

A *ULYSSES* MANUSCRIPTS WORKBOOK

APPENDIX: A NEW CENSUS OF *ULYSSES* HOLOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS

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Episode:	Episode:
<u>1. 'Telemachus'</u>	<u>10. 'Wandering Rocks'</u>
<u>2. 'Nestor'</u>	<u>11. 'Sirens'</u>
<u>3. 'Proteus'</u>	<u>12. 'Cyclops'</u>
<u>4. 'Calypso'</u>	<u>13. 'Nausicaa'</u>
<u>5. 'Lotus Eaters'</u>	<u>14. 'Oxen of the Sun'</u>
<u>6. 'Hades'</u>	<u>15. 'Circe'</u>
<u>7. 'Aeolus'</u>	<u>16. 'Eumaeus'</u>
<u>8. 'Lestrygonians'</u>	<u>17. 'Ithaca'</u>
<u>9. 'Scylla and Charybdis'</u>	<u>18. 'Penelope'</u>

Manuscripts in a **bold** font are extant, while those that are preceded by a standard bullet point are manuscripts that are known to be missing based on external information (such as Joyce's letters), and the manuscripts preceded by a white bullet point are postulated missing manuscripts based on internal, textual evidence, and our current understanding of Joyce's creative practice. Citations in the **green font** are links to the National Library of Ireland images of those manuscripts, while citations in the **red font**

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are links to my catalogue descriptions of the relevant Buffalo manuscripts. This new Census is based in part on research that Sam Slote and I undertook in Buffalo in 2000 and 2002 as part of the *Digital 'Ulysses'* projects.

1. 'TELEMACHUS': 1914–17 (ZURICH):

The first episode of *Ulysses* is in part based on scenes that Joyce had written for *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* that he subsequently set aside when he foreshortened the earlier novel's timeframe. Only four pages of this intermediary conception of *A Portrait* survive, which Joyce wrote in April 1914 (BL ADD MS 49975, ff. 2–5; the so-called 'Doherty Fragment'). It is not known how much Joyce wrote of *Ulysses* later in 1914, but he also wrote *Giacomo Joyce* that year, and then finished *Exiles* in March 1915. On 16 June 1915—which in hindsight was a surprisingly auspicious date—Joyce announced to Stanislaus Joyce in German: 'I have written something. The first episode of my new novel *Ulysses* is written. The first part, the Telemachiad, consists of four episodes: the second fifteen, that is, *Ulysses'* wandering; and the third, *Ulysses'* return home, of three more episodes' (*SL* 209).

It is clear that Joyce relied on notes under the headings 'Gogarty' and 'Mother' in the Cornell Alphabetical Notebook to write scenes that he intended to use as part of the extended version of *A Portrait*. Although no scene related to May Dedalus is known to be extant, he probably also wrote one or more such scenes with the intention of including them in *A Portrait*, which he then subsequently incorporated in 'Telemachus'. It is likely that Joyce relied on these (and other) texts to compile one or more early proto-drafts of the episode, which were presumably similar in kind to the 'Proteus' proto-draft ([NLI MS 7B](#)). Later he consolidated these fragments into one or more missing early drafts of 'Telemachus' that culminated in the 1915 manuscript that Joyce refers to in his letter to his brother.

The earliest and only known holograph draft of 'Telemachus' is the episode's Rosenbach manuscript. Claud Sykes used it to prepare the episode's typescript (see *LI* 409; Joyce to Sykes; [?27 October 1917]), which is missing. Joyce relied on notes from the 'Subject Notebook' ([NLI NB 3](#)) in part to write and/or revise its missing early draft(s).

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft(s) and Fragment(s)	NA	April 1914–March 1915
● Missing Early Draft(s)	NA	March–June 1915
Faircopy for Typescript	Rosenbach Manuscript	September–October 1917

2. 'NESTOR': 1915–17 (TRIESTE & ZURICH):

From a genetic perspective 'Nestor' is the first new episode of *Ulysses* that Joyce wrote. Unfortunately, there are no known notes or drafts of the episode before he prepared its Rosenbach manuscript. According to his usual practice, Joyce presumably prepared some sort of proto-draft and/or fragments for the episode, and he almost certainly wrote one or more drafts before the episode's extant faircopy.

On 30 June 1915, so just two weeks after his letter to Stanislaus Joyce in which he announced that he has finished 'Telemachus', Joyce appraised Ezra Pound of the current state of his book:

I suppose my novel [*A Portrait*] has reached its end now. I have written a play *Exiles* and was engaged on a novel *Ulysses* of which I have written the first two episodes. It is a continuation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* after three years' interval blended with many of the persons of *Dubliners*. I shall not finish it soon for many reasons. [...]. (30 June 1915; unpublished; Beinecke Library, Yale University)

The letter is unclear in several ways. Not only is it difficult to determine how Joyce calculated that there is a three-year hiatus between the end of *A Portrait* and the action of *Ulysses*, but it is also not certain that he was referring to 'Nestor' as the book's second episode. It is possible that he had yet to conceive of this episode at this stage and that he is referring to texts that he eventually incorporated into 'Proteus' or 'Scylla and Charybdis'. Nonetheless, until newer evidence emerges, it seems reasonable to presume that Joyce wrote both proto-drafts and one or more missing earlier drafts in 1915 and 1916. Joyce relied on notes from the 'Subject Notebook' ([NLI NB 3](#)) to write and/or revise the episode's missing early draft(s). Claud Sykes used the episode's Rosenbach manuscript to prepare the typescript (see *LI* 413; Joyce to Sykes; [?16 December 1917] and Joyce to Sykes; 19 December 1917; unpublished; Poetry Collection, University at Buffalo), only one page of which survives ([Buffalo TS 1](#)).

