JJA 44: 253, FW 3.1-2

piece of land was described as “that part of the Strand on the north side of the Liffey situate betwixte the wall of the Pill – and the water mill lately built by Mr Gilbert Mabbott [...] All which Strand and premises are covered every tide at full sea with water and is part of the Annaliffy” (qtd. in De Courcy 122). Translated to modern Dublin, this piece of land is roughly the area from O’Connell Bridge to Capel Street. In her history of Dublin city, Christine Casey explains that Amory’s lease was the first real development on the north bank of the River Liffey and was one of the major projects of land reclamation that helped to transform Dublin’s cityscape in the late 17th and early 18th century (24). Amory himself emigrated to America, and his “rearrival” sets the stage for an undoing of Dublin city’s history. In any case, Tristan becomes, with HCE, another patriarchal figure exerting his dominion over nature.

In the same way we return, past “Eve and Adam’s”, to the Garden of Eden, the *Wake* also returns to a primordial, Edenic Dublin before urbanization. With the “rearrival” of any of the above “Tristans”, the Liffey slowly retraces its original course, undoing the centuries of modifications. In I.3, Joyce includes two phases of the management of the Liffey. The line “dripdropdrap on pool or polder”,⁸⁷ with “polder”, either “a piece of low-lying land reclaimed from the sea, a river, etc., and protected by dykes” (“Polder”, def. 1), or “[a] marsh; a piece of marshy or boggy land” (“Polder”, def. 2), referring to land reclamation. The “pool” is the “black pool” from which Dublin gets its name (the *Dubh linn*), and the “polder” evokes the burial of this pool and the containment of the Liffey. A piece of extradraft material for III.3, “watersheds”⁸⁸ is added to “ariring out of her mirgery margery watersheads”,⁸⁹ referring to ALP’s marshy (“margery”) watershed, the Liffey’s catchment area, comprised of the mostly marshy and boggy land that drains into the Liffey. The construction of walls, dams and weirs on the Liffey were undertaken to control the unruly marshland, and this section of III.3 evokes a similar return of the “Abha na Lifé” to the “bloodfadder and milkmudder”, the “getting on to dadaddy again”,⁹⁰ the “cold mad feary father”⁹¹ to which the Liffey returns at the end of Book IV.

Continuing with this “return”, the final passage of I.3 is laden with geological terms and references, returning to early human history and to early natural history with some of nature’s oldest artifacts: rocks (cf. VI.B.14). Joyce includes “build

⁸⁷ BL 47476a-45v, JJA 49: 96, FW 73.17.

⁸⁸ BL 47486a-222, JJA 61: 296, FW 496.23.

⁸⁹ BL 47486b-461, JJA 61: 453, FW 496.23.

⁹⁰ FW 496.26-28.

⁹¹ BL 47488 174v-175, JJA 63: 258-259, FW 628.2. Cf. VI.B.47: 41.

rocks over him”,⁹² “with rochelly exetur”,⁹³ “chambered cairns”,⁹⁴ “eolithostroton”,⁹⁵ “the evolution of human society and a testament of the rocks from all the dead unto some the living”,⁹⁶ and “skatterlings of a stone”.⁹⁷ The “eolith”, or “eolithostroton”, is an ancient stone instrument from the Pleistocene era, believed to have been naturally created by geological processes. At the end of I.3, the references to rocks, cuneiform (“langwedge”),⁹⁸ ancient burial techniques, etc. also provide a narrative of cultural evolution. The combination of these images, of the “Oxmanswold” and the “chambered cairns”, point towards HCE’s retiring to sleep on a microcosmic level, but on a macrocosmic level, they point towards HCE’s death, and toward the even larger cultural and geological processes continuing in the world while one is asleep. “Wold” is also an old Germanic word for “forest, forest land, wooded upland” (“Wold”, def. 1), and the “sleep” also implies a death; the “Oxmanswold” is a return of Dublin and HCE to their Viking forebears, but it is also the return, in the Viconian sense, to the beginning of civilization in the forests, to before “the green woods went dry”.⁹⁹

Agriculture, Fertility, Civilization

In *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology, Development*, Vandana Shiva argues that ideas of “development” have brought extraordinary damage to both women and to nature, and that “new images of mastery and domination functioned as cultural sanctions for the denudation of nature” (28). Throughout these final years of work on *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce continues to engage with fertility myths by linking them to

⁹² BL 47472-191, JJA 45: 218, FW 73.9.

⁹³ BL 47476a-185, JJA 49: 392, FW 73.23.

⁹⁴ BL 47472-155v, JJA 45: 198, FW 73.29.

⁹⁵ BL 47472-155v, JJA 45: 198, FW 73.30.

⁹⁶ BL 47475-120, JJA 45: 332-3, FW 73.32-33. Added to the pages of *transition* 3. In addition to the reference to Darwin, the “testament of the rocks” line also returns to a source that Joyce culled long ago for the line, “a day of dappled seaborne clouds” (P 160) of the “bird-girl” epiphany on Dollymount Strand in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. The phrase Joyce uses is actually a misquotation from Hugh Miller’s *The Testimony of Rocks; or, Geology in Its Bearings on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed*, and the passage from which this quote is extracted “describes Satan contemplating, but unable to comprehend, the divine Creation” (Gifford 219). The line actually reads “a day of dappled, breeze-borne clouds”, and Stephen’s misquotation implies a misreading of the larger passage, which concludes: “man, a creature in whom, as in the inferior animals, vitality was to be united to matter, but in whom also, as in no inferior matter, responsibility was to be united to vitality” (Miller qtd. in Gifford 219). In the context of *Finnegans Wake*, the reappearance of Miller helps prepare for the end of I.3 and for the opening of I.4, where HCE appears equal to the “inferior animals” as the “lion in our teargarten” (FW 75.1).

⁹⁷ BL 47475-31, JJA 45: 298, FW 73.34.

⁹⁸ FW 73.1.

⁹⁹ FW 74.9-10.

issues of agriculture's historical importance to civilization and to the political alignment of "domesticated" land, crops, and animals with the domestication of the female through marriage. The *Wake's* presentation of ALP as a proto- "Mother Earth" figure is sometimes at odds with the text's fascination with the human exploitation of the environment, but farmland and agriculture exist in the *Wake* at the crossroads of this tension to articulate the intersection of "culture" and "nature".

In the introduction to the *New Science*, Vico explains the development of cities from the countryside through recourse to the image of the plough on the frontspiece to the book. The mouldboard, the curved blade of the plough, is *urbs* in Latin, and in the frontspiece: "The mouldboard is hidden to signify that the first cities, *urbes*, which were all founded in cultivated fields, arose only after families had spent many years withdrawn and hidden deep amid the sacred terrors of their hallowed groves" (Vico 11). This leads back to the change from nomadic shepherding to settled agriculture and continues to foreground the importance of land in the growth of civilizations. Sections of I.3 also turn to the idea of the domestication of animals and crops as a hallmark of civilization through the stories of Cain and Abel and Jacob and Esau. Earlier, in VI.B.5, Joyce had written: "[seedsman" (VI.B.5: 7), and Shem/Cain's relationship to agriculture appears with the line: "[T]he worryld had been uncained. Then, while it is odrous comparisioning to the sprangflowers of his burstday which was a viridable goddinpotty for the reinworms".¹⁰⁰ The switch to arable land with its bursting flower gardens is a "veritable garden party". In I.3, there is also "Kane" with his "fender", or Cain with his spade, digging a "patch" on the previously "blank face" of the land: "Patch's blank face beyond recognition, pointedly asked with gaeilish gall wodkar blizzard's business Thornton had with that Kane's fender".¹⁰¹ Abel and Esau, the "Edomite",¹⁰² were the "old order", the nomadic shepherds and hunters, and their supplanting by their brothers (Cain and Jacob), is representative of the dominance of the new order of tillage and agriculture and its settled, stationary life.

Continuing with the theme of arable land, HCE is also linked with King Arthur at the end of I.3, with "Azava Arthur" who "skall wake from earthsleep,

¹⁰⁰ BL 47476a-175v, JJA 49: 372, FW 59.10-13.

¹⁰¹ FW 63.5-7. Ellen F. Davis's study *Scripture, Culture, and Agriculture: An Agrarian Reading of the Bible*, provides an excellent reading of this relationship, calling on Biblical scholars to re-read the Bible through the lens of land use and the politics of land.

¹⁰² FW 72.11.

haught crested elmer, in his valle of briers”.¹⁰³ According to Arthurian legend, King Arthur will awaken and return to earth when his “mighty horn”¹⁰⁴ is blown, and the “haught crested elmer” also returns HCE to his role as a tree being uprooted from the earth. Returning again to Weston’s *From Ritual to Romance*, Joyce’s inclusion of “O Truiga, when thy green woods went dry”,¹⁰⁵ alluding to “taiga” (“The swampy coniferous forest area of Siberia; also, the zone of temperate coniferous forest stretching across Europe and North America”, “Taiga”, def. 1), presents an infertile land. As HCE falls asleep, the land becomes increasingly less abundant as the rain stops and the land is temporarily laid waste.

In the revisions of I.1, the references to the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* are also fundamentally linked to fertility of the land and to the success of a civilization. A note in VI.B.32: 168, “wheat = Osiris”, comments on the body of Osiris, the Wheat-god, being eaten “daily” by the “beatified” (Budge 31), which also ties in with Joyce’s references to religion as deriving from responses to the environmental conditions that dictate survival. The line to which this note is added becomes: “So may the priest of seven worms and scalding tayboil, Papa Vestray, come never anear you as your hair grower wheater beside the Liffey that’s in heaven! Hep, hep, hurrah there!”,¹⁰⁶ incorporating “Hep”, the Egyptian celestial river,¹⁰⁷ but also ALP’s advancing age (the hair growing “wheater”, whiter). The “new life” of the Liffey comes as rain from “heaven”, from clouds. Rain brings new life, and decay brings new life: the worms are necessary for decomposition, and decomposition provides the minerals that aid in the growth of new crops.

Continuing with the story of “The Norwegian Captain”, the first draft of section II.3§2, from the middle of 1936, tells of how marriage tamed the wandering seafarer, a tale akin to how domestication of animals and crops “tamed” the wandering shepherds. This first draft contains a lengthy passage concerning such issues in assorted contexts. The references to channelled Dublin Rivers, to the Nile, and to the suburb and demesne expand marital “domestication” to the nature/culture duality:

Such was the act of goth stepping the talk of Doolin, testies
Touchwood and Shenstone (incooperated), the chal and his chi, their

¹⁰³ FW 73.36-74.2.

¹⁰⁴ FW 74.4.

¹⁰⁵ FW 74.9-10.

¹⁰⁶ BL 47475-269, JJA 44: 285, FW 26.09.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. “Hep = river in heaven” (VI.B.32: 169), “celestial Liffey” (VI.B.32: 170).

roammerin over. Kaemper Daemper to Jetty de Waarfft, him that grand old man to be that haard of hearing and her the petty tondur with the fix in her changeable eye. Me lord, me lad, he goes with blowbierd. Then was a little incident that hoppy go lumpy January morn, at Inverliffey (matingpoint of the engagement) synnbildising graters and things O nilly not all, here's the first Cataraction! As if even she cared an assuan damn about her harpoons sticking all out of him between the phenian and his psourdonome. Sdrats ye, Gus Paudheen! Kenny's thaw to ye, Dinny Oozle. While the cit was leaking asphalt like a suburbiaurealis. In his rure was tucking to him like old booths, booths, booths, booths.¹⁰⁸

The “grand old man” is Gladstone, relating this to Home Rule (also supported by the “Inverliffey”, using a version of the Latin name for Ireland), and it also refers to HCE’s characterization as the “Grant, old gartener” (“Grand Old Gardener”) of II.3§3.¹⁰⁹ The “first cataraction” is the first cataract of the Nile, but in Christopher Moriarty’s guide to the Dublin and Wicklow area, he describes the spot in the Dodder River past the Beaver Row footbridge as the “First Cataract” which “is caused by an outcrop of limestone and where a millstream once began” (16). The “assuan damn” refers to the Nile’s Aswan Dam, and “*nil*” (in “O nilly”) is French for “Nile”. “Inverliffey” is also the Irish “*Inbhear Life*”, the Liffey estuary. “Tondur” seems to be a combination of two of the peaks located at the Liffey’s source: Tonduff and Kippure (“Historic Archive”). The “Inverliffey” is the “matingpoint of the engagement”, and thus, the “domestication” of the Norwegian Captain is portrayed as the act of entering Dublin Bay. The greater “domestication” of people (the birth of civilizations, the move away from a nomadic lifestyle, represented here by the captain’s continual journeys) is represented through the compounding of the references to the Liffey and to the Nile. The “cit leaking into suburbiaurealis” is the city slowly engulfing the countryside (“his rure”); it is Chapelizod, the transition point between Dublin city proper and the country. “Suburbiaurealis” also contains the Latin *Rus in Urbe*, and in 1937, on a fair copy of II.3§6, Joyce adds “of a townside

¹⁰⁸ BL 47479-185, JJA 54: 303, FDV 179.1-13, FW 332.10-35.

¹⁰⁹ BL 47479-206, JJA 54: 338, FW 336.21.

up the countrylife”.¹¹⁰ The transition from the pastoral to the agricultural led to the first established communities, which led gradually to the development of cities.

On the second typescript of II.3§2,¹¹¹ the importance of riverbanks and floodplains to the development of civilization continues in conjunction with the dependence of language on nature. Joyce adds two previously discussed notes from VI.B.12’s index of Michelet’s Vico: “mountainy mots” and “plain language”. The missing term from this group of three is “littoral sense”, but the way Joyce transfers these notes into the text incorporates the third term as well: “to mountainy mots in her amnest plain language”,¹¹² with “*amnis*” being Latin for “river” and “*plein*” implying “full” or “at flood stage” in French. As sex is also “flooding” throughout the *Wake*, “fertility” takes on both meanings here; the fertility of the female and the subsequent production of children, and the fertility of the land to ensure the sustenance of these future generations.

