

## The Yale Epiphanies: A New Typescript

Sangam MacDuff  
University of Geneva

I recently discovered a typescript of Joyce's epiphanies amongst the Eugene and Maria Jolas papers at Yale (GEN MS 108.XV.64.1503). The typescript was not reproduced in the *James Joyce Archive*, is not listed in Michael Groden's *Index* of Joyce's manuscripts, and appears to have escaped the Joycean radar. Although it does not contain any new epiphanies, this late, careful copy of nineteen holograph epiphanies sheds light on a number of intriguing features of Joyce's early work, whilst forcing us to revise some of our most commonplace assumptions about them.

Indeed, the unexpected discovery of this typescript reminds us how little is known about Joyce's epiphanies with any certainty. Around 1901 or 1902, Joyce began writing a series of short texts he called "Epiphany" or "Epiphanies," with or without the capital (*L II* 28, 78; cf. *L II* 35). On 8 February 1903, he told Stanislaus "my latest additions to 'Epiphany' might not be to [Russell's] liking" [*L II* 28]); his inverted commas indicate that, initially at least, Joyce thought of "Epiphany" as a unified collection with a title.<sup>1</sup> By March 1903, work on the collection was well underway, and Joyce clearly had an order in mind, since he told Stanislaus that he had "written fifteen epiphanies – of which twelve are insertions and three additions" (*L II* 35). This implies an ordered series, which is corroborated by Stanislaus Joyce's recollection that "two or three months after" May Joyce's death (August 13 1903) he found epiphany 21 "added to my brother's series of epiphanies" (*MBK* 235). Unfortunately, we don't know how many epiphanies there were in this series, or in what order, but it is clear that Joyce composed new epiphanies until at least late 1903. Critics have sometimes extended this to early 1904, on the assumption that epiphany 40, the only original draft, was the last to be written. But by early 1904, Joyce had begun to recycle his epiphanies in the prose work which led to *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. The initial "Portrait" sketch, dated 7 January 1904, includes phrases from epiphanies 24 and 25 (*PSW* 184-85, 216-17), and from this point on, there is no evidence of Joyce writing new pieces for an epiphanies collection. Rather, he began to incorporate his epiphanies into *Stephen Hero*, and later *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. By January 1905 he must have been hard at it, for Joyce told Stanislaus "when [Nora] saw me copy Epiphanies into my novel she asked would all that paper be wasted" (*L II* 78). Of course, the novel referred to is *Stephen Hero*, whose extant portion contains fourteen epiphanies, as well as Daedalus's reference to "a book of epiphanies" and his famous definition of an epiphany as "a sudden spiritual manifestation" (*SH* 216). Similarly, Joyce included twelve epiphanies in *Portrait*, beginning the novel with a set piece based on epiphany 1 ("Pull out his eyes / Apologise" [*P* 4]), and ending it with a series of epiphanies in Stephen's diary. It is often assumed that Joyce lost interest in the

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<sup>1</sup> However, the status and title of the work(s) remain problematic. Ellmann's italicised title *Epiphanies* arguably bestows greater importance on Joyce's unpublished texts than they merit. Scholes and Kain capitalise the Epiphanies, which has the advantage of distinguishing between the texts Joyce gave the name to and other texts or passages one might wish to call epiphanies, but this distinction is complicated by Joyce's recycling of epiphanies in his later work (does a fleeting reference such as "apullajibed" [*FW*, 317.30] constitute an Epiphany?). I prefer to preserve the ambiguity by avoiding italics, quotation marks (one does not refer to a "poem") or capitalization (cf. Joyce to Stanislaus, March 1903: "I have written fifteen epiphanies" [*L II* 35]). For ease of reference, I refer to individual epiphanies using the numbers assigned by Scholes and Kain in the *Workshop of Daedalus* (reproduced in *Poems and Shorter Writings*), although, as I will show, the sequence is far from certain.

epiphanies after *Portrait*, but in fact he included a further fourteen in *Ulysses* (often heavily revised) and seven resonant echoes in *Finnegans Wake* (see table 1). There are also allusions in *Exiles*, *Giacomo Joyce*, and *Pomes Penyeach*, demonstrating the importance of Joyce’s “earliest important literary compositions” (PSW 157), right through to the end of the *Wake*.