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft(s) and Fragment(s)	NA	March–July 1915
● Missing Early Draft(s)	NA	July 1915–October 1916
Faircopy for Typescript	Rosenbach Manuscript	October–Early December 1917

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3. 'PROTEUS': 1917–21 (TRIESTE, LOCARNO & ZURICH):

The proto-draft of 'Proteus' ([NLI MS 7A](#)) was one of the more surprising manuscripts that came to light with the NLI acquisition in 2002. It is impossible to know when Joyce first wrote the texts that he gathered in this manuscript; they may even date to the extended version of *A Portrait* that Joyce abandoned in April 1914. Whether or not he wrote these particular texts for *A Portrait*, it is quite possible that Joyce wrote several of the set pieces that he later incorporated in 'Proteus' for Chapter V of *A Portrait* and that they resembled the collection of fragmentary scenes in NLI MS 7A.

On 10 October 1916, Joyce wrote quite optimistically to Harriet Shaw Weaver: 'I thank you also for your kind inquiry about the book I am writing. I am working at it as well as I can. It is called *Ulysses* and the action takes place in Dublin in 1904. I have almost finished the first part and have written out part of the middle and end. I hope to finish it in 1918' (*LII* 387). He then wrote to Ezra Pound: 'I am glad *Ulysses* is to appear in both reviews from March on and now that I can read and write again I shall get to work. I hope you will like it' (22 October 1917; *SL* 227–8).

The state of NLI MS 7A suggests that there may also have been one or more other, similar proto-drafts of the episode that are not known to have survived. Joyce may have consolidated the texts on NLI MS 7A with other similar fragmentary texts to produce an earlier draft, or else he may have incorporated the NLI fragments into an already written linear narrative draft. Joyce seems to have used [Buffalo MS 3](#) to write the Rosenbach faircopy manuscript and it served as the typist's copy for this episode, only one page of which survives ([Buffalo TS 2](#)). Joyce relied on notes from the missing first-order notebook ([Buffalo NB D7](#) [*Buffalo Finnegans Wake MS VI.C.16*]) as well as the 'Subject Notebook' ([NLI NB 3](#)) to revise both the episode's proto-draft as well as the later draft.

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:	JJA:
○ Postulated Proto-draft(s) and Fragments (Sibling of NLI MS 7A)	NA	April 1914–1917	NA
Proto-draft	NLI MS 7A	Mid–Late October 1917	NA
○ Postulated Missing Early Draft(s)	NA	1916–October 1917	NA
Later Draft	Buffalo MS 3	Autumn 1917	12: 238–58
Faircopy for Typescript	Rosenbach Manuscript	December 1917	NA

4. ‘CALYPSO’: 1916–18 (TRIESTE & ZURICH):

There are no notes or drafts that document Joyce’s initial conception and elaboration of any of the early Bloom episodes from ‘Calypso’ to ‘Lestrygonians’. Were these manuscripts to come to light, they would substantially alter our understanding of the genesis of *Ulysses* from 1916 to 1918. One of the reasons that almost none of the preparatory manuscripts for these episodes exist is that Joyce sent some or all of this material to his brother in Trieste in late 1919. While working on ‘Cyclops’, Joyce wrote to Stanislaus in Italian: ‘I sent you my folders of *Ulysses* (chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) Acknowledge receipt’ (25 August 1919; *LII* 449). These manuscripts are not part of the Stanislaus Joyce Collection at Cornell, nor have they come to light since. Nonetheless, based on what we know of Joyce’s compositional practices, we can be quite certain that he prepared one (or presumably more) collections of notes, several sorts of proto-drafts, as well as early drafts for all of these episodes before the extant faircopy manuscript, which for ‘Calypso’ is a collateral document; that is, it is out of the direct line of the episode’s textual transmission. Therefore, Joyce must also have written a now missing final draft of ‘Calypso’ from which the episode’s first typescript was prepared ([Buffalo TS 3a](#)). Joyce relied on notes from the ‘Subject Notebook’ ([NLI NB 3](#)) in part to write and/or revise the episode’s missing proto-draft(s) and early draft(s).