When preparing Book III for the printer of *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce returned to revisions begun earlier in the 1930s, and the final set was completed and dated 1 July 1936. Many additions to these pages of *transition*, *Tales Told of Shem and Shaun*, and *Haveth Childers Everywhere* relate to the imminent approach of “dawn” and the calm after the storm, as well as to the various implications of these cycles relating to rebirth, renewal, and regeneration. The addition, “After suns and moons, dewes and wettings, thunders and fires, comes sabotag”,¹¹³ lists the days of the week, and “suns” (Sunday), contains a pun on the looming usurpation of the father by the *son*, and the moon by the *sun*. The “thunders”/Thursday/Thursday has appeared throughout the *Wake*, but in this particular reference, it is accompanied by Vico’s other institutions (with “dewes and wettings” as weds/weddings), presenting the calm that comes after rain (the “dewes and wettings”) and the thunder and lightning (the “thunders and fires”). In terms of fertility, the “wettings” as rain again brings new life in terms of both crops and of the sustenance of all life, and the “wettings” as weddings bring forth new children.

Lastly, on the *transition* 3 pages, Joyce adds a passage linking Noah and the flood with the flower girls, with springtime, and with the botanical cycles of life:

¹¹⁰ BL 47480-164v, JJA 55: 288, FW 356.34.

¹¹¹ Completed in approximately December 1936.

¹¹² BL 47479-190v, JJA 54: 310, FW 333.26-27, VI.C.6: 4.

¹¹³ BL 47486a-73v, JJA 61: 7, FW 409.29.

Noah Beery weighed stone thousand one when Hazel was a hen. Now her fat's falling fast. Therefore, chatbags, why not yours? There are 29 sweet reasons why blossomtime's the best. Elders fall for green almonds when they're raised on bruised stone root ginger though it winters on their heads as if auctumned round their waistbands.¹¹⁴

Her “fat’s falling fast” refers to the storage of fat for hibernation; as spring approaches, the reserves have almost been used up, whereas in “auctumn”, there was a bit of excess around “their waistbands”. To revisions of III.1, Joyce also adds seasonal references, with “till its rusty October in this bleak forest”,¹¹⁵ “Prost bitten!”¹¹⁶ and “When the natural morning of your nocturne blankmerges into the national morning of golden sunup”.¹¹⁷ October is “rusty” because of the colours of the leaves, but in combination with the “*bleak forest*” (italics mine) and the “Prost bitten”, “frost bitten”, it alludes to a tertiary definition for “rusty”, which refers to plants “affected with rust or mildew” (“Rusty”, def. 2.7). Together, these additions refer to the changing of the seasons, the passage through autumn and winter to the reawakening of “spring”, of the life-giving waters of the river and the fertility of the soil.

Get Off My Turf: Why Buckley Really Shot the Russian General

The relationship between development, land and nationalism expands greatly during these final revisions of the *Wake*, largely due to world events happening at the same time. Through the next set of revisions for III.4 (completed in late 1936/early 1937) and the drafting of the remainder of II.3, Joyce engages with contemporary political issues ranging from environmental protection legislation to the exploitation of the Irish land for the rhetoric of Irish Free State politicians, to the boundary disputes caused by the Crimean War and World War I (and now, leading up to World War II). The drafts and revisions completed at this stage of the *Wake* question the relationship between territory, nationhood, and identity.

In 1925, while working on early drafts of III.4, Joyce had listed seven possible disasters which could befall man (HCE): sickness, fire, flood, storm,

¹¹⁴ BL 47475-203, JJA 45: 323, FW 64.33-65.2.

¹¹⁵ BL 47486a-74, JJA 61: 8, FW 410.9.

¹¹⁶ BL 47486a-79, JJA 61: 21, FW 424.09.

¹¹⁷ BL 47486a-80v, JJA 61: 23, FW 428.17-18.

burglary, encroachment, and explosion.¹¹⁸ With the exception of “encroachment”, each “disaster” made its way into III.4 in 1925. “Encroachment” finally appears at this nearly final draft level, added to the beginning of III.3 in the context of a proposed plan by Dublin City Council to form a marina at Dollymount called “Blue Lagoon”. A 1929 opinion piece in *The Irish Times* characterizes the plan as “the formation of a salt-water lake at Dollymount by the enclosure of the area between the Bull and the mainland with sluice-gates” (“Blue Lagoon”). The “Blue Lagoon Scheme”, as it came to be known, would have been devastating for the ecology of Bull Island, as well as for the newly established (July 1931) bird sanctuary that provided protection for the many species of bird who rest or winter on the unique tidal mudflats and marshes of Bull Island. In a 1949 article titled “Violation of Sanctuary”, P.G. Kennedy explains that the “Blue Lagoon” would have “provided for a dam at both ends connecting the island with the mainland and forming a permanent lake” (43). While the source for Joyce’s information is not known, it is clear to what he is referencing:

Encroachment spells erosion. Dunlin and turnstone augur us where, how and when best as to burial of carcass, fuselage dump and committal of nuisance. But, since you invoke austers for the trailing of vixens, I would like to send a cormorant around this blue lagoon.¹¹⁹

“Encroachment spells erosion” is fairly self-explanatory. The “Blue Lagoon Project”, as well as the establishment of the Bird Sanctuary on Bull Island, were politically motivated projects, with the former a perceived move “forward” for the Irish Free State, while the Bird Sanctuary was perceived by many as an obstruction to “progress”. For example, Viney explains how the Dublin politician Seán Lemass, a Prime Minister of Ireland, opposed the Free State’s Protection of Wild Birds Act of 1930, arguing: “If the economic situation becomes better, we can then afford to indulge in luxury legislation of this kind, but we must put the necessities of human beings before those of wild birds” (qtd. in Viney *Smithsonian* 307). In Ireland, where activities such as bird watching and hill walking were typically associated with the English, this privileging of “progress” and development over nature happened easily, and the same reckless privileging occurred again during the Celtic Tiger; in turbulent

¹¹⁸ In 1937, Joyce revisits the first six “disasters” again, inserting them into I.6: “against lightning, explosion, fire, earthquake, flood, whirlwind, burglary, third, party, rot [...]” (BL 47476a-77v, JJA 49: 174, FW 133.11-12).

¹¹⁹ BL 47486b-502, JJA 61: 629, FW 479.18-22.

times, nature is often ignored for more immediate and quantifiable gain. Joyce continues with another reference to the grave of the Partholonians, near Howth, and in conjunction with the “burial of carcass” and “fuselage dump”, it seems that the birds will lead the human to the location of burials (as the pecking hen discovers the Letter). Once again, Joyce has brought the action to the seashore, and the specific birds he references, the dunlin and the turnstone, are waders with long, thin beaks designed to scavenge through detritus on the shore and plunge into the sand. The humans who wished to destroy their habitat become the carcasses that provide their food, and the technology (represented in “fuselage”) employed will also be buried in the sands; the birds neglected by politicians like Lemass will have the last laugh.

This issue of nationalism and nature is also demonstrated in the sketches of “Butt and Taff” and “How Buckley Shot the Russian General” (II.3§4 and II.3§6), drafted from late 1936 to early 1937. The “Easter Rising” is evoked with the relationship between war and spring, and the questions of nationalism and land are articulated with the Russian General’s disrespect for Irish turf. Butt and Taff (Shaun and Shem) are the narrators of the Buckley story, and in the pub the customers seem to regard them, in Epstein’s view, as “flowers, budding relentlessly against Old King Winter and overthrowing him by virtue of their developing into maturity” (EFW 144), further linking the progression of the seasons to the procession of night to day, and to the pervasive themes of growth. Zürich’s Sechseläuten festival figures in this section of II.3, as it provides a way for Joyce to simultaneously represent the passing of the order from the father to the son and the passing of the seasons from winter to spring. HCE is the “Böög”, the giant snowman figure (composed of twigs and branches) representative of the old order, winter. On the typescript of II.5, Joyce adds, as a parenthetical, “all for letting his tinder and lightning”,¹²⁰ combining the impending “renewal” of spring with “thunder and lightning” and conflating thunder and tinder, the material of which the Böög is composed. The theme of supplanting the father in *Finnegans Wake* is also a supplanting of what Adorno and Horkheimer define as the Enlightenment’s patriarchal stance. They argue that the alignment “between human understanding and the nature of things [...] envisaged is a patriarchal one: the mind, conquering superstition, is to rule over disenchanting nature” (2). HCE-Böög is overshadowed by the coming of the new season, spring; spring is represented by the flowers and the new growth, but is also embodied in the

¹²⁰ BL 47480-29v, JJA 55: 56, FW 347.34.

sons (here Butt and Taff). The father, referred to as “Pumpey O’Dungaschiff”,¹²¹ or “Poppy O’Donohue”, is also a flower, but through the imagery of World War I, “poppy” is also a flower that symbolizes death (and subsequently, new life).

To the galley proofs of I.3, Joyce adds a passage in continuing with this theme of renewal through nature:

[W]hile it is odrous comparisioning to the sprangflowers of his burstday which was a viridible goddinpotty for the reinworms and the charlattinas and all branches of climatitis.¹²²

“Reinworms” are also *Regenwürms*, or “earthworms” in German. These worms, quite literally, are “rain” worms, meaning that they come out following the rain, the “burstday” (which is also their birthday). “Climatitis” refers to the clematis flower (from Greek *klematis*) as well as to “climate” (Greek *klimata* or *klima*), and the joining of these two words by their Greek root locates the action very specifically in a particular region. The “goddinpotty” is the Garden of Eden, also present in the II.3 revisions with the additions of “Giant crash in Aden”¹²³ and “sphinxish paire while Ede was a guardin, ere love a side issue”¹²⁴ (Eve’s creation from Adam’s rib is a literal “side issue”), returning to the location of the Phoenix Park and its flower gardens.

The connection to Sechseläuten persists with the “first equinarx in the cholonder”,¹²⁵ linking weather and time, as Russian *cholidny* is “cold”, and “cholonder” sounds like “calendar”. Butt’s passage gains four more additions relating to weather, time, and landscape, but with the introduction of the Russian, these relationships become increasingly political: “whatik of wraimy wetter!”¹²⁶ “blodiens and godinats of ussem”,¹²⁷ “Krzerszoneze”,¹²⁸ and “in the Bok of Alam” (the Bog of Allen).¹²⁹ *Vreme*, in Bulgarian, means both weather *and* time (again, like *temps*), and *wetter* is German for “weather”. *Veter* is also Russian for wind and *godina*, in Bulgarian, means “year”. The “Chersonese” is the name of the peninsula upon which Sevastopol is located, establishing the Crimean War setting of the “Buckley” sketch.

¹²¹ FW 350.7.

¹²² BL 47476a-175v, JJA 49: 372, FW 59.10-13.

¹²³ BL 47479-106, JJA 54: 171, FW 324.36-325.2.

¹²⁴ BL 47479-106, JJA 54: 171, FW 324.07.

¹²⁵ FW 347.2-3.

¹²⁶ BL 47480-48v, JJA 55: 96, FW 347.7.

¹²⁷ BL 47480-49v, JJA 55: 96, FW 347.6.

¹²⁸ BL 47480-49v, JJA 55: 98, FW 347.9.

¹²⁹ BL 47480-49v, JJA 55: 98, FW 347.20-21.

“Karkonosze”, or “Krkonose”, is a Polish and Czech mountain range that once formed the border between Silesia and Bohemia. Following “Krzyszczonose” in the *Wake*, we have “Milesians,” referring to both the Milesians of Ireland and Silesia. The mention of the Krkonose Mountains initiates a discussion of the definition of national borders, as this region was constantly undergoing a shift in territorial demarcations during this period, and would only continue to do so as World War II began with Hitler’s invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939.

The inclusion of a sketch related to war (and of several war-related additions during these final revisions) is certainly a result of the escalating conflicts in Europe during this time. In the original “Buckley” story, as told by Joyce’s father, Buckley finally decides to shoot the Russian General when, after defecating, the General “prepared to finish the operation with a piece of grassy turf” (JJ 398). Ellmann argues that Joyce was convinced this story “was somehow archetypal”, and that Joyce labored to find a suitable place for it in *Finnegans Wake*. When Joyce posed this problem to Beckett, Beckett commented, with regard to the piece of turf, that this story was of “[a]nother insult to Ireland” (qtd. in JJ 398n). When Joyce translates the “Buckley” story into the *Wake*, Ellmann argues that “Joyce saw Buckley in his own role of the ordinary Irishman in combat with imperial authority” (JJ 399n). With the late addition of this sketch to the *Wake*, the themes of war, land, family and nationhood find a common denominator.

Buckley’s decision to shoot the Russian General is a result of the General’s insult to the physical *land* of Ireland. The first description of Taff is as “a smart boy, of the peat freers”,¹³⁰ which brings the piece of turf (“peat”) to the forefront from the very beginning of the narrative. “Turf” also appears in conjunction with its exploitation in simultaneous revisions of III.3, as the “fender” described in relationship to Cain also appears in a piece of extradraft material: “fender, a product of Hostages / Co. Engineers”.¹³¹ HCE’s presence in “**H**ostages / **C**o. **E**ngineers” describes him again as an “engineer”, a manipulator of nature. The “fender” of I.3 is now specifically a “turfing iron”, a spade-like device used for turf-cutting: “The illegal-looking range or fender, alias turfing iron, a product of Hostages and Co., Engineers”.¹³²

¹³⁰ FW 338.5.

¹³¹ BL 47486a-222, JJA 61: 296, FW 518.15-16.

¹³² FW 518.15-16.