**Table 1: Epiphanies in Joyce’s Work**

<b>Epiphany</b>	<b>WD no.</b>	<b>Stephen Hero</b>	<b>Portrait</b>	<b>Ulysses</b>	<b>Finnegans Wake</b>
Buffalo I.A-1	1		4		317.31
Buffalo I.A-5	4				
Buffalo I.A-12	9	251			
Buffalo I.A-13	10				
Buffalo I.A-14	11	46			
Buffalo I.A-16	12	43			
Buffalo I.A-19	13				
Buffalo I.A-21	14	45			
Buffalo I.A-22	15	244-45		10.239-53, 16.418-21	
Buffalo I.A-26	16 *	33-34		3.300-30	17.26-28
Buffalo I.A-28	17				
Buffalo I.A-30	18			9.939-44, 10.568-74, 17.1256-68	
Buffalo I.A-42	19	162-63			323.5-6
Buffalo I.A-44	21 *	167, 244		6.517-20	
Buffalo I.A-45	22	169			
Buffalo I.A-52	32 *			2.307-12, 15-3962-83	
Buffalo I.A-56	34 * §			1.112-13; 1.270-79; 2.139-50; 15.4194-204	193.33- 194.22; 548.10-12
Buffalo I.A-57	35			15.4795-97	10.21
Buffalo I.A-59	36 *				
Buffalo I.A-65	37 *				
Buffalo I.A-70	38			13.64-74	233.21-26
Buffalo I.A-71	39 *			13.107-27	
Cornell 17.40-41	30	237	275	3.503-5	
Cornell 17.41	24 §		164		
Cornell 17.42	8	38			
Cornell 17.42-43	27 §		274		
Cornell 17.44	3	67-68	72		
Cornell 17.45	26		238		
Cornell 17.45-46	20	165			
Cornell 17.46-47	7				
Cornell 17.47-48	2				
Cornell 17.50-51	23				
Cornell 17.51-52	33			3.205-15, 7.720-24	

Cornell 17.53	31		106		
Cornell 17.56	5		70-71	3.70-75, 17.139-41	
Cornell 17.57	29		272	2.155-72	
Cornell 17.57	28		25	3.503-5	
Cornell 17.57-58	6		148-49		352.37- 353.1
Cornell 17.61-62	25	183-84	234-35		
Cornell 18	40				
<p>* copied by Stanislaus Joyce in "Selections in Prose" (Cornell 17)  § copied twice by Stanislaus Joyce on two separate sheets of loose paper (Cornell 15)  Cf. Beja (1984, 712-13), <i>PSW</i> (273), and McFadzean (40-41) for similar, but less extensive, tables.</p>					

In all, Joyce is believed to have written at least 71 epiphanies, 40 of which survive. The reason there are thought to have been more is that their primary source, an autograph manuscript of 22 epiphanies at Buffalo, is numbered discontinuously to 71 on the versos (*JJA* 7:1-43). These numbers have long been considered authorial, although this is by no means certain, as we shall see; all we can say with confidence is that 40 are extant. In addition to the 22 epiphanies in the Buffalo manuscript, Stanislaus Joyce copied 24 of his brother's epiphanies into a commonplace notebook titled "Selections in Prose from Various Authors" (Cornell IV.10; *JJA* 50-69). Seven of these are copied, virtually unchanged, from the Buffalo manuscript, while seventeen are preserved uniquely by Stanislaus. The first entry in the notebook is dated 1<sup>st</sup> October 1901, but some of the epiphanies in "Selections" clearly belong to 1903, including number 34 which Stanislaus copied out twice more, in a group of three epiphanies, copied in the same order (with minor variations), on two large sheets (Cornell 4609 Bd Ms 3, 152v-149v; *JJA* 7:46-49). Stanislaus subsequently recycled these pages for his diary, whose next entry is dated 13<sup>th</sup> October 1904, providing an upper temporal limit. Finally, a single draft epiphany at Cornell shows the care Joyce bestowed on his epiphanies (Cornell 18; *JJA* 7:45).

Hitherto, these four manuscripts – that is, the Buffalo holograph, Stanislaus's "Selections," his fair copies of three epiphanies, and the Gogarty draft – were the only known examples of Joyce's epiphanies; the typescript I found amongst the Eugene and Maria Jolas papers at Yale provides a minor, but interesting addition. It contains nineteen epiphanies on the rectos of nineteen loose sheets of light brown paper. The typescript is unpaginated, but shows signs of having been fastened in the order presented. All nineteen epiphanies are found in the Buffalo holograph manuscript, whose layout has generally been preserved. Aside from minor variations in typography and punctuation, the only significant changes from the Buffalo epiphanies concern number 35, where "musing" is misread as "missing" in the stage direction and "yev" is copied as "yer," and epiphany 36, where "jutting" is rendered "putting."<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere, changes are limited to lineation (rarely significant in the original), the substitution of round for square brackets, the spacing and punctuation (for instance, full stops are added after abbreviations), inaccuracies in the number of dots used to mark ellipsis (which is significant for Joyce), and minor changes in the capitalization of stage directions. These changes are generally trivial and probably inadvertent; on the whole, the manuscript has been copied with great care.

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<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, due to copyright restrictions, we are unable to reproduce images of the holograph epiphanies at Buffalo or the typescript at Yale.

The fidelity of the Yale typescript is significant in itself, and there are several features of particular interest. The first of these is a fragment headed “Kinahan,” copied from Buffalo 1.A-5, which makes it almost certain that the typescript was copied from Buffalo 1.A. Luca Crispi is probably right that this text is unrelated to the epiphany (<http://library.buffalo.edu/pl/collections/jamesjoyce/catalog/ia.htm>), but considering the