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments	NA	April 1914–1916
○ Postulated Missing Early Draft(s)	NA	Before June 1917
○ Postulated Missing Final Draft	NA	January–February 1918
Collateral Faircopy	Rosenbach Manuscript	February 1918

5. ‘LOTUS EATERS’: 1914–18 (TRIESTE & ZURICH):

An unpublished letter Joyce wrote to Ezra Pound makes it clear that he was being disingenuous when he complained to Harriet Monroe, the editor of *Poetry*, about how much writing he had been able to accomplish in 1917: ‘I am sorry to say I have not been able to do much this year. I have been very ill with my eyes and fear I shall never get well in this bad climate [in Zurich]’ (12 August

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1917; *LII* 403). In fact, two months earlier Joyce had already reported to Pound in an unpublished and little known letter: ‘As regards *Ulysses*, I managed to finish the draft of Hades’ house and also the Lotuseaters and am getting together the notes for the Eolian episode’ (5 June 1917; Beinecke Library, Yale University). None of the notes, proto-drafts, or drafts of these episodes are known to survive, though Joyce presumably sent at least some of these manuscripts to Stanislaus Joyce in August 1919 (see *LII* 449). The amount of writing Joyce had already done in 1916 and 1917 accounts for his confidence when Joyce wrote again to Pound later in the Summer of 1917:

[...] I think my best plan is to move into some cheap pension down there [Italian Switzerland]. I shall do this if Mr Quinn’s money arrives and if there is a prospect that your suggestion of some months ago will become a fact: I mean about *Ulysses*. You suggested that it could appear serially in *Egoist* and *Little Review* and thus bring me double fees. I am prepared to consign it serially from 1 January next, instalments of about 6000 words (20 August 1917; *SL* 226–7).

Joyce relied on notes from the missing first-order notebook ([Buffalo NB D7](#) [*Buffalo Finnegans Wake MS VI.C.16*]), the only extant first-order notebook ([Buffalo NB 2a](#)), as well the ‘Subject Notebook’ ([NLI NB 3](#)), to write and/or revise in part the episode’s missing proto-draft(s) and early draft(s). Furthermore, along with those of ‘Nausicaa’, ‘Oxen of the Sun’, and ‘Circe’, the extant faircopy of ‘Lotus Eaters’ is a mixed (inline and collateral) document for *Ulysses* that includes some pages that are similar to or could have served as the typist’s copy, whereas the other pages are demonstrably out of the line of direct textual transmission for the episode. This indicates that Joyce must have also written some missing final draft of at least those latter portions of the episode from which the episode’s (now missing) typescript was prepared.

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft(s) and Fragments	NA	April 1914–1916
● Missing Early Draft(s)	NA	Before June 1917
○ Postulated Missing Final Draft	NA	February–May 1918
Mixed Faircopy for Typescript	Rosenbach Manuscript	February–May 1918

6. 'HADES' 1906–18: (ROME, TRIESTE, LOCARNO & ZURICH):

Joyce's unpublished 5 June 1917 letter to Ezra Pound confirms that he had written presumably more than one proto-draft and certainly one or more early drafts of 'Hades' by that stage: 'As regards *Ulysses*, I managed to finish the draft of Hades' house and also the Lotuseaters and am getting together the notes for the Eolian episode' (Beinecke Library, Yale University). 'Hades' is also the most explicit example of Joyce's twofold earlier claim to Pound that the book 'is a continuation of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* after three years' interval blended with many of the persons of *Dubliners*' (30 June 1915; unpublished; Beinecke Library, Yale University). Given its cast of characters and relatively simple style (before Joyce overhauled the episode in 1921), it is possible that as early September 1906 to 1907 he had written some sketches or one or more proto-drafts of at least some of the scenes that appear in this episode (see *LII* 168 [Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce; Postmark 30 September 1906]), when Joyce first mentioned his plans for a new short story (see also *LII* 190 [Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce; 13 November 1906] and *LII* 190 [Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce; 6 February 1907]; as well as *LI* 98 [Joyce to Harriet Shaw Weaver; 8 November 1916], *LII* 392 [Joyce to C.P. Curran; 15 March 1917], and *Owen* 3–6), but Joyce certainly rewrote the episode as we know it again in 1916.

Joyce relied on notes from the only extant first-order notebook ([Buffalo NB 2a](#)) as well the 'Subject Notebook' ([NLI NB 3](#)) to write and/or revise in part the episode's missing proto-draft(s) and early draft(s). The episode's Rosenbach manuscript is the second of six collateral faircopies for *Ulysses*. This indicates that Joyce must also have written a missing lost final draft of episode from which the episode's typescript was prepared ([Buffalo TS 4](#)).

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments	NA	September 1906–1916
● Missing Early Draft(s)	NA	June 1917–February 1918
○ Postulated Missing Final Draft	NA	Before March 1918
Collateral Faircopy	Rosenbach Manuscript	March–May 1918

7. 'AEOLUS': 1917–18 (ZURICH, LOCARNO, ZURICH):

In June 1917 Joyce informed Ezra Pound that he was 'getting together the notes for the Eolian episode' (5 June 1917; unpublished; Beinecke Library, Yale University). He almost certainly used these notes to prepare one or more proto-drafts and early drafts before

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he prepared the only extant holograph draft of the episode. None of the episode's drafts are known to survive, though Joyce sent some of these manuscripts to Stanislaus Joyce in August 1919 (see *LII* 449, quoted above). The episode's Rosenbach manuscript is its only extant holograph. It is also out of the line of direct textual transmission, which indicates that Joyce must also have written a now missing final draft from which the episode's typescript was prepared ([Buffalo TS 5](#)). He relied on notes from the missing first-order notebook ([Buffalo NB D7](#) [*Buffalo Finnegans Wake MS VI.C.16*]) as well the 'Subject Notebook' ([NLI NB 3](#)), to write and/or revise in part the episode's missing proto-draft(s) and early draft(s).