Throughout the “Buckley” sketch, the importance of the piece of turf is emphasized through the interrelations of land and language (“langdwage”¹³³). This section of II.3 often refers to the Battle of Clontarf, and returning to a passage from I.1 that demonstrates the relationship between war, land, and language provides an explanation for this alignment of the Crimean War with Clontarf. In the “Mutt and Jute” dialogue of I.1, there is a narrative of Dublin’s foundation embedded within the presentation of how various wars and invasions contributed to the language spoken in the country. Relating to the idea that the Russian General insults the land of Ireland, Joyce uses specifics of Dublin’s waterways to demonstrate the link between history, geography and nation:

Walk a dun blink roundward this albutisle and you skull see how olde
ye plaine of my Elters hunfree and ours, where wone to wail whimbrel
to peewee o’er the saltings, where wilby citie by law of isthmon,
where by a droit of signory, icefloe was from his Inn the Byggning to
whose Finishthere Punct. Let erehim ruhmuhrmuhr. Mearmerge two
races swete and brack. Morthering rue. Hither, craching eastuards,
they are in surgence: hence, cool at ebb, they requiesce. Countlessness
of livestories have netherfallen by this plague, flick as flowflakes,
litters from aloft, like a waast wizzard all of whirlworlds. Now are all
tombd to the mound, isges to isges, erde from erde.¹³⁴

In this passage, the city of Dublin is inextricably bound to the Liffey, and its own history is implicated with the changes in the river’s landscape. The city is bound by the isthmus (“isthmon”) of Sutton to the North, its “Byggning” (also its Scandinavian heritage) and it extends from the sea to the point where it “finishes”, the “Finishthere Punct” (the Phoenix Park). Memory is linked with water; Thomas Moore’s “Let Erin remember the days of old” merges with German’s “*Errinerung*”. The “two races” merge as does the fresh water with the saltwater, the “swete and brack”. The Liffey’s tidal quality is conveyed with the “hither, crashing eastuards”, its eastward movement towards the sea, and “eastuards” is also “estuary”, a tidal inlet of the sea that can include fjords, lagoons, bays, and river mouths (“Estuary”, defs. 1, 2). The merging of the two races with the “swete and brack” water of the tidal estuary is also mirrored

¹³³ BL 47480-2, JJA 55: 3, FDV 182.,18 FW 338.05-14.

¹³⁴ BL 47472-34, JJA 44: 122, FW 17.17-30.

by the merging of the languages as demonstrated by the numerous Danish, Norse, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Irish and Dutch words in this particular section.

This merging of fresh and saltwater with the tidal nature of estuaries and their “sedimentary” properties is linked with the creation and mutability of history as a narrative, the “countlessness of livestories” etched into the beach and washed away by tides. Ecologically, the estuary is important because of its function as a transitional space, and the quality of being between land and sea provides the estuary’s high level of biodiversity. Returning to “Proteus” one final time, Stephen’s meditations on history are characterized by these “layers” of history, and it is no coincidence that the episode takes place on the shore, nor is it a coincidence that the “bird-girl” scene of *Portrait* takes place on Dollymount Strand. The layers of history, human, national, and ecological, are stratified and continually shifting. The final line of the paragraph relates, again, the clichéd notion of creation as dependent on destruction with its tombs and burial mounds and its “isges to isges, erde from erde” (ashes to ashes, dust to dust). The return to the dust, the earth (*erde*), also includes bacterial decomposition, with “erde” not being far from the French for “shit”, *merde*.

The “Buckley” sketch, concerned with turf, detritus, war, territorial disputes and nationalism is easily informed by Joyce’s reading of the Battle of Clontarf. Shortly after the “Buckley” sketch was drafted, Joyce adds several additions relating to both “turf” and “Clontarf” to the Book I galley proofs in 1938, further demonstrating the intended connection between these two sections. To the end of I.3, Joyce adds “Thunder and Turf married into Clandorf”¹³⁵ to the list of names HCE is called, again reprising the theme of marriage and land, but also alluding to the marriage of Sitric Silkbeard, leader of the Vikings (“Thunder”), to the daughter of Brian Boru (“Turf”). To the section in I.4 concerning Festy King’s trial, Joyce changes “any luvia o’er his face” to “any luvia peatsmoore over his face”,¹³⁶ as well adds “by the plain of Ir”¹³⁷ to the already existing “clanetourf”. This same line also describes the fact King was “once known as Melechy”,¹³⁸ referring to Malachy II who succeeded Brian Boru following his death at Clontarf. “Turf” appears again in the third typescript of IV§5,¹³⁹ in reference to the Battle of Clontarf: “Snf? Only turf,

¹³⁵ BL 47476a-44v, JJA 49: 94, FW 71.33.

¹³⁶ BL 47476-52v, JJA 49: 114, FW 86.9.

¹³⁷ BL 47476-52v, JJA 49: 114, FW 86.9.

¹³⁸ FW 86.08.

¹³⁹ BL 47488 152v-60, JJA 63: 234-243.

wick dear. Clane turf. You've never forgotten, batt on turf".¹⁴⁰ This addition derives from a note in the last notebook for *Finnegans Wake*, VI.B.47: "broin burroo You've never fogodden batt on turf? Snf? Only turf. Claneturf too. why" (VI.B.47: 24). This identification of Brian Boru with "turf" is due to Clontarf, but both turf and Clontarf serve as metonyms, respectively, for Ireland's landscape and history. Bogs also play a similar role, and in the beginning of II.4, Joyce adds "Bog carse ond dam neat, sar!"¹⁴¹ to a section detailing the history of the Viking and Norman invasions of Ireland. Due to the relationship between war and land in the "Buckley" sketch, it is no surprise that "Clontarf" is punned upon here and that the sections relating to Clontarf from I.1 are revised in I.3 and I.4 as well.

The idea of "turf" and "bogs" as metonyms for Ireland is also combined with the presence of the Liffey in this sketch due to their role in the construction of Irish identity in the early years of the Irish Free State. As would be expected for a new nation that had felt itself repressed, for centuries, under foreign rule, a primary focus of the new government was "modernization" and "progress". Feehan explains how "mechanical exploitation" of bogs was "regarded as a triumph of the newly independent Free State, ranking alongside the taming of the Shannon and the Liffey" (584). Along these same lines, Jaun in III.2, presents a lengthy plan for improving Dublin city where he will "clean out the hogshole and generally ginger things up".¹⁴² Alluding to Swift's treatise on Irish Manufacturing, Joyce writes "Burn only what's Irish accepting their coals. You will soothe the cokeblack bile that's Anglia's and touch Armourican's iron core".¹⁴³ The fact that the products of Irish soil (the coals) are to be cast aside, in Jaun's plan, for England's coke and America's iron is another insult to the land of Ireland.

In his 1911 *Geography of Ireland*, Howarth describes how it would "seem possible that Ireland may possess great undeveloped wealth in peat" (193), foreshadowing the Irish Free State's promotion of turf-cutting (particularly with the establishment of the 1934 Turf Development Board) as a way to increase energy independence (Feehan and McElveen 114-117). This relationship between bogs, peat, and Irish nationalism can be found in the II.3 addition: "Shinfine deed in the myrtle

¹⁴⁰ BL 47488-158v, JJA 63: 240, FW 625.17-18.

¹⁴¹ BL 47480-2, JJA 55:3, FDV 183.28-29, FW 339.6.

¹⁴² FW 447.2.

¹⁴³ FW 447.4-6.

of the bog twinfainmain stod up to slog”.¹⁴⁴ Obviously, “Shinfine” refers to *Sinn Féin*, further ascribing the symbolic weight of nationalism to the piece of turf. On the 1938 galley proofs for Book III, Joyce adds: “The racist to the racy, rosy. The soil is for the self alone. Be own kind”.¹⁴⁵ This reference to the *Sinn Féin* party,¹⁴⁶ whose name translates to “ourselves alone”, comments on the fine line between xenophobia (“racist”) and nationalism; here, the “soil” itself, the land, is only for the Irish people (“racy”, as in “racy of the soil”), their “own kind”.

Sinn Féin relied upon rhetoric concerning the Irish environment (for example, with that of the Irish National Foresters) in much of their early politics, as Joyce demonstrates in the “Cyclops” episode of *Ulysses* (12:1268). The narrator of “Cyclops” begins with the recounting of an incident “at the corner of Arbour Hill” (12:1), wherein 14 of the Easter Rising leaders executed at Kilmainham Jail are buried. The conversation in “Cyclops” shortly turns to the ways Ireland and its resources have been exploited over the centuries:¹⁴⁷

And the beds of the Barrow and Shannon they won’t deepen with millions of acres of marsh and bog to make us all die of consumption.— As treeless as Portugal we’ll be soon, says John Wyse, or Heligoland with its one tree if something is not done to reafforest the land. Larches, firs, all the trees of the conifer family are going fast. I was reading a report of lord Castletown’s...— Save them, says the citizen, the giant ash of Galway and the chieftain elm of Kildare with a fortyfoot bole and an acre of foliage. Save the trees of Ireland for the future men of Ireland on the fair hills of Eire, O. (U 12: 1256-1264)

This early example from *Ulysses* helps to explain how in *Finnegans Wake* the assault of a nation’s landscape is inseparable from an assault upon the nation’s identity, ironized though the scene may be.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ BL 47480-2, JJA 55:3, FDV 183.28-29, FW 346.27-28.

¹⁴⁵ BL 47487-43v, JJA 62: 84, FW 465.28-36.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. “shiners” (FW 465.18).

¹⁴⁷ A comprehensive source of information on Irish forestry is Eoin Neeson’s *A History of Irish Forestry* (Dublin: Lilliput, 1991).

¹⁴⁸ The additions I have focused on relating to “turf” and “bog” are only a couple of many. To drafts of I.2, III.3 and II.3§6 during this period, Joyce also adds: “pisononse coves (the wetter is pest, the renns are overt and come the voax of the turfur is hurled on our lande)” (BL 47476a-159, JJA 49: 339, FW 39.14-15), “the blog and turfs and the brandywine bankrompers” (BL 47487-72v, JJA 62: 140, FW 510.19), “up from the bog of the depths” (BL 47487-76v, JJA 62: 149, FW 516.25), “bogusbagwindburster” (BL 47480-197v, JJA 55: 342, FW 359.13), “thud of surf” (BL 47480-201v,

As Joyce is writing this during the lead up to World War II, the additions relating to *Sinn Féin* are likely comments on the dangers of nationalism. On 12 March 1938, Hitler annexed Austria into the Third Reich, and this annexation was the first of many campaigns to regain the German speaking lands and territories lost after World War I. The *Sinn Féin* party (founded in 1905 by Arthur Griffith) had split in 1926, with Éamon de Valera forming his own *Fianna Fáil* party, and the party's beliefs concerning the territorial rights of the Irish are here conflated with Germany's annexation of Austria. Ursula Heise, in her study of conceptions of the global and the local, mentions, as she puts it, "the most extreme" example of this type of thinking: the Nationalist Socialist Party's

rhetoric of Germans' natural connectedness to 'blood and soil' (Blut und Boden), which helped legitimate fascist political structures, military expansion of the 'life space' (Lebensraum), and unprecedented violence both within and outside what was claimed to be Germans' legitimate space of domination in the 1920s and 1940s. (Heise 47)¹⁴⁹

The nationalist ideologies of "Cyclops", combined with the rhetoric of World War II, influence these *Sinn Féin* references in Book III and articulate the relationship between Irish nationalism, the Irish landscape, and xenophobia.

Joyce also includes "weather" in this question of the relationship between geography and identity, and this can be traced back to a seemingly innocuous note from VI.B.10: "a wintry" (VI.B.10: 28). This note was taken from a piece in the 11 November 1922 *Leader*: "A certain muddling on the part of the Provisional Government has helped to make many Irish-Irelanders adopt a wintry attitude towards those who sit in high places" (qtd. in VI.B.10 44). The surrounding entries, "MM the govt", "Irish tinge", and "Mick Collins" suggest that the entry is transferred in its context, and "wintry" stands out as an adjective for describing the tense relationship between the "Irish-Irelanders" and the new government. Mere

JJA 55: 350, FW 363.25), and "he changes colours as he is leaving the gat out of the bog" (BL 47480-11v, JJA 55:22, FW 344.10-11). To the third typescript of "Mamalujo" (BL 47481 136-56), in September 1938, Joyce adds "and we outkicking coal to peater the grate" (BL 47480-284v, JJA 55: 488, Not in FW). On the fourth typescript of II.3§6, from late 1938, Joyce adds "wholebeit in keener notcase would I turf aside for pastureuration...healped" (BL 47480-243v, JJA 55: 436, FW 356.23-356.26), and "topsawys" (BL 47480-317v, JJA 55: 536, FW 374.34-35).

¹⁴⁹ Heise also refers readers to Janet Biehl and Peter Staudenmaier, *Ecofascism: Lessons From the German Experience* (Edinburgh and San Francisco: AK Press, 1995). Anna Bramwell's *Ecology in the twentieth Century: A History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989) also discusses the politics of ecology during World War I and World War II.

“coldness” in attitude has become temporal; a “season” of political upheaval that implies another insurrection (“Mick Collins”).¹⁵⁰

In 1938, to the second typescript of IV§1, Joyce inserts another line linking the Irish environment to *Sinn Féin* (and also back to “Cyclops”): “The smog is somme feine, somme foehn avant!”¹⁵¹ The *foehn* (or *föhn*) is a type of wind that occurs in the lee side of the mountain range; Joyce would have been very familiar with the *foehn* from living in Switzerland, whose warm temperatures can be attributed to this *foehn* wind from the Alps. The link between *Sinn Féin*, the Battle of the Somme (which took place across the banks of the Somme River in 1916), and the *foehn* continue to develop Joyce’s link between war, climate and politics. The addition “behold the residuance of a delugion: the foggy doze still going strong, the old thalassocrats, maskersof the waterworld [...] blowing great”¹⁵² plays a similar role, with “foggy doze” referring to the song, “The Foggy Dew”. The “*foehn*” is revisited with the “blowing great”, perhaps suggesting a storm, or a flood; the “thalassocrats” (“*Thalassa*”, the Greek goddess of the Sea) “delugion” of the “waterworld”.