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments	NA	June 1917–January 1918
○ Postulated Missing Early Draft(s)	NA	June 1917– January 1918
○ Postulated Missing Final Draft	NA	January–Early May 1918
Collateral Faircopy	Rosenbach Manuscript	January–May 1918

8. 'LESTRYONIANS': 1918–21 (ZURICH, LOCARNO & ZURICH):

There are no extant drafts of 'Lestrygonians' before its Rosenbach faircopy manuscript, which is also a collateral document, as are those for 'Calypso', 'Hades', 'Aeolus', 'Scylla and Charybdis', and "Sirens". It is not known when Joyce first started writing the episode and, in general, there is no external information about its early genesis. Nonetheless, we can speculate about what Joyce had written of it by the start of 1918 from the manuscripts that survive of book's other episodes and from Joyce's description of his collection of early manuscripts in a letter to Ezra Pound in mid October 1916: 'All the rest of my [work] is the bewildering mass of papers for *Ulysses* which I carry in a very large envelope that I possess for the last twelve years' ([Postmark 14 October 1916]; unpublished; Beinecke Library, Yale University). The 'Lestrygonians' manuscripts most likely took the form of notes as well as an assortment of fragmentary texts and proto-drafts, as well as early and final drafts, some of which some may have been quite different from how this episode later appeared in print.

Joyce must also have written a now missing final draft from which the episode's typescript was prepared ([Buffalo TS 6](#)). He relied in part on notes from all the known early notebooks to write and/or revise the episode's one or more missing proto-drafts and early drafts: the missing first-order notebook ([Buffalo NB D7](#) [*Buffalo Finnegans Wake MS VI.C.16*]), the only extant first-order notebook ([Buffalo NB 2a](#)), as well the 'Subject Notebook' ([NLI NB 3](#)).

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments	NA	1916–17
○ Postulated Missing Early Draft(s)	NA	After June 1917–January 1918
○ Postulated Missing Final Draft	NA	January–July 1918
Collateral Faircopy	Rosenbach Manuscript	January–July 1918

9. ‘SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS’: 1914–16 (TRIESTE & ZURICH):

There were at least three phases in Joyce’s early work on ‘Scylla and Charybdis’. The episode is presumably based in part on Joyce’s preparation for his ‘Hamlet’ lectures in 1912–13 (see *Owen* 17 and 26). Then in 1914 he may have written some version of a scene in which Stephen Dedalus propounds his ‘Shakespeare theory’ in the National Library that he may have intended to include as part of the abandoned extended version of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Finally, Joyce certainly wrote one or more proto-drafts of this episode from May 1916 to March 1917. One of these manuscripts was included in the La Hune ‘James Joyce’ Exhibition and auction in Paris in 1948. It was therefore part of the collection acquired by the Poetry Collection, University at Buffalo (as it is now called), but it did not arrive in there with the other La Hune Joyce material in 1950 (see *Spielberg* vii). What became of that manuscript is not known and it has never reappeared. The La Hune catalogue describes it as:

CHARYBDE ET SCYLLA. / (Neuvième episode) 10 grandes feuilles de papier blanc uni, manuscrit à l’encre uniquement recto. Fragments de conversations qui réapparaissent, sous une forme très différente, dans la scène de la Bibliothèque. Nombreuses marques au crayon rouge. (*La Hune* n.p., item 254; *Slocum and Cahoon* Item 5.b.iii, 140)

[SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS. / (Ninth episode) 10 large white unlined sheets of paper, holograph in ink only on the rectos. Fragments of conversations that reappear, in a very different form, in the Library episode. Numerous red crayon markings.]

Although it is not known to be extant, the description of this manuscript is identical to that of the book’s surviving proto-drafts and fragments. It was comprised of disconnected fragmentary scenes that included dialogue, which Joyce later crossed through in red

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crayon when he rewrote them in a subsequent (also missing) proto-draft or early draft. It is not known when he wrote this manuscript but it is was most likely in 1916.

Joyce must also have written one or more now lost earlier drafts of the episode. He referred to one of them in a letter to Ezra Pound on 9 April 1917: ‘As regards excerpts from *Ulysses*, the only thing I could send would be the Hamlet chapter, or part of it—which, however, would suffer by excision’ (SL 225). Neither the extant draft nor the episode’s Rosenbach manuscript was the direct source of the extant typescript (**Buffalo TS 7**). This indicates that there must also have been a now lost final draft. Joyce relied on the “Subject Notebook” (**NLI NB 3**) to revise the extant later draft (**NLI MSS 8A, 8B, and 8C**).

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missing Proto-draft and Fragments • Missing Earlier Draft(s) 	NA	1914–1916
Later Draft	NA	1916–April 1917
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Final Draft 	NLI MSS 8A, 8B, and 8C	Summer 1918
Collateral Faircopy	NA	Summer–Autumn 1918
	Rosenbach Manuscript	Autumn 1918

10. ‘WANDERING ROCKS’: 1915–21 (TRIESTE, ZURICH, LOCARNO & ZURICH):

No notes or proto-drafts of ‘Wandering Rocks’ survive and, given his eye troubles in 1918, as well as its particular narrative form, it is possible that this is the only episode of *Ulysses* for which Joyce did not have to prepare an early draft. In fact, on the last page of the episode’s Rosenbach manuscript, Joyce wrote: ‘PP. 32–48 were written by my friend Francis Budgen at my dictation *from notes* during my illness January–February 1919’ (my emphasis). This is the only extant holograph manuscript of the episode and it is a composite faircopy document that was used to prepare **Buffalo TS 8**. It is not known when he compiled or wrote these ‘notes’. While it is possible that some portions of these texts could date back to 1906–7 (*Owen* 4), Joyce probably wrote or rewrote most of them from 1916 to 1918. It is highly unlikely that Joyce could have dictated these relatively long and well-developed narratives from the type of notes that survive for the other episodes. Therefore, the texts from which Joyce was dictating to Budgen were more likely fragmentary vignettes that he had yet to incorporate into the narrative structure of the book. As such, they must have been similar to the surviving proto-drafts of the other episodes. If ‘Wandering Rocks’ is merely an arrangement of previously unused

proto-draft fragments, it is possible that its unique and much celebrated style is primarily an outcome of the pressures of publication deadlines.

Joyce relied on notes from the missing first-order notebook ([Buffalo NB D7](#) [Buffalo *Finnegans Wake* [MS VI.C.16](#)]), the only extant first-order notebook ([Buffalo NB 2a](#)), as well the ‘Subject Notebook’ ([NLI NB 3](#)) to write and/or revise the episode’s missing proto-drafts.

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Missing Proto-draft and Fragments Composite Faircopy for Typescript	NA Rosenbach Manuscript	1915–1918 January–February 1919

11. ‘SIRENS’: 1915–19 (TRIESTE, ZURICH, LOCARNO & ZURICH):

The highly developed state of the base text (as well as its disposition on facing pages) on the extant earlier draft of ‘Sirens’ ([NLI MS 7B](#), pp. [5v]–[10r]) demonstrates that Joyce was copying it from an even earlier now missing proto-draft or, more likely, a relatively complete draft of at least the first half of the published episode. It is possible that Joyce conceived the most basic narrative substratum of what became ‘Sirens’ sometime between 1915 and 1917, though the bibliographical evidence shows that he wrote and revised the extant partial earlier draft sometime between late 1917 and July 1919. Along with ‘Scylla and Charybdis’, the base text of this manuscript is the best evidence of Joyce’s claim about what he had written of the middle episodes in his 10 October 1916 letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver: ‘I have almost finished the first part and have written out part of the middle and end’ (*LII* 387). Joyce may also have written some of the fragments in the second half of the extant earlier draft ([NLI MS 7B](#), pp. [10r]–[14r]) at an earlier stage in the genesis of the book, though he clearly wrote some of them for the first time in this manuscript.

Joyce turned his full attention to ‘Sirens’ in March 1919 (see Joyce to Harriet Shaw Weaver; 25 February 1919; *LII* 436) and in his 20 July 1919 letter to Weaver claimed that the episode ‘took me five months to write’ (*SL* 240). During this period Joyce must also have written one or more early drafts of the second half of the episode. The Rosenbach ‘Sirens’ manuscript is the last of the fully collateral documents for *Ulysses*. So Joyce must also have written a now lost final draft of the episode that served as typist’s copy for [Buffalo TS 9](#). He relied on notes from the ‘Subject Notebook’ ([NLI NB 3](#)) to revise the extant partial earlier draft and fragments ([NLI MS 7B](#)) as well as the episode’s later draft ([NLI MS 9](#) and [Buffalo MS 5](#)).

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Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
○ Postulated Missing Earlier Proto-draft and Fragments	NA	1914–October 1916
○ Postulated Missing Even Earlier Draft	NA	1914–October 1916
Partial Earlier Draft and Fragments	<u>NLI MS 7B</u>	Late 1917–Summer 1919
○ Postulated Missing Earlier Draft and Fragments (Sibling of NLI MS 9 & Buffalo MS 5)	NA	Late 1917–March 1919
Later Draft	<u>NLI MS 9</u> & <u>Buffalo MS 5</u>	January–June 1919
○ Postulated Missing Final Draft	NA	January–June 1919
Collateral Faircopy	Rosenbach Manuscript	June 1919

12. ‘CYCLOPS’: 1919 (ZURICH):

While no pre-faircopy drafts of the episode survive, there are two levels of proto-drafts for ‘Cyclops’: an earlier collection of proto-drafts and fragmentary texts (**Buffalo MS 8** & **NLI MS 10**) and a later collection of proto-drafts and fragmentary texts (**Buffalo MS 6**), all of which Joyce composed (presumably for the first time) from mid June to September 1919. Joyce may have also written other collections of earlier or later proto-drafts, but he certainly must have written one or more now missing basically linear (possibly both earlier and later) drafts of the episode before he wrote its Rosenbach manuscript, which was the typist’s copy for **Buffalo TS 10**. The typist was a certain Miss Herter, who according to Ellmann was on the staff of British consulate in Zurich (see Joyce to Budgen; [December 1919]; *SL* 245, n. 1). Joyce relied on notes from the missing first-order notebook (**Buffalo NB D7** [*Buffalo Finnegans Wake MS VI.C.16*]), the ‘Subject Notebook’ (**NLI NB 3**), as well as most of the BL ‘Cyclops’ Notesheets to write and revise the earlier proto-draft (Buffalo MS 8) and then used some of the BL ‘Cyclops’ Notesheets to write and revise the later proto-draft.