“The Foggy Dew” has several differing versions, two of which are particularly applicable to this section and stage of *Finnegans Wake*. The song was originally a ballad from the early nineteenth century wherein a man woos a young woman to protect her from the “foggy, foggy dew”, but another version of the song is from the period of the Easter Rising and urges Irishmen to fight for Ireland, not for England, in World War I. The song’s nationalist cause is articulated through the evocation of the soldier’s relation to the landscape, both in Ireland and on the battlefields of World War I (such as at the Battle of the Somme). This motif is identified by Paul Fussell who, in *The Great War and Modern Memory*, explains: “If the opposite of war is peace, the opposite of experiencing moments of war is proposing moments of pastoral. Since war takes place outdoors and always within nature, its symbolic status is that of the ultimate anti-pastoral” (231). The imagery of

¹⁵⁰ Such rebellions and treasons are part of Ireland’s history, and another note on VI.B.10: 40 reminds us of this implication: “cycles of hist. W. Tone Childers”. The association of the cyclicity of history with the change of seasons is supported by another note in VI.B.10, the opening words of *Richard III*: “Now is the winter – ” (VI.B.10: 57). The word “winter” appears a few pages later in the notebook, in conjunction with the title of an article in *The Irish Times*: “Winter turned leaves of book of nature”¹⁵⁰ (VI.B.10: 47). On this page there are several conceptual notes, and the pages that follow continue with the aforesaid Anglo-Irish Treaty theme: “Move up Mick, Make room for Dick” and “the boys’ (I.R.A.)”. This section of VI.B.10 also contains a few notes relating to “Cyclops” appropriate to this cluster of notes on Irish politics.

¹⁵¹ BL 47488 15-22, JJA 63: 19-32, FW 593.8-9.

¹⁵² BL 47480-206, JJA 55: 359, FW 367.24-36.

dew, spring and Easter in conjunction with that of a soldier's death (glorious if for Ireland, in vain if for England) falls into place with the culmination of the *Wake* and the message of rebirth and renewal. In fact, Jespersen explains that the origin of the English word *Easter* derives from the Old English *eastron*, which was "the name of an old pagan spring festival, called after Austro, a goddess of spring" (44). The "foggy dew" itself is the calm after the storm, after the "leaden rain" of British weaponry in the Easter Rising. The "foggy dew", the "glen", and "the plains of Royal Meath" are all summoned in the song to create a picture of Ireland, with the dew itself becoming a metonym for the Irish character through the climate. The climate of Ireland, though often unpleasant and always unpredictable, is closely aligned with the Irish character, and its embodiment in the "foggy, foggy dew" represents the bittersweet struggle for Irish independence.

Other additions to this section that merge nature and war include "weepon, weeponder, song of sorrowmon", and "like a solidery sap".¹⁵³ The trees, the weeping willows, weep for the soliders; felled like trees, their blood flows like sap. Joyce also adds "yewleaved"¹⁵⁴ a few lines earlier, and, along with the willow, the yew is one of the letters of the Ogham alphabet. The willow is said to usher in springtime, and with "its quick growing nature and habit of growing next to water", willow is also "a symbol of fertility and life" (MacCoitir 40). Miranda Greene, in her *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*, believes that the willow may "represent the Tree of Life that is periodically cut down at winter and reborn at spring" (qtd. in MacCoitir 44), further supporting the theme of war and regeneration.¹⁵⁵ To the second set of galley proofs,¹⁵⁶ Joyce continues to develop this connection, adding to the second page of the *Wake*: "verdous catapulting the camibalistics" and "boomeringsstroms".¹⁵⁷ "Verdous" refers to "vert", tree felling, as well as to Verdun; catapults and ballistics ("camibalistics") are weapons, with "boom" being their sound and "cannibalism" being a comment of the grotesqueness of war. "Boomeringsstroms" contains the Dutch *boom* (tree), the Czech *strom* (tree), the German *Sturm* (storm), and the German *Strom* (stream). The "boom" and storm also suggest thunder, and with the

¹⁵³ BL 47480-117v, JJA 55: 212, FW 344.2.

¹⁵⁴ BL 47480-40v, JJA 55: 76, FW 339.28.

¹⁵⁵ In *Irish Trees: Myths, Legends and Folklore*, MacCoitir explains that the yew tree was also a tree associated with war as it was a favourite wood for making bows and spears, and that "the association of yew with the themes of churchyards, sanctuary and war links it with the goddess of the land who both protected her own, living and dead, and waged war on their enemies" (142-3).

¹⁵⁶ Sent to Weaver 16 May 1938.

¹⁵⁷ BL 47476a-133, JJA 49: 290, FW 4.4-6.

“boomerang” as “boomerang”, there is also the ubiquitous Victorian thunder and *ricorso*.

The typescript of II.3§4, 6 continues to align trees with soldiers. Returning to the Battle of Clontarf and to the “tree” passage from “Cyclops”, legend has it that when Brian Boru was ambushed and killed by Brodir, Brodir said: “Now let man tell man that Brodir *felled* Brian” (O’Hanlon 437, emphasis mine). Joyce adds “The field of karnags and that bloasted tree”¹⁵⁸ before “Forget not the felled! For the lomondations of Oughrem!” in II.3§4, reprising the tree/stone motif, referring to soldiers as “felled” trees, and also revisiting the megaliths of Carnac. In addition to forestry, to fallen soldiers (and to the fallen Brian Boru), “Forget not the felled” also alludes to a Thomas Moore melody about the Battle of Aughrim, “Forget not the Field”. Territorial conquest takes a toll on the environment in addition to the loss of human life; as wars continue, landscape changes, topography is altered. From these alterations, however, a story emerges; the felled trees and the rocks record their own history. Perhaps this is why “Aughrim” becomes “Oughrem”, referring to the tree-based Ogham alphabet, adding, again, another dimension to the above “langdwage”. To make these relationships even clearer, Joyce adds to the 1938 galley proofs of I.4: “The war is in words and the wood is the world. Maply me, willowy me, hickory he and yew yourselves. Howforhim chirrupeth evereachbird. From gold dawn glory to glowworm gleam”.¹⁵⁹

Joyce’s interest in trees has been present throughout the entire composition of the *Wake*, but the final years of composition brought an exceptional interest. In addition to the “tree” additions already discussed in this chapter, Joyce also wrote to Weaver in July 1934 about a book by H.M. Fitzpatrick titled *Trees of Ireland, Native and Introduced*:

Léon began to read to me from a scientific publication about Irish trees. The first sentence was to the effect that the oldest tree in the island is the elm tree in the demesne of Howth Castle and Environs. (LIII 308)

This leads to the designation of HCE as “haught crested elmer, in his valle of briers”,¹⁶⁰ and the specification of the “demesne” informs the political role of trees and of HCE as Anglo-Irish landlord on these final drafts and proofs. The subtitle of Fitzpatrick’s text, the “[n]ative” and “[i]ntroduced”, provides concrete material for

¹⁵⁸ BL 47480-40v, JJA 55: 76, FW 340.7-9.

¹⁵⁹ BL 47476a-59v, JJA 49: 132, FW 98.34-99.1.

¹⁶⁰ FW 73.36-74.2.

the theme of invasions and invasive species, and also provides specific detail for the botanical levels of “husbandry” concerning ALP, Issy, and the “flower-girls”.¹⁶¹

On the galleys for II.1 (January 1938), Joyce added: “Tree taken for grafted. Rock rent”,¹⁶² referring to the “grafting” of one plant species onto another. “Rock rent” in this context is “rack rent”, alluding to HCE as a landlord, “laird of Lucanhof”.¹⁶³ This line continues with the addition: “The oakmulberryeke with silktrick twomesh from shop sowry, seedsmanchap. Grabstone [...]”,¹⁶⁴ referring to HCE’s “sowing” of his seeds. A passage further on in II.1 concerning the ownership of a large estate has “boskiest of timber trees”¹⁶⁵ added to the description of the estate, paving the way for the many trees that Joyce will add here in the long addition composed largely from notes from Fitzpatrick’s *The Trees of Ireland: Native and Introduced*. The addition incorporates several types of trees, some native to Ireland and some not, which can be all found on the island:

Oncaill’s plot. Luccombe oaks, Turkish hazels, Greek firs, incense palin edcedras. The hypsometers of Mount Anville is held to be dying out of arthataxis but, praise send Larix U’Thule, the wychelm of Manelagh is still flourishing in the open, because its native of our nature and the seeds was sent by fortune.¹⁶⁶

The specific choices of Ranelagh (“Manelagh”) and Dundrum (“Mount Anville”) may also relate to their colonial heritage. The name “Ranelagh” dates “from the establishment of the Ranelagh Gardens towards the close of the 18th century” (W. Joyce 157), and Dundrum, the “rural hamlet” with its “reviving scenery”, was also an Anglo-Irish enclave with its Norman Castle and accompanying “private grounds [...]”

¹⁶¹ In *The Textual Diaries of James Joyce*, Danis Rose devotes an entire chapter to Joyce’s note-taking on trees and the incorporation of these notes into the drafts in the mid-1930s. This project derived from his work in *The Index Manuscript: Finnegans Wake Holograph Workbook VI.B.46*, wherein he identified and explicated a page of notes related to trees on VI.B.46: 121 as well as postulated and then attempted to reconstruct a *missing* leaf of this notebook. In *The Textual Diaries*, Rose comments on the index from VI.B.46 as well as on content from Fitzpatrick recorded in VI.B.36. The first notes from Fitzpatrick date back to 1934: “horsechestnut”, “elm”, “yews”, “wehmouth pine / Balsam Popalar” (VI.B.36: 206), “& the 5 cedars of Mt Anville sougning syrially to his obeisance”, “by Juniper”, “cupress”, and “larix o’tourist whetawhistling in astuntedness & tamboys a beeches tittertattering his tendronym” (VI.B.46: 207), but were not used until Joyce returned to the Fitzpatrick text for VI.B.46 and for the 1938 galley proofs. All of the notes Rose presents from Fitzpatrick find their way into just four passages of the *Wake*, all added to the 1938 galley proofs: FW 100 (I.4), FW 159 (I.6), FW 235 (II.1) and FW 246 (II.1).

¹⁶² BL 477-272, JJA 51: 396, FW 221.31-32.

¹⁶³ FW 253.32, VI.C.4: 171.

¹⁶⁴ BL 477-272v, JJA 51: 396, FW 221.33-34.

¹⁶⁵ BL 477-281v, JJA 51: 414, FW 235.15.

¹⁶⁶ BL 47477-281v, JJA 51: 414, FW 235.16-21.

almost entirely concealed by trees” (W. Joyce 163). While on one hand, this addition evokes the Anglo-Irish importation of foreign plants into Ireland for their gardens, it also articulates the question of “native” trees, continuing with the discussion of *Sinn Féin* (and back to “Cyclops” as well). This insertion merges Irish locations with other world locations through the detailed attention to trees; the presence of trees from Turkey, Greece, Tasmania, etc. in Dundrum and Ranelagh challenges such nativism, providing a type of botanical internationalism. Like Quinet’s flowers that know no human boundaries, these trees ignore national borders. If the tree can survive in the conditions in which it sets its roots, then the tree is indifferent as to whether it is “native” or “introduced”.

The third typescript of II.3§6, from 1938, displays several more tree additions, and as the end of the story of II.3§6 is reached, Joyce adds: “He beached the bark of his tale; and set to husband and vine: and the harpermaster told all the living conservancy how that win a gain was in again”.¹⁶⁷ The end of the tale is the *bark*, the outer layer of the tree, which also, in seafaring language, is *beached*; the tale itself becomes the bark of a decayed tree washed on to the shore. The word *husband* (both the noun and the verb) comes from the Old Norse *bóndi*, meaning “peasant owning his house and land”. The word was originally the present participle of *búa* or *bóa*, meaning “to dwell” or “to have a household” (“Husband”, defs. 1, 2); to “dwell” implied to cultivate land, to till the ground, to have a wife. To the galley proofs of Book III, Joyce adds “seed and nursery man”¹⁶⁸ to a description of HCE, further strengthening this bond between land ownership, tillage of land, marriage and children.

Joyce returns again to the “Upfellbowm” passage of FW 505, adding a lengthy piece to the galley proofs for Book III. The tree is qualified as “an overlisting ashtree”,¹⁶⁹ enforcing its connection to the Yggdrasil, and there is also the addition to Yawn’s answer about the “tree stuck up”:

Besides the Annar. At the foot of Slieveamond. Oakley Ashe’s elm. With a snoodrift from one beerchen bough. And the grawndest crowndest consecrated maypole in all the reignladen history of Wilds. Browne’s *Thesaurus Plantarum* from Nolan’s. The Prittlewell Press, has nothing alike

¹⁶⁷ BL 47480-246v, JJA 55: 378, FW 358.17-19.

¹⁶⁸ BL 47487-63v, JJA 62: 122, FW 496.12.

¹⁶⁹ BL 47487-68v, JJA 62: 132, FW 503.30.

it. For we are fed of its forest, clad in its wood, burqued by its bark and our lecture is its leave. The cram, the cram, the king of all crams.¹⁷⁰

The tree was located besides the “Annar”, Anna, the Liffey, and at the foot of a mountain, *Slieve*. “Annar”, however, is also part of “the three marriages of night” in Scandinavian mythology, where “night first marries Naglfari and then Annar”, and Annar is also “Day” (Byock “Genealogical Tables”). The tree may have been an oak, an ash, and elm or a birch, but regardless, the tree became a symbol for man and woman (ash and elm, in Scandinavian myth), the symbol of spring’s arrival with the May Day rituals, and a political pawn (“reignladen”, literally, laden with reign). “Browne’s *Thesaurus Plantarum*” is William James Browne’s 1881 introductory textbook, *Botany for Schools and Science Classes*. This book contains chapters on the specific parts of plants (e.g. “The Root”, “The Stem”, “The Leaf”, “The Flower”, “The Fruit and Seed”) and presents a diagram of a flowering plant on the fourth page (accompanying the section, “General Structure of a Flowering Plant” [5]). Browne’s text, or a similar textbook, could have provided some of the detail for II.1 and II.2, and may also contribute to the botanical additions appearing throughout these final drafts.

Lastly, the “reignladen history of Wilds” is a history of the wilderness and its growth (rain) and its subjugation (reign). Joyce presents this succinctly with the final line of the above passage: “For we are fed of its forest, clad in its wood, burqued by its bark and our lecture is its leave”. Summoning the Viconian structure again, this line provides an image of the “Wilds” providing not just food and clothing, but also family names (“burque” may be the surname “Burke”¹⁷¹ and the Germanic “burg” (“Burg”, def. 1) which also adds shelter to the list of food, clothing and shelter) and literature. “Our lecture is its leave” brings readers, reading, and texts together with the implication of the French *lecteur/lecture* with the English “lecture”. All of these textual processes depend on the tree and its leaves; nature provided not only the first stories, words, and religions, but also the first paper and ink. It also provides our metaphors for reading (we still “leaf through” a book, and the French word for pages is the same as leaves, *feuilles*) and provides us always with something legible.

¹⁷⁰ BL 47487-68v, JJA 62: 132, FW 503.30-504.2.

¹⁷¹ The *Online Etymology Dictionary* explains that the surname Burke is “[n]ot common in England itself, but it took root in Ireland, where William *de Burgo* went in 1171 with Henry II and later became Earl of Ulster” (“Burke”).

By Their Ecotaph: Burial, Decay, Soil

In these late additions to the *Wake*, as Joyce prepares to finish the book, the interpretation of death as both a return to the earth and a return home, to an origin, begins to increase in prominence. Throughout the *Wake*, the cycle of growth and decay has frequently been represented in terms of ecological imagery, and burial (from sources ranging from the Bible, to Vico's *New Science*, to Frazer's *Golden Bough*, to the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*) has also been largely associated with nature, due to the fact that (almost) all things do return to the ground (and that these things decompose, leading to more ground). In addition, Joyce focuses on the various burial traditions across different cultures, focusing specifically upon the rituals that engage directly with natural processes.

To the galleys of Book III, Joyce inserts: "Their livetree (may it flourish!) by their ecotaph (let it stayne!) with balsinbal bimbies swarming tiltop".¹⁷² "Ecotaph" implies both "ecology" and "epitaph". "Epitaph" is a written inscription upon a tomb ("Epitaph", def. 1); tomb being, of course, a place of burial, usually within the earth. "Ecology", from the Greek *oikos*, "house" or "dwelling" ("Ecology", Etymology), and "ecotaph" (*oikotaphos*) thus becomes a place of burial, a home, a return to the earth. The *written* aspect of the word "epitaph" also suggests that nature *writes* upon itself, upon the place of interment.

Continuing with the relationship between nature, burial, and writing, in I.5, the explanation of the Letter's deformation with the aid of the "negative of a horse"¹⁷³ leads to the conclusion: "Well, this freely is what must have occurred to our missive (there's a sod of turb for you! please wisp off the grass!) unfiltered from the boucher by the sagacity of a lookmelittle likemelong hen".¹⁷⁴ The further descriptions of where the missive was found, the "heated residence", the "orange-flavoured mudmound",¹⁷⁵ along with the "boucher", are all different phases of the same land over time. The "boucher" suggests the French for "mouth", *bouche*, bringing to mind again the Viking practice of scuttling ships at or near the mouths of rivers and fjords either for burial or to prevent enemies from advancing into harbors (Graham-Campbell 42). The missive "unfiltered from the boucher" could also refer to the reconstruction of one of the Nile's canals, wherein "a stone tablet was placed at the

¹⁷² BL 47487-13, JJA 62: 23, FW 420.11-12.

¹⁷³ FW 111.27.

¹⁷⁴ FW 111.30-33.

¹⁷⁵ FW 111.33-34.

canal's mouth and another at its end in Alexandria to commemorate the project" (Mikhail 291). Alan Mikhail recounts how the tablet at the mouth of the river signified that "the glories of the Sultan had brought life to dead lands' near the waterways and had 'reanimated' them through a return to cultivation" (291), returning, again, to the correlation between agricultural productivity and kingship. Such a renewal is implied in the next paragraph, with "Yes, before all this has time to end the golden age must return with its vengeance".¹⁷⁶ The original burial of the missive *in* the mouth of the river would make sense, as it is ALP's Letter. Lastly, one phase of burial in *The Book of the Dead* is the "Opening of the Mouth" ceremony. Budge explains that the significance of this ceremony is the relationship between the mouth, speech, and creation:

The allusion here is to the belief that Thoth was the great master of the use of magical names and formulae. He gave the word which resulted in the creation of the world; he supplied Isis with words of magical power which enabled her to effect the resurrection of Osiris, and also of her son Horus after he had been stung to death by a scorpion. (133)

This link between the mouth, the mouth of a river, burial, creation, logos, and resurrection clarifies some disparate themes in the text and relates the Letter itself to the larger themes of natural history.

This relationship is also evident on the galley proofs of Book III: as Jaun is preparing to leave, Joyce adds "Daughters of the heavens, be lucks in turnabouts to the wandering sons of red loam!"¹⁷⁷ According to the *Brown Driver Briggs Hebrew Lexicon for the Old Testament*, the word for "red" in Hebrew is "*adam*", which is also linked etymologically to "*adam*" (man) and to "*adamah*", meaning "ground" or "earth" (726). Oelschlaeger also discusses this relationship between the creation of man and the earth, citing that Yahweh made "man" (Hebrew: *adam*) out of the "dust of the ground" (*adamah*) to "till the earth" ("Adam"). According to Oelschlaeger:

Man of the *adamah* means literally 'man of the ground', or farmer, as in the story of Noah, 'a man of the soil' (Gen. 9: 20). This Adam – the paradigmatic human being – is the cultivator, the tiller of the soil. *Adamah* can also mean the inhabited land and especially the arable land as distinct from wilderness (Hebrew *midbar*). (52)

¹⁷⁶ FW 112.18-19.

¹⁷⁷ BL 47487-45v, JJA 62: 88, FW 469.3.

Man is firmly rooted to the ground, and to the exploitation of this ground. The word “man” itself contains its own destruction, its eventual return to this ground, to decay and become fertilizer for the next generation of those who must till the land. To the section of III.2 concerning Jaun’s plan for improving the city of Dublin, Joyce adds “compost liffe in Dufblin by Pierce Egan with the baugh in Banghkley of Fino Ralli”.¹⁷⁸ The discovery of all the cultural artifacts either in the river or along the shore are part of the “post” of the Liffey (liffe) and, on a larger level, of life. All human endeavours and creations become compost, fertilizer for the next generation of lives.

Soft Morning City: Storms, Clouds, Rain, Sea

The first draft of IV§5, the concluding pages of the book, illustrates Joyce’s vision of what *Finnegans Wake* had come to be in the fifteen years of its composition. The draft begins with a hymn by the Liffey to its city, Dublin: “Soft morning, city! I am leafy speafing”.¹⁷⁹ “Soft morning” comes from the Irish *lá bog*, meaning, literally “soft day”, and Gerry Coughlan and Martin Hughes, in their explanation of Irish meteorological terms, describe such a “soft day” as having “an overcast yet relatively bright sky” (48). At these final draft levels for the *Wake*, Joyce was concerned with very specific natural details to ensure that he got the last section of the text right; in the same way that Joyce had written to his Aunt Josephine back in 1921 to ask about the specifics of 7 Eccles Street, he refers to technical guides to trees, plants, and presently, to clouds, to avoid the same lack of precision that caused him to criticize so many other writers. Botanical and meteorological detail was no less important to Joyce than the correct names of the Lord Mayors of Dublin.

Throughout the *Wake*, Joyce employed the motifs of rain, cloud, and storm for varying reasons. Joyce’s 1936 trip to Denmark revealed a political intention behind these motifs, in a response concerning his dislike of umbrellas:

I think the umbrella is a royal instrument. I know a young lord of Cambodia who lives in Paris; because of his high rank his father has the right to carry seven umbrellas, and my noble friend himself walks with six umbrellas, suspended one over the other. Yes, the umbrella is a mark of distinction. (JJ 694)

¹⁷⁸ BL 47487-30, JJA 62: 59, FW 447.22-24, FW 447.29-30.

¹⁷⁹ BL 47488-120, JJA 63: 209, FDV 284.29, FW 619.20.

While this anecdote may be somewhat apocryphal, it does suggest that Joyce understood the mark of royalty and privilege to be a dislocation from the forces of nature. One note from VI.B.24, “Humidia”,¹⁸⁰ from a cluster about Carthage, was added to the beginning of I.3 to duplicates on the *transition* 3 pages in 1936.¹⁸¹ This addition accomplishes three primary things. First, it is a reference to “Numidia”, an ancient African kingdom (third century BC [“Numidia”]), and Joyce may have chosen this because of the potential pun on “humid”, which would bring Metchnikoff’s theories about successful civilizations depending upon climate back into the text. Second, the “humid” is obviously a reference to Ireland’s climate, and the opening of I.3 is heavily focused on the foggy, cloudy, damp conditions that prevent the reader from “seeing”, in both a literal and metaphorical sense. Third, due to Ireland’s climate, the name “Humidia” may be a comment on the Roman name for Ireland, *Hibernia*, which, of course, contains the Latin *hibernus*, “wintry”. The name given to the country is intrinsically linked with its climate.

These last draft levels include several dozen references to clouds and weather, so only a few select examples will be discussed at length here. In VI.B.46, many of the indices Rose has transcribed contain foreign words for “cloud”, but Joyce also has an index devoted solely to clouds under which he has written the Irish and Welsh for cloud “neal, scamall, / “cymyloga Mts”¹⁸² and “nubo”¹⁸³. Overall, the increasing presence of clouds in the passage suggests the imminent return of storms and rain and in this case, the beginning of another life cycle. A passage on FW 588 describes the atmospheric conditions that cause rain:

Was truce of snow, moonmounded snow? Or did wolken hang o’er
earth in umber hue his fulmenbombs? Number two coming! Full
inside! Was glimpsed the mean amount of cloud? Or did pitter rain
fall in a sprinkling? If the waters could speak as they flow! Tingle
Tom, pall the bell! Izzy’s busy down the dell! Mizpah low, youyou,
number one, in deep humidity!¹⁸⁴

In this passage, urinating and defecating are transferred onto the processes of rain and snow for clouds. The “full inside” and “deep humidity” allude to the conditions that exist in the atmosphere and within the clouds prior to rainfall: in short, water

¹⁸⁰ VI.B.24: 7, FW 48.5.

¹⁸¹ BL 47475-111v, JJA 45: 301, FW 48.5.

¹⁸² FW 329.32f.

¹⁸³ FW 11.5. The Irish *neall* and *scammall* as well as the Welsh *cwmwl* mean “cloud”.

¹⁸⁴ FW 588.18-25. Cf. “fulmen” (VI.B.12: 49 / VI.C.6: 29).

evaporates from the earth's surface and the oceans, condenses into liquid droplets at a certain temperature, and then together, these droplets form a cloud. When a saturation point is reached in the atmosphere, these droplets fall as rain, replenishing the earth and the oceans. The term "wolk" is the German and Dutch for "cloud" (*Wolk/wolk*), but when pronounced, the word is very close to the German and Dutch for "people", "Volk". Lastly, "fulmen" is also a Latin word meaning "lightning" or "thunderbolt", here to accompany the imminent rainstorm.

The passage from FW 597.31-598.15 is in the form of another weather forecast, one that predicts an agreeable day following the previous night's storm, similar to the forecast in II.3:

It is perfect degrees excelsius. Cloud lay but mackerel are. Anemone activescent the torporature is returning to normal. Humid nature is feeling itself freely at ease with the all fresco. The vervain is to herald as the grass administers [...] Nuctumbulumbumus wanderwards the Nil. Victorias neanzas. Alberths neantas.¹⁸⁵

According to Edward Garriott's *Weather Folk-Lore and Local Weather Signs*, a "mackerel" cloud is a type of cirrostratus cloud that is said to presage rain (75), and this is supported by the "humid nature". The "Nuctumbulumbumus" contains the cumulus cloud and the cumulonimbus cloud; the first being a cloud that presages rain, and the second being a cloud that presages thunderstorms. The "Victorias neanzas" and "Alberths neantas"¹⁸⁶ refers to two lakes, the Victoria and Albert N'Yanza's, referred to by Sir Samuel Baker as two "sources" of the Nile.¹⁸⁷ The appearance of the Nile here prepares for the flood that accompanies the rain, the life-giving waters of renewal and of the mythical deluges that restart history.

On the first galley proofs, after the first main paragraph, Joyce adds the line, "A hand from the cloud emerges, holding a chart expanded",¹⁸⁸ and then after "Advert",¹⁸⁹ adds an entire "cloudy" passage, deriving largely from notes in VI.B.47. The sources for VI.B.47 are highly directed, with Joyce knowing precisely what

¹⁸⁵ BL 47488 5v, JJA 63: 006, FW 597.31-598.15.

¹⁸⁶ Also appears in I.5 in the list of names the letter has been called: "From Victrolia Nuancee to Allbart Noahnsy" (FW 105.14).

¹⁸⁷ These were "discovered" and named by Englishmen, and this fact, plus their being named after members of the British monarchy, may also lend to their use in this particular section as a reprise of the alignment between imperialism and engineering. See Sir Samuel W. Baker, *The Albert N'Yanza, Great Basin of the Nile, and Explorations of the Nile Sources*. 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1867.