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:	JJA:
Earlier Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts	<u>Buffalo MS 8</u> & <u>NLI MS 10</u>	Mid-June 1919	13: 83–132 & NA
Later Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts	<u>Buffalo MS 6</u>	Summer 1919	13: 134.a–h
○ Postulated Missing Proto-drafts and Fragments (Sibling of Buffalo MS 8, NLI MS 10 and Buffalo MS 6)	NA	Mid June–August 1919	NA
○ Postulated Missing Intermediary Draft(s)	NA	Mid June–August 1919	NA
Faircopy for Typescript	Rosenbach Manuscript	September–October 1919	NA

13. ‘NAUSICAA’: 1919–20 (TRIESTE):

According to a letter Joyce wrote to Frank Budgen, he only began writing ‘Nausicaa’ in December 1919: ‘I have not written a word of *Nausikaa* beyond notation of flappers’ atrocities and general plan of the specially new fizzing style (Patent No. 7728. S.P. E.P. B.P. L.P.)’ (SL 243–5). He then reported his slow progress to Budgen about a month later: ‘For six weeks after my arrival [in Trieste] I neither read nor wrote nor spoke. But as it cannot go on so I started *Nausikaa* and have written less than half. Perhaps I can finish it on February 2’ (3 January 1920; SL 245). Joyce is presumably describing his work compiling the episode’s BL Notesheets (or an earlier collection of notes) in the first letter, while in the other letter he is reporting his work on the first part of the episode in **Buffalo MS 10**, which he then continued in Cornell MSS 56A and 56B. As usual, the extant manuscripts are almost certainly not first drafts. So Joyce must have prepared some form of now missing proto-draft and/or earlier draft that served as basis of the text on the extant draft. Since the episode’s Rosenbach manuscript is a mixed in-line and collateral document, Joyce clearly also prepared a now missing final draft of the episode that served at least in part as the typist’s copy for **Buffalo TS 11**. He used the BL ‘Nausicaa’ Notesheets to write and revise all the drafts.

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Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:	JJA:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments Early Draft	NA Buffalo MS 10 & Cornell MSS 56A–B	December 1919 November 1919–January 1920	NA 13: 175–214 & 13: 215–44
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Final Draft Mixed Faircopy for Typescript	NA Rosenbach Manuscript	January 1920 January–February 1920	NA NA

14. ‘OXEN OF THE SUN’: 1920 (TRIESTE):

There are no manuscript traces of ‘Oxen of the Sun’ before 1920. While the episode’s genetic dossier is one of the most complete, the textual evidence also suggests that many of its manuscripts are also missing. The extant manuscripts constitute two almost complete draft stages—an earlier and a later one—that are relatively evenly dispersed between the Buffalo and National Library of Ireland’s Joyce Collections, all of which Joyce wrote between February and March 1920. He probably wrote one or more collections of proto-drafts and/or possibly one or more even earlier drafts before the extant earlier draft level. Furthermore, a collation of the extant earlier and later drafts indicates that Joyce must also have written a now missing intermediary draft in between the two extant draft levels. And, one page survives in the Cornell Joyce Collection that documents a collateral intermediary faircopy stage. Finally, like the ‘Nausicaa’ and ‘Circe’ Rosenbach manuscripts, the ‘Oxen of the Sun’ Rosenbach manuscript is a mixed document that is comprised of both in-line and collateral pages. This indicates that Joyce must also have written a now missing final draft that was used to prepare [Buffalo TS 12](#). He relied on the BL ‘Oxen of the Sun’ Notesheets to write and revise all of the episode’s manuscripts.

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:	JJA:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments ○ Postulated Missing Even Earlier Draft Earlier Draft Level	NA NA <u>Buffalo MS 11</u> & <u>Buffalo MS 12</u> & <u>NLI MS 11A</u> & <u>NLI MS 11B</u>	January–February 1920 January–February 1920 February–April 1920	NA NA 14: 05–25 & 14: 28–56 & NA & NA
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Intermediary Draft Later Draft Level	NA <u>Buffalo MS 13</u> & <u>Buffalo MS 14</u> & <u>NLI MS 11C</u> & <u>NLI MS 11D</u> & <u>Buffalo MS 16</u> & <u>Buffalo MS 17</u> & <u>Buffalo MS 18</u> & <u>NLI MS 11E</u> & <u>NLI MS 11F</u>	April–May 1920 April–May 1920	NA 14: 59–64 & 14: 28–56 & NA & NA & 14: 87–94 & 14: 97–110 & 14: 113–32 & NA & NA &
Collateral Intermediate Faircopy Fragment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Final Draft 	Cornell ‘Oxen’ MS NA	April–May 1920 April–May 1920	14: 135–9 NA
Mixed Faircopy for Typescript	Rosenbach Manuscript	May 1920	NA