¹⁸⁸ BL 47488-199v, JJA 63: 286, FW 593.13.

¹⁸⁹ FW 599.24.

information he required. The notes include information from a history of Howth, notes relating to the rain cycle, and notes “from some article or brochure on meteorology” that

include a classification of clouds, mention of sun spots, presumably for their influence on the weather, a definition of ‘fog’ as a ‘cloud in which we are’, as well as the mention of stiger guns; cannons that were used in Italy to protect vineyards from hailstones. (VI.B.47 9)

Many of these notes are incorporated into the revision of “Saint Kevin” and serve to unite the sections of Book IV. Most of the last additions to the galley proofs can be found in VI.B.47 with “Cirrhonimbus/ Cirrhocumuls”, “pallium [Cirrus]”, and “Cirrhonimbus / storms / cumulonimbus” on VI.B.47: 60, and the influence of earlier themes reverberating with “my cold father” (VI.B.47: 40), “ponds secret water poplar” (VI.B.47: 62), “cold front” (VI.B.47: 63), “fog = cloud in which we are” (VI.B.47:63) “Π highly charged with electrons” (VI.B.47: 79), “fog = W round dust” (VI.B.47: 79), “□ writes sizes of the 2 Irelands” (VI.B.47: 91), and “sudden dew” (VI.B.47: 91) etc. These notes are translated into the passage:

Where. Cumulonubulocirrhonimbant heaven electing, the dart of desire has gored the heart of secret waters and the poplarest wood in the entire district is being grown at present, eminently adapted for the requirements of panicstricken humanity and, between all the goings up and comings down and the fog of the cloud in which we toil and the cloud of the fog under which we labour, bomb the thing’s to be domb about it so that, beyond indicating the locality, it is felt that one cannot with advantage add a very great deal to the aforegoing by what, such as it is to be, follows, just mentioning however that the old man of the sea and the old woman of the sky if they don’t say nothings about it they don’t tell us lie, the ghist of the phantomime, from cannibal king to the property horse, being slumply and slopely to remind us how, in this drury world of ours, Father Times and Mother Species boil their kettle with their crutch. Which every lad and lass in the lane knows. Hence.¹⁹⁰

The clouds are present at each stage of humanity, through all the “ups and downs” and the “toil”. Despite the fact all will always remain in a “fog” (i.e., the big

¹⁹⁰ BL 47488-203v, JJA 63: 292, FW 599.25-600.4.

questions will never be known), all still continues as if this fog will someday permanently clear. However, the cloud always returns, just in a different shape; cumulus, cumulonimbus, cirrocumulus, nimbostratus. Likewise, from “cannibal king” to “property horse”, from cannibalistic tribes to individual private property owners; all people are the same, too, just in different forms. Like the boiling of the kettle of the preparation of the tea in I.5 that evokes all four basic elements, here the boiling of the kettle is a microcosm for the hydrologic cycle, changing state from liquid to gas. Finally, the economy Joyce presents here is indeed very “drury”, as “Father Times and Mother Spacies boil their kettle with their crutch”. In addition to evoking the life of Dublin’s less fortunate (those with whom Joyce, who grew up largely in Dublin’s north inner city, would be well acquainted with), the designation of the parents as time and space, in conjunction with the process of boiling water for tea, suggests that the world and its phenomena are being regulated by the decrepit couple of time and space.

Now, in the final stages of the *Wake*, the relationships between country and climate, nature and nationalism, underlie many of the meteorological additions Joyce makes to the final pages. Woman, nature and country are aligned, their freedom arriving with the renewing rain. IV§5 bears many similarities to “Penelope” in *Ulysses*; the final word is given by the creative force, the female, and in *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce has gone further, giving the creative power not just to woman, but to nature. The morning approaches now, after the long, terrible night, and the river continues to gently make her way through the city and its inhabitants. “The woods are so fond always”, Joyce continues; the woods, like in Robert Frost’s poem, “are lovely, dark, and deep” (13); they beckon, offering shelter, comfort, yet also threatening death. The Liffey began in the woods of the Wicklow Mountains, however, so for her there is little fear as she prepares to return to the sea and await her reincarnation in another cloud, to fall again on Wicklow as rain.

Following ALP’s letter, the “Soft Morning City” monologue begins, telling the story of the river’s passage into the sea, of the end of ALP’s life. Kitcher writes that ALP, as an elderly wife, “talks of the possibility of a walk, hoping to rouse her husband to revisit a scene that has meant much to both of them” (5). Kitcher continues: “As her invitation flows on, it becomes an occasion for reviewing the course of her life, for putting into her words what that tired ‘fargazer’ might see. The envisaged walk might be their last return to a cherished spot, their last walk together, the last walk for each of them. Their lives are ending” (5). More than anything else,

this final section is a melancholic look at the various cycles of the world – of water, of love, of childhood, of innocence, of creation.

“I am Leafy, your golden, so you called me, exaggerator!”¹⁹¹ she continues in the first draft, resenting the male for his false promises. She continues, encouraging him to go with her: “We will take our walk before they ring the bells. Not such big steps. It is hardly seven mile”,¹⁹² referring to the distance from Chapelizod to the mouth of Dublin Bay, or from Dublin Bay to Howth (each is approximately seven miles). On the second typescript, the “bells” become “earthly”¹⁹³ bells, implying that the two will soon be inhabiting a space other than the earth.¹⁹⁴ “We can sit us down on the heathery benn”, she continues, “me or you. To scand the arising. Ourselves alone at the site of salvocean. And watch would the letter you’re wanting becoming may be”.¹⁹⁵ The “heathery benn” is Howth, *Binn Éadair*, the “hill of *Éadair*”. According to James Hardiman, *Éadair* was “the first woman that died in this land of grief on the death of a husband, and having been interred at that place, it thence had the name *Beand* or *Bin Edair*, the hill or mount of *Edair*” (381). Hardiman also explains that the promontory of Howth was made famous again in the nineteenth century as the arrival point for the “gracious Sovereign” (382) on 12 August 1821 (the king arriving in I.2 with his hunting party). Also, the Ossianic Society describe Howth as once a look-out point for the Fenians, as any foreign invader hoping to capture Tara would have landed here. Finn and his chieftains were also stationed at Howth when “they saw the mystical black fog from the east approach, and envelope the whole island” (“Transactions” 143). The combination of these two facts may influence the *Sinn Féin* reference of ALP’s, “Ourselves alone at the site of salvocean”.

ALP continues still, anxious about the future of her relationship with HCE: “You will always call me Leafy, won’t you?” This obviously is a pun on “Liffey”, yet it also suggests that the river will someday no longer be “Leafy”, will no longer be young and beautiful. Like the leaf-drop that occurs for most plants, ALP will lose some of her external beauty as she ages. ALP is guiding HCE from Chapelizod and they reach the weir at Islandbridge just before the river becomes channelled. After

¹⁹¹ BL 47488-120, JJA 63: 209, FW 619.29-30.

¹⁹² BL 47488-120, JJA 63: 209, FW 621.33-11.

¹⁹³ BL 47488-145, JJA 63: 227, FW 621.34.

¹⁹⁴ The bells, not too much earlier in the *Wake*’s composition (II.3), are related to *Sechseläuten* and the transition from winter to spring, which may also be relevant here in this section of rebirth and renewal.

¹⁹⁵ BL 47488-199v, JJA 63: 208/BL 47488-127, JJA 63: 211, FDV 285.

they pass over this weir, she ceases; the city has silenced nature, but, as she tells us, only momentarily: “I’ll begin again in a jiffy”. On the first typescript of IV§5,¹⁹⁶ Joyce adds to the beginning: “No wind, no word. Only a leaf, just a leaf and then leaves”.¹⁹⁷ Throughout the entire composition of *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce has been working with the relationship between nature and language, and this line provides a fitting conclusion to the question. As is demonstrated by an addition to the second typescript that merges language, the flow of the river, and flowers, “in the langua of flows”,¹⁹⁸ our language derives from the environment in which we live, and the rhythms of our speech and our writing mimic the natural world (a language of flowers, as well). Van Hulle, through Mauthner and Jespersen, writes that this “langua of flows” line demonstrates how “ALP seems to become the personification of language itself” (HJW 452) with her simultaneous consistency (*langue*) and instability (*parole*). In addition to the dependence of speech on nature, the “no wind, no word” likely also refers to the descent of the Holy Spirit in *Acts*:

And suddenly from heaven there came a sound like the rush of a mighty wind, and it filled the entire house where they were sitting. Divided tongues, as of fire, appeared among them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other languages, as the Spirit gave them ability. (*Acts* 2:2-4, emphasis mine)

The “bearing down on me now under whitespread winds like he’d come from Arkangels”¹⁹⁹ in this section also contains this reference to “winds” coming from above; here, the winds are bearing messages like those of the Archangels. This providential origin of the winds is juxtaposed with Vico’s thunder, and together, the “no wind, no word” proves that the many lines in *Finnegans Wake* focusing on the weather play much more significant a role than simple backdrop. It is nature to which we must look to understand our differing languages and cultures.

ALP’s voice begins to return to the trees as she prepares to nourish their roots as rain again: “Lsp! I am leafy speafing. Lpf!”.²⁰⁰ “The woods are fond always. As were we their babes in”,²⁰¹ she continues, returning to the woods (Wicklow) in which she was born. She attempts to rouse HCE, the city, the landscape, begging him to

¹⁹⁶ BL 47488 134v-137.

¹⁹⁷ BL 47488-135, JJA 63: 213, FW 619.22.

¹⁹⁸ BL 47488-145, JJA 63: 227, FW 621.22.

¹⁹⁹ FW 628.10.

²⁰⁰ FW 619.20-21.

²⁰¹ Cf. “babes in wood” (VI.B.47: 51). FW 619.23-24.

accompany her, attempting to persuade him with wooded compliments: “I want to see you looking fine for me. With your brandnew big green belt and all. Blooming in the very lotust and second to nill, Budd!”²⁰² She tells him “I could lead you there and I still by you in bed”.²⁰³ When trying to persuade HCE to join her, she recounts the times when HCE was a persecuted figure, and the “wood” also returns to the theme of the hunt with an addition to the fourth typescript of IV§5:

Or the Wald Unicorns Master, Bugley Captain, from the Naul, drawls up by the door with the Honourable Whilp, and the Reverend Poynter and the two Lady Pagets of Tallyhaugh, Ballyhuntus, in their riddletight raiding hats for to lift a hereshealth to their robost, the Stag, evers the Carlton hart.²⁰⁴

The “golden wending” refers to the sun’s appearance for the day, and the Liffey’s passing into the sea is thus a “golden” wedding (and “golden wedding” is also the fiftieth anniversary, fitting for this elderly couple). ALP attempts to wake her sleeping partner, the “man of the hooths”, i.e., the man of the house and of “Howth”. “Carlton hart” is also Kildare’s Carlton House with its expansive hunting grounds dating back to the Norman invasion of Ireland.

In VI.B.47, Joyce has written “the Wards’ Master” (VI.B.47: 17), referring to the master of the hunt for the Ward Union Staghounds, established in 1830 (based in County Meath). The change from “Ward” to “Wald” brings in the German word for “forest” and continues the emphasis on trees and woodlands and the return to this “wood”. The “Whilp” is also the “whip”, “A huntsman's assistant who keeps the hounds from straying by driving them back with the whip into the main body of the pack” (“Whip”, def. 5). This hunting memory is used by ALP as a way to incite HCE towards movement, insinuating that HCE (“evers Carlton Hart”) will again become a victimized figure. “Ballyhuntus” (*Baile* hunt us) suggests that the “city” itself will be hunted, or that the city itself will do the “hunting”; either way, the clash between man and nature, embodied here by hunting, is a continuous cycle.

Grace Eckley’s essay on the final chapter of the *Wake* focuses largely on the macrocosmic levels of the text, arguing that Book IV articulates the clash between East and West, Christian and Pagan, mountain and river. ALP is the resolving factor in these dualities: “as the river which circles the globe, she combines the maya of the

²⁰² FW 620.1-3.

²⁰³ FW 622.19-20.

²⁰⁴ BL 47488-162, JJA 63: 263, FW 622.24-29.

East (FW 617.29), which knows no Fall, with the forgiveness of the West, which provides for the Fall in the blessing of baptism and resurrection” (227). This “baptism” is also evident in the focus on Saint Kevin (and the corresponding emphasis on the geographical setting of Glendalough) and in the focus on Saint Patrick. IV§5 portrays this renewal through water by including numerous references to clouds, rain, and storms, presaging the thunder of the Viconian *ricorso*:

My great blue bedroom, the air so quiet, scarce a cloud. In peace and silence. I could have stayed up there for always only. It’s something fails us. First we feel. Then we fall. And let her rain now if she likes. Gently or strongly as she likes. Anyway let her rain for my time is come.²⁰⁵

ALP knows the rains are coming now, “For ’tis they are the stormies”.²⁰⁶ Once back in Dublin Bay, ALP will evaporate, ending the water cycle and returning to the sky, to her “great blue bedroom”: “And it’s old and old it’s sad and weary I go back to you, my cold father”.²⁰⁷

ALP abandons her attempt to persuade HCE to come with her and accepts that she will be facing her end alone. She looks back on her life, how she established an existence on the soggy marshy land on which Dublin is built: “On limpidy marge I’ve made me hoom. Park and a pub for me”.²⁰⁸ She comforts herself by going back through her history with HCE and thinking that the city itself will one day crumble into the river, too: “But it’s by this route he’ll come some morrow”.²⁰⁹ As the wind comes up, she prepares for her death, beginning to bid farewell: “Sea, sea! Here, weir, reach, island, bridge. Where you meet I”.²¹⁰ On the fourth typescript, Joyce adds a line that develops this “Where you meet I” as well as echoes the earlier mixing of the “swete” and “brack” waters that occurs in the tidal estuary of Dublin Bay:

²⁰⁵ On some extradraft material for the fourth IV§5 typescript, Joyce changes this to “Let her rain now if she likes to gently and strongly as she likes to. Let her reign anyway for my time is come” (BL 47488-181, JJA 63: 266, FW 627.11-13. Cf. VI.B.47.46: “Rain my girl we are pour if it likes”).

²⁰⁶ “For ’tis they are the stormies” (BL 47488-221v, JJA 63: 326, FW 627.31).

²⁰⁷ The “cold father” also relates to the line, “And I’d lie as quiet as a moss. And one time you’d rush upon me, darkly roaring, like a great black shadow with a sheeny stare to perce me rawly. And I’d frozen up and pray for thawe. Three times in all” (FW 626.23-25). In his *History of the County Dublin*, topographical historian John D’Alton (mentioned frequently in one of the source texts for VI.B.29, Dillon Cosgrave’s *North Dublin: City and Environs*) writes that the Liffey froze over three times (670-671).

²⁰⁸ FW 624.15-16.

²⁰⁹ FW 625.14.

²¹⁰ FW 626.7-8.

I wisht I had better glances to peer to you through this baylight's growing. But you're changing, acoolsha, you're changing from me, I can feel. Or is it me is? I'm getting mixed. Brightening up and tightening down. Yes, you're changing, sonhusband, and you're turning. I can feel you, for a daughterwife from the hills again. And she is coming. Swimming in my hindmoist.²¹¹

The “you're turning” refers to both Shem and HCE's designation as tree throughout the *Wake* (the leaves turning autumn colors) and to the usurping of the father by the son. The “brightening up” is the growth of the tree thanks to the sun (son), and the “tightening down” is the digging of the roots further into the earth as the tree grows. The tree provides an appropriate image for the “sonhusband”; the tree itself continues to live, but only through the shedding of its leaves. The autumnal falling of leaves signifies one death for the tree, though the leaves will grow again the following spring. The deciduous tree is its own father and son, HCE and Shem, at the same time.

The “daughterwife from the hills” is the new water of the Liffey descending from Wicklow and Issy growing into adulthood, slowly beginning to take her place.²¹² This focus on leaves also appeared in an addition to II.3§6, wherein Joyce added “and they leaved the most leavely of leaftimes and the most foliagenous till the come the marrer of nirth”,²¹³ to a section concerning the loss of sexual innocence of the girls, the appearance of buds on their leaves akin, again, to Proust's “*jeunes filles en fleurs*”.

The image of the wood, the forest, and the accompanying trees pervaded the *Wake*. Through Vico's argument that all human institutions are eventually reclaimed by the forest, to the role of these spaces in theology, mythology and literature, forests provided Joyce with a way to explore the relationship between the non-human and human worlds. The materiality of writing and writing materials also lends itself to parallels with the structure of trees, and *Finnegans Wake* continually reminds itself of the provenance of the paper upon which it is drafted, revised, and eventually printed. The *Wake* acknowledges the foundations of all the stories it contains, the entirety of human history, reenacted by a simple family living by the Phoenix Park. The “*selva*

²¹¹ BL 47488-174v, JJA 63: 258, FW 626.36-627.3.

²¹² To the fifth typescript, Joyce clarifies this familial relationship within the river with the addition of “And she'll be sweet for you as I was sweet when I came down out of me mother” (BL 47488-192, JJA 63: 282, FW 627.7-9).

²¹³ BL 47480-222v, JJA 55: 388, FW 361.26-33.

oscura” becomes a “*selva antica*”, an “ancient forest” that appears as Dante’s earthly paradise. Harrison argues that “thanks to the purgatorial process, this forest has ceased to be a wilderness and has become a municipal park under the jurisdiction of the City of God”, and that “[i]n Christianity’s vision of redemption, the entire earth and all of its nature become precisely such a park, or artificial garden” (85-86). Slotte explains that “With the Phoenix Park, ‘the most extensive public park in the world’ (FW 140.12-13), Chapelizod takes on the status of a kind of pastoral Hibernian Eden in *Finnegans Wake*, but it is an Eden that has not been abandoned, an Eden that has also grown and evolved” (Fujita 49).

A 1936 addition to III.4 had read: “We shall too downlook on that ford where Sylvanus Sanctus washed but hurdley those tips of his anointed”.²¹⁴ The founding of Dublin city, the “town of the ford of the hurdles”, which in itself implies an invasion of nature, required the existence of the sacred wood, the “Sylvanus Sanctus” as a space set apart from the city but still within its boundaries, reserved for the hunt, the re-enactment of civilization’s imposition of order. The leaves from this “Sylvanus Sanctus” are the world’s stories. ALP carries these fallen leaves into the sea, and the remaining leaf is the Letter, the story, the organic material that returns to the earth and initiates the cycle all over again, united in the memory of leaf, love, life and Liffey: “My leaves have drifted from me. All. But one clings still. I’ll bear it on me. To remind me of. Lff!”²¹⁵

²¹⁴ BL 47486a-122, JJA 61: 99, FW 570.31-33.

²¹⁵ BL 47488-174v, JJA 63: 258, FW 628.6-7.

Conclusion: Joyce's Ecotaph

"Their livetree (may it flourish!) by their ecotaph" (FW 421.11)

Giambattista Vico had written in his *New Science* that the "order of human institutions" is as follows: "first the forests, after that the huts, then the villages, next the cities, and finally the academies" (98). After the academies are established, the cycle begins again, and all returns to the initial cover of the forest. The "forest" in Vico and in Joyce, signifies many things; it is both the barbaric, un-Christian forest of Dante and the sacred, Edenic *silva*. It is the primeval chaos out of which the universe was created and a protective shelter for all of creation. It is also the material forest, the one comprised of trees, rocks, soil, animals. In the *Wake*, all of these interpretations are equally important, and the forest embodies all of these identities simultaneously. Joyce's natural world exists physically and tangibly, but is always-already inscribed with linguistic, social, historical, ideological and textual meaning. The fact that so much cultural material arises from human interactions with the non-human environment places the actual physical environment in the forefront of Joyce's "universal history". Joyce's interest in human adulterations of the physical world stems in part from the fact that we lose the initial context of so many of our metaphors, stories, cultures and identities when such changes occur. Evolution states that genes mutate over time in response to external factors, and in *Finnegans Wake*, language does the same. Over time, a word becomes detached from its original context but enters into another system, gaining a new context that nonetheless contains its etymological trace.

Finnegans Wake is unique in its exemplary representations of the non-human through linguistic and narratological technique. In the *Wake*, language is decoupled from the speaker and the human morphs seamlessly into the non-human; nature is not treated as a setting but as a protagonist. The urban and the natural work together as communities, not as radically divided spheres, and Joyce presents this interdependence throughout the *Wake*. After examining the notebooks, drafts, and proofs for the *Wake*, it becomes impossible to believe that Joyce's engagement with nature was merely ornamental; his extensive engagement with nature on several levels points to a "universal history" that is as equally dictated by natural history as by anything else. On many occasions, ecology, climate, and geography are conceived

of as *the* dictating forces for other organizing principles such as nationhood, religion, or language.

“The war is in words and the wood is the word’: An Ecocritical Reading of *Finnegans Wake*” accomplishes three major points. First, this thesis contributes to the growing expansion of the ecocritical canon through the inclusion of experimental texts. While the first generation of ecocritics laboured for the inclusion of nature writing in the canon, this is no longer enough in our age of global environmental crisis. Though Lawrence Buell’s original criteria for what must be considered an ecological text were crucial in defining the work of the ecocritic, they prevent the articulation of environmental issues in countless other works that fall outside the category of nature writing. Proceeding like this only reinforces contentious terms like “wilderness”; without acknowledging the presence of nature in the city and of the need to also protect the weeds growing up through the sidewalks, those spaces which culture has designated as “wilderness” will not survive. With regard to literature, if ecocriticism remains focused on the “wilderness”, on nature writing, and ignores the presence of environmental issues in texts like *Finnegans Wake*, in texts typically seen as “metropolitan”, is it not just preaching to the choir?

This thesis has articulated the misguided rejection of poststructuralist thought by earlier ecocritics, as covered extensively in the introduction, using genetic criticism to demonstrate not only the applicability of ecocriticism to *Finnegans Wake*, but to demonstrate the applicability of poststructuralism to ecocriticism through the collapsing of the damaging binaries of nature versus culture, and human versus non-human. Wittgenstein, in the fragmentary notes published by Peter Winch in *Culture and Value*, discussed this false binary of culture/nature that has been constructed in Western society:

It is very *remarkable* that we should be inclined to think of civilization – houses, trees, cars, etc. – as separating man from his origins, from what is lofty and eternal, etc. Our civilized environment, along with its trees and plants, strikes us then as though it were cheaply wrapped in cellophane and isolated from everything great, from God, as it were. This is a remarkable picture that intrudes on us. (50e, italics in original)

Wittgenstein’s general argument is that the modern sense of civilization as radically and irreversibly alienated from nature is false, that it is only a picture that we have created, a picture that *intrudes* on us. By examining Joyce’s composition methods of

the *Wake* and by applying this examination to close readings of Joyce's linguistic experiments, this thesis demonstrates how *Finnegans Wake* seeks to unwrap the world from its cellophane.

Second, this thesis has contributed to the growing call, begun largely by Raymond Williams, in reorienting Modernism away from its definition as a solely urban, metropolitan and cosmopolitan movement. This is not to say that Modernism will ever (or should ever) be conceived of as a provincial movement (though another current trend in Modernist studies is the focus on individual countries and Modernism), but that Modernism, especially considering the time period covered by this term, begs to be examined in terms of the relationship between urban and non-urban, between technology and nature, between religion and science. *Finnegans Wake* explores these dualities under the larger umbrella of "culture vs. nature", providing a much-needed acknowledgement of the natural world in a period when anxieties about the continuity of all life were high. Allowing Modernism to engage with nature allows for new explorations of "realism", on an aesthetic level, but allows for continuity between the nineteenth and twenty-first centuries, on both the levels of literary history and on the level of environmentalist thought.

Third, this thesis contributes to a redefinition of Irish literature's relationship to nature. The only previous ecocritical works on Irish literature operate almost entirely within worn-out images of idealized nature, usually through recourse to the Christian nature poets. While this may be effective for reclaiming the Irish tradition of nature poetry from the Anglo-Irish dominated Literary Revival, it also inhibits current Irish writing from updating the Irish landscape to the twenty-first century. *Finnegans Wake* deals with all kinds of Irish environments, from inner-city slums to the coasts of Cork and the mountains of Kerry, to the suburban village of Chapelizod and the purgatorial identity of the Phoenix Park, Europe's largest urban park. There is some idealization of the landscape in *Finnegans Wake*, but this idealization also comes with realization, such as with the chapters of the "flower-girls" and the lyrical ending of Book IV, which speak of natural beauty and its allure, but also speak of its impermanence and its cruelty. Joyce also refrains from describing any aspect of nature in the modern world as independent from human interests; he writes of the politics of land, the recurrence of famine, the curse of agriculture. He focuses on transitional spaces, on the outskirts of cities, on coastlines, on riverbanks, on bogs, and uses them to explore various boundaries constructed by civilization.

Placing an Ecocritical Reading of *Finnegans Wake*

This thesis has used genetic criticism to provide the first comprehensive ecocritical reading of Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*. As I discussed in the introduction, ecocriticism is struggling to carve out an existence between realism and postmodernism, with both approaches widely criticized in different ways and for different reasons. Dana Phillips' *The Truth of Ecology* attempts to bridge the gap between the two, but in the end, succeeds in attacking both approaches equally, leaving anyone interested in ecocriticism with nowhere to turn. However, a genetic approach, which itself approaches poststructuralism and postmodernism from a material base (through its use of physical drafts and notebooks and the attention it draws to the writing process) may provide an inroad for negotiating this divide between ecocriticism and postmodernism/poststructuralism.

Serpil Opperman's 2006 article "Theorizing Ecocriticism: Toward a Postmodern Ecocritical Practice" dismisses Phillips' excoriation of postmodernist ideas of nature, calling it a "typical misjudgement" and argues for the ability "to conflate ecocriticism with an ecocentric postmodern theory" (104). Opperman continues to provide a brilliant account of the current debates in the field of ecocriticism and, most important to this thesis, to link ecocriticism with postmodernism and poststructuralism. Opperman's argument is quite simple, and it is curious that most practicing ecocritics have failed to recognize her main point. If we know, today, that nature is *not* the holistic unity it was once believed to be, why are ecocritics, who argue for the incorporation of environmental science into literary study, still largely operating as if it were? Instead of trying to find singularity in the practice of "reading a text like the world" or "reading the world like a text", why not try to find the multiplicity? Genetic criticism simultaneously allows for this "multiplicity" while also keeping the interpretation grounded enough to satisfy both ends of the ecocritical debate.

In the introduction, I presented Buell's four criteria for determining the "environmental" quality of a text, and explained that I would demonstrate how *Finnegans Wake* embodies these four qualities:

- 1) The nonhuman environment is present not merely as a framing device but as a presence that begins to suggest that human history is implicated in natural history
- 2) The human interest is not understood to be the only legitimate interest

- 3) Human accountability to the environment is part of the text's ethical orientation
- 4) Some sense of the environment as a process rather than as a constant or a given is at least implicit in the text (7-8)

The “nonhuman environment” is a major character in *Finnegans Wake*, and Joyce implicates “human history” in “natural history” through his creation of a “universal history”. The human interest is not the only legitimate interest; *Finnegans Wake* articulates early environmental concerns from public housing and sanitation to turf-cutting. While it is hard to pinpoint an “ethical” orientation to *Finnegans Wake*, the fact that the human and the non-human are so deeply intertwined throughout the text demonstrates this need for human accountability. Lastly, the environment in *Finnegans Wake* is chaotic and unpredictable; from the water cycle and the Liffey to the compost heap that protects “the Letter” to the growth of the flowers and the “flower-girls”, the environment is everchanging.