15. ‘CIRCE’: 1919–20 (TRIESTE & PARIS):

Any brief summary of the genesis of the ‘Circe’ episode is necessarily reductive. Nonetheless, the decorative stationer’s stamp on the front cover of the earliest extant draft (**Buffalo MS 19**) clearly indicates that Joyce bought the copybook in Trieste after he returned to the city in mid October 1919. It is quite likely that he began writing the draft shortly after he finished revising the typescript of ‘Oxen of the Sun’ for its partial appearance in the *Little Review* in June 1920. While the first half of the Buffalo MS 19 (pp. [1r]–[15r]) contains an early draft of the episode that Joyce presumably started in Trieste and continued in Paris, the second

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half is a collection of proto-drafts and fragments (pp. [16r]–[16v] and [20v]–[33r]). It is not clear if Joyce is referring to the first half of this manuscript or to a later, now missing draft when he wrote to Frank Budgen in late July 1920: ‘Try to arrange to stop a few days in Paris. [...] Besides I want to hear you on the *Oxen* episode and want to bore the life out of you about *Circe* which is half written. Trieste was a very bad mark but I did two big chapters in it all the same. *Circe* is the last adventure thank God’ (27 July 1920; *SL* 266).

Joyce rewrote the first half of the episode from Buffalo MS 19 in [NLI MS 12](#) and subsequently rewrote that text in the first half of the [NLI Quinn MS](#) (pp. [1r]–[13r] and [15r]–[16r]), possibly in a direct line of transmission. He also rewrote the proto-draft and fragments that comprise the second half of the episode in Buffalo MS 19 in one or more now missing early drafts and then rewrote that text on the second half of the NLI Quinn MS (pp. [17r]–[27r]). In this way Joyce had managed to combine the two parts of the episode by the time he wrote the NLI Quinn MS, relying on further material from NLI MS 12 (pp. [15r]–[16r]) as a transition.

It would be hard to exaggerate the amount of mental and physical labour Joyce exerted on this episode. Towards the end of the Summer of 1920 he wrote to Harriet Shaw Weaver that ‘The final adventure *Circe* is giving me in all ways a great deal of worry. I have written the greater part of it four or five times. I am glad *Ulysses* had only twelve adventures. *Circe* [sic] herself had less trouble weaving her web than I have with her episode’ (16 August 1920; *LIII* 15). Then just a week later he wrote in Italian to his Triestine friend Francini Bruni:

A damned mishap is holding up my work. The case of books [...] is not be found! [...] But imagine my state of mind after seven years of work, and what work. Everyone is waiting for the end of the adventures. I have already written the *Circe* episode some six times. I think it is the strongest thing I have written in spite of my expulsion in circumstances unknown to the goddess who protects me’ (?8 September 1920; *LIII* 20, n. 2).

These letters indicate that Joyce must also have written at least one further later draft before he presumably wrote the episode’s final draft, which is probably the draft he is referring to in his postcard in Italian to Carlo Linati on 3 November 1920: ‘I am now writing the final version of *Circe*. I had to wait for my case of books to come. It took a good four months between here and Trieste’ (*LIII* 27, n. 1). Joyce probably used this lost final draft in part to prepare the Rosenbach ‘*Circe*’ manuscript as well as the episode’s composite typescript ([Buffalo TS 13.h](#)).

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:	JJA:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments • Missing Earlier Draft(s) 	NA	1916–June 1920	NA
Composite Earlier Draft and Proto-draft and Fragments	NA	June–July 1920	NA
	<u>Buffalo MS 19</u>	June–July 1920	14: 201–59
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Intermediary Draft(s) 	NA	July–December 1920	NA
Later Intermediary Draft	<u>NLI MS 12</u>	July–December 1920	NA
Even Later Intermediary Draft	<u>NLI Quinn MS</u>	July–December 1920	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missing Later Draft(s) ○ Postulated Missing Final Draft 	NA	July–December 1920	NA
Mixed Faircopy for Typescript	NA	July–December 1920	NA
	Rosenbach MS	January–May 1920	NA

16. ‘EUMAEUS’: 1915–21 (TRIESTE, ZURICH & PARIS):

As usual, it is likely that Joyce compiled some form of now missing proto-draft or fragments (or possibly may have written some sort of rudimentary earlier draft) of the episode before he wrote the earliest known draft. This is the so-called ‘Eumeo’ manuscript, which is in private hands and has not been adequately examined. The different coloured inks Joyce used in the manuscript document several stages of the episode’s genesis. Joyce probably started writing this draft in 1915–16 in Trieste (possibly based on an earlier proto-draft) and then finished and revised it at various junctures, culminating in the final revision of the earlier draft in Paris in January–February 1921. This account accords with Joyce’s 10 October 1916 letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver in which he claimed that he had written some version of the ‘Nostos’ episodes at least four years before he arrived in Paris: ‘I have almost finished the first part and have written out part of the middle and end’ (*LII* 387). He is presumably referring to the most basic level of the ‘Eumeo’ manuscript or possibly to some even earlier proto-draft or draft in this letter. Joyce made a similar claim to John Quinn before he left Trieste for the second time in July 1920: ‘The close of the book or *Nostos* proper is, like the *Telemachia*, in three parts, but simpler, and is in part written. [...] in view of the six years’ [1914–20] unbroken labour which the book has cost me, I must have a first proof and a revise of the whole book’ (11 March 1920; *LII* 459–60).

The next surviving manuscript of the episode is a partial later draft (**Buffalo MS 21**) that Joyce completed in February 1921. Although the first page of this manuscript is numbered ‘1’, it begins mid-sentence less than a third of the way through the episode

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(see *U* 581.35; *U-G* 16.490). This indicates that there must have also been some now missing sibling later manuscript for the opening section of the episode. Joyce used the later draft was in part to write the Rosenbach ‘Eumaeus’ manuscript, which was then used to prepare [Buffalo TS 14](#). It seems that Joyce used the BL ‘Eumaeus’ Notesheets to write and revise the extant earlier draft and then the BL ‘Eumaeus’ Notesheets along with NLI Notebooks to write and revise the later draft and the episode’s Rosenbach manuscript.

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:	JJA:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments 	NA	June 1915–October 1916	NA
Earlier Draft	‘Eumeo’ MS: Private Collection	January–February 1921	NA
Partial Later Draft	Buffalo MS 21	January–February 1921	15: 321–68
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Missing Later Draft (Sibling of Buffalo MS 21) 		January–February 1921	
Faircopy for Typescript	Rosenbach Manuscript	Mid–Late February 1921	NA

17. ‘ITHACA’: 1915–21 (TRIESTE, ZURICH & PARIS):

The earliest surviving manuscript of ‘Ithaca’ is a partial proto-draft of the episode ([NLI MS 13](#)). It is a mixed document in which Joyce compiled an older collection of rudimentary, non-sequential question-and-answer text blocks, some of which he may have written as early as 1915–16. He also wrote a substantial number of newer questions and answers in this manuscript, some of which were based in part on notes he re-gathered in the note repositories that he compiled in Paris in 1921. It is possible that Joyce wrote one or more other proto-drafts of the episode from 1914 to 1921 before the extant proto-draft. The substantial disparity between the textual states of the proto-draft and the Rosenbach ‘Ithaca’ manuscript, which is the next and only other surviving manuscript of the episode, indicates that Joyce most likely also wrote one or more early, linear drafts of the episode in which he arranged the various proto-draft fragments. The state of the Rosenbach manuscript suggests that Joyce may have prepared it directly from an early draft. The two Rosenbach ‘Ithaca’ copy were used in tandem as the typist’s copy for [Buffalo TS 15](#). Joyce used the BL ‘Ithaca’ Notesheets as well as the NLI Notebooks to write and revise all of the episode’s drafts.

Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments (Sibling of NLI MS 13) <p>Proto-draft and Fragments</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Postulated Missing Early Draft <p>Faircopy for Typescript</p>	<p>NA</p> <p><u>NLI MS 13</u></p> <p>NA</p> <p>Rosenbach Manuscript</p>	<p>June 1915–Spring 1921</p> <p>Spring–Summer 1921</p> <p>Before August 1921</p> <p>August–Late October 1921</p>

18. ‘PENELOPE’: 1915–21 (TRIESTE, ZURICH & PARIS):

Joyce wrote the only surviving draft of ‘Penelope’ in Paris in the early summer of 1921 ([NLI MS 14](#)) and the textual evidence suggests that it is actually an intermediary draft. The clear disposition of the base text on this manuscript indicates that Joyce was copying it from an earlier, now missing proto-draft and/or draft of the episode, the most basic elements of which he presumably wrote more than once from 1914 to 1916. He then revised the penultimate early draft in Paris before the extant intermediary draft. Joyce’s use of notes that he only compiled in 1921 reveals that he had revised the missing earlier draft in Paris before writing NLI MS 14. A collation of the text on NLI MS 14 and the episode’s Rosenbach manuscript, which is the only other surviving holograph, indicates that Joyce also wrote one or more later manuscripts in between the two extant draft states. The episode’s Rosenbach manuscript was the typists copy for [Buffalo TS 16](#). Joyce used the BL ‘Penelope’ Notesheets as well as the NLI Notebooks and [Buffalo NB 2b](#) to write and revise all of the episode’s drafts.

The new ‘Nostos’ manuscripts demonstrate that Joyce had settled on at least a basic conception of the stylistic features of the last three episodes of the book as early as 1914–16; this requires that the long-standing view that Joyce wrote *Ulysses* in three distinct stages has to be reformulated.

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Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:	JJA:
○ Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments	NA	June 1915–October 1916	NA
○ Postulated Missing Early Draft(s)	NA	June 1915–October 1916	NA
Intermediary Draft	<u> NLI MS 14 </u>	Spring–Summer 1921	NA
○ Postulated Missing Later Draft(s)	NA	Spring–Summer 1921	NA
Faircopy for Typescript	Rosenbach MS & Buffalo MS 22	July–Mid-September 1921	NA & 16: 293–7

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