The style of *Finnegans Wake* embodies what Lawrence Buell has deemed “literature’s capacity for articulating the nonhuman environment” (*Imagination* 10), though Buell distinctly intended this to be with regard to traditional realism. *Finnegans Wake* occupies a transitional space between Modernism and Postmodernism and could fit into a category of experimental realism that includes much of the work of Gertrude Stein, William Faulkner, William Carlos Williams and some of Virginia Woolf’s work, most notably, *The Waves*. William Carlos Williams, in his notes for his 1923 poem “Spring and All” explains of this poem that “There is a constant barrier between the reader and his consciousness of immediate contact with the world” (*Imaginations* 88) with the barrier being, of course, language. “Spring and All” attempts to dually outline and implicate the processes of an awakened, heightened perception and the emergence of spring’s first buds from the frozen ground. The rhythm, meter and structure of this poem combine to suggest the sudden burst of the undefined seedling through the ground. As Williams takes us through the poem, our perception undergoes the same process as the seedling defining itself; the language Williams employs aligns the new way of writing and reading poetry with new botanical growth.

Joyce, Stein, Williams, Woolf and Faulkner do not deny the contingency of our world, and our perceptions, on language, but they use language in a way that allows it to function outside of its traditional system of meaning-making. These writers explore the intersections of nature both as material reality and as discursive

function. For example, in Stein's *Tender Buttons*, she attempts to use words to paint a portrait of chicken:

CHICKEN.

Pheasant and chicken, chicken is a peculiar third.

CHICKEN.

Alas a dirty word, alas a dirty third alas a dirty third, alas a dirty bird.

CHICKEN.

Alas a doubt in case of more go to say what it is cress. What is it.

Mean.

Why. Potato. Loaves.

CHICKEN.

Stick stick call then, stick stick sticking, sticking with a chicken.

Sticking in a extra succession, sticking in. (35)

Stein believes that this combination of words, sounds and rhythms evokes something universal about "chicken", something more universal than a traditional explanation of what a chicken *is*, because the meaning of "chicken" changes depending on the context. The juxtaposition of the chicken with potatoes and bread also places the chicken in the context of a meal, removing any independent meaning for the chicken. The repetition of "ck" in "stick", "sticking" and "chicken" suggests a correspondance between the actions of the bird itself, the rhythm of its walk and its pecking, and the word "chicken".

Regardless, Stein's version of "realism" is certainly not in agreement with traditional definitions of realism and mimesis. Stein's "Chicken" depicts this experience of chicken, of what leads to the contemporary construction of our idea of chicken. Though Joyce would most likely hate that this comparison is being made, the language of *Finnegans Wake* often functions in a similar manner. The meaning of individual words is often obscure, but taken together, these words create an image, an emotion, a theme or a mindset. Ecocritics emphasizing a "realist" approach to literary representations of nature might frown on Joyce's evocation of, for example, Clontarf, but the way in which *Finnegans Wake* merges the physical aspects of Clontarf with its history through the changes in language over time creates a very different image of Clontarf than just a pure description. The representation of botanical growth through the sexual maturation of young girls, the evolution of language, and the procession of history, provides a clearer understanding of this growth and of how this process fits into our contemporary world.

This genetic analysis of nature in *Finnegans Wake* provided by this thesis paves the way for further inquiry into the field of Joyce and ecocriticism. Though many scholars are currently working on ecocritical readings of *Ulysses*, the critical commonplace nonetheless remains that Joyce was an urban writer. With the material “evidence” in this thesis as a support, scholars working on Joyce and ecocriticism will have a foundation. Hopefully, this thesis will also contribute to the emerging field of urban ecocriticism, examining not just the sidewalks and the buildings of cities, but the networks of natural resources that support their existence. In *Ulysses*, there are many significant mentions of the natural world and environmental issues besides those I have mentioned in this thesis, and with the foundations provided by this thesis, it may become more acceptable to explore these themes in a text consistently celebrated for its urbanness.

In terms of Irish literature and ecocriticism, there is still much work to be done. The existing works in this field largely rehash the same critical approaches to landscape in Irish literature, simply substituting the word “ecocriticism” for “looking at nature”. There are two distinct strands of Irish ecocriticism that need to be explored in the future. On one level, the anti-rural and anti-nature attitudes that prevail in urban Ireland have led to a larger dearth of Irish nature writing and of critical work on this writing. There are many contemporary nature poets and nature writers working in Ireland that could greatly contribute to the rewriting of the Irish landscape that is so necessary, but the attention given to them is largely from outside of Ireland. The only critic successfully working in the first strand at the moment is Eamonn Wall, whose *Writing the Irish West* and whose essay on Richard Murphy in *Out of the Earth* highlight contemporary nature poets such as Moya Cannon and Séamus Lysaght, allowing their poetry to speak for contemporary Ireland, instead of reading them as influenced by the Yeatsian tradition. Lysaght and Cannon often explore the spaces between poetry, cartography and natural history, and the two are both interested in the ways in which nature in Ireland has been and is continuing to be “consumed”. Conscious of their own consumption of nature as poets and as lovers of nature, the two both express this self-conscious anxiety in their poetry through images of intrusion and exploitation. The second strand, deriving from this brief discussion of Cannon and Lysaght, should be a “cultural ecological criticism”, one that focuses on the interaction between the human and the environment. In their *Atlas of Rural Ireland*, Aalen, Stout and Whelan begin by explaining:

In long and closely settled areas such as Ireland, the human impress is so pervasive that it is appropriate to speak of a cultural landscape. Here, the profusion of human features coalesce and form a virtually continuous layer. This cultural landscape is our major and most productive creation; it is both an artefact, based on foundations of geology and climate, and a narrative, layer upon layer of our history and nature's history intertwined. (5)

It is unrealistic and frankly, silly, to speak of any space in Ireland (or, really, any space on earth) as unaltered by human intervention. Perpetuating divides between urban and rural Ireland, either geographically or culturally, is irresponsible scholarship. These two strands of Irish ecocriticism will be mutually beneficial to one another, helping to bridge this artificial divide between urban and rural life and consequently, helping to increase the general environmental awareness in Ireland.

In his introduction to *Out of the Earth*, Elder acknowledges the difficulty facing any ecocritical studies of Irish literature because of the cultural and political baggage that comes with any discussion of Ireland and nature. However, he also argues that such a discussion needs to happen, and how holding an "ecocritical lens" to Irish literature will aid in the subversion of past conceptions of the relationship between Ireland, its people, its history and its landscape. The best way to begin this discussion, he argues, is through a focus on very precise aspects of the landscape, which "can remind us that particularity is the escape-hatch out of stultifying notions of history, culture, and the land" (4). Elder is most likely thinking of Tim Robinson, a writer who does not easily inhabit the category of "nature writing", but is also classified as a travel writer, a historian, a geographer, and a memoirist. Robinson's work focuses on one specific region (in the past, it has been the Aran Islands, the Burren, and most recently, the area around Roundstone, Co. Galway). He attempts to "re-map" the landscape, making one square mile of an Ordnance Survey Map expand to an entire book, filled with natural history, place names, stories, unnamed landmarks, and anything else Robinson finds to create a new vision of a particular place. Robinson's work is a primary example of the Joycean dictum that "in the particular is contained the universal" (JJ 505). The specificity of place in Robinson and in Joyce leads to a vision of all places, at all times. Only through close attention to detail does one begin to notice the patterns, rhythms and cycles that characterise life on earth.

Another prominent example of this specificity is Séan Lysaght's collection *The Clare Island Survey*, named after the first comprehensive geological survey of any part of Ireland, directed by Robert Lloyd Praeger from 1909-1911. In a method not unlike that of sections of *Finnegans Wake*, Lysaght "maps" late twentieth century Clare Island onto Praeger's early twentieth century Clare Island. This collection inhabits both of my "strands" of Irish ecocriticism as Lysaght is a poet with firm roots in the west of Ireland, but one who consistently engages with topical issues and never falls victim to the idealization of the west. *The Clare Island Survey* engages with the work done by Praeger in the last century and updates it with verse, presenting a new way of "mapping" the small island in Clew Bay. Lysaght focuses on the specific detail of the place, including eleven short poems, each dedicated to a different species of bird found around Clare Island, but each poem reaches toward the universal. For example, the poem "The Meadow Pipit" addresses this bird specific to Clare Island, but through the various names it can be known by in other languages, this bird becomes part of a global birdlife and the speaker and his father become part of a larger rhythm of migrations (the birds by their wings, the humans by their airplanes):

Or *reafóg*, as my father said,
when the small bird on the sward
ran away with its splayed
wing twitching,

not in pain
but to divert us
from the brood
in the ore of a tuft.

And we left,
this much the wiser:
that the little ones
needed us gone.

Now my plane flies in
from where they call them
Wiesenpieper,
and splays both wings to stop.

Away from the airport,
I stalk back
to low pleadings
at the edge of earshot.

Lysaght's plane, with its own "wings", links human ingenuity, either in terms of engineering or of poetry, to the natural world. The way that the father protects the son through passing on language and a sense of place is echoed in the way the meadow-pipit protects its young; both forms of protection are instinctual. With "The Clare Island Survey", Lysaght passes on the same instincts to his reader, urging us to pay attention to the details, because these details teach us about the larger networks of which we are a part. Joyce's focus on Chapelizod universalizes this small Dublin suburb, creating a space wherein both the struggle and cooperation between culture and nature can be explored. Focusing on the particular details of place provide a way in which one can live in the modern world while still being mindful of both the past and of the natural world one inhabits.

Glen A. Love, in "Revaluing Nature: Toward an Ecological Criticism", argues that "[t]he most important function of literature today is to redirect human consciousness to a full consideration of its place in a threatened natural world" (237). *Finnegans Wake* is admirable in its ability to place the "human consciousness" in this "threatened natural world"; Joyce revises the traditional stereotype of the Irish people and their landscape and focuses on the exploitations of nature in a global context. Though Joyce expressed the belief that, like his beloved Quinet passage, nature would outlive the human, the topics which preoccupied him throughout his life and throughout the writing of the *Wake* also demonstrate a concern over the ways in which the human race impacts the natural world. In his essay, "A Wake in Chapelizod", Slote argues: "Inverting a formula popular in these ecologically sensitive times, in *Finnegans Wake* Joyce thinks locally yet acts globally" (48). Slote continues: "When Joyce refers to 'Howth Castle and Environs' (FW 3.3), the environs are as global as they are Hibernian, as if the whole world were a suburb of Dublin" (48). Joyce's discussions of weirs, hydroelectric schemes, dams, public health and housing, turf-cutting, cloud-seeding, bird sanctuaries and forestry are all part of a global concern for human and non-human world alike, and are nearly always paired with the political ideologies from which these ideas of progress stem. There is a significant need to merge ecocriticism with Modernist studies through a redefinition

of the “city” and its position in a larger world, not just to fill in the gaps of literary criticism, but also to locate the origins and begin to mend the drastic divide between city and nature in the twenty-first century.

Finnegans Wake is a simple story in the life of one family, but Joyce translates this story to include all stories, of all things, at all times and all places. Underneath all of these stories is a much longer story of the earth, the oceans, the sky, the rocks and the trees. In *Finnegans Wake*, there is human time, but there is also geological time; this allows for the paradoxical coexistence of stability and flux, or permanence and transience. A nation may at one time believe its power to be absolute, but nations rise and fall, and entire civilizations disappear as if they had never existed. Individual lives pass quickly, the details forgotten by history, and lessons are not learned, but endlessly repeated. On the geological scale of time, human history is only a glitch. But on this scale, continents are moving, sea levels are rising, species are evolving into new species and others are becoming extinct, glacial periods begin and end, climate changes, planets are formed, stars burn out. The only record of human history will be its total effect on the earth, and subsequently, on the universe, and it is for this reason that Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake* foregrounds natural history. Without natural history, human history is meaningless. Without the thunder and the seasons, there would be no language and no stories. Without the rivers and the fields, there would be no cities. Without nature, without the life-giving waters and the oxygen producing trees, there would be no human life.

Perhaps a fitting way to conclude this thesis would be to turn to the recent film by Terrence Malick, *The Tree of Life* (2011), in which Malick merges the story of one family in a small Texas town with the forces of creation in the universe. He sets up the film as the battle between “the state of nature”, the masculine force, and the “state of grace”, the feminine force, and the two are engaged in a timeless dialectical struggle. Nature is instinct, cruelty, and survival, and grace is compassion, the way to live in the world. Malick shows this struggle evolving throughout the millennia, using images of the cosmos, of the “Big Bang”, of the slow evolution of life from the sea, and of the evolution of the human. All of these processes are constantly framed by careful attention to the leaves, the sunshine, the water, keeping them as a relatively stable constant in this ever-changing universe. The other constant, the struggle between grace and nature, is embodied through the seemingly simple relationship between father, mother, and children. A.O. Scott, the primary film critic for the *New York Times*, summarizes the film accordingly:

In his [Malick's] view, rooted in an idiosyncratic Christianity and also in the Romantic literary tradition, the loss of innocence is not a singular event in history but rather an axiom of human experience, repeated in every generation and in the consciousness of every individual. The miraculous paradox is that this universal pattern repeats itself in circumstances that are always unique. (16 May 2011)

In *The Tree of Life* and in *Finnegans Wake*, this “universal pattern” is the story of HCE and ALP, their two sons, their daughter, and their modest home in a Dublin suburb. However, their story re-enacts all the stories of human experience, and like Malick's film, their story is the story of all creation. In *The Tree of Life* as in *Finnegans Wake*, the final judgement happens on the seashore, with all life united through and framed by its origin from, inextricability with, and dependence upon nature.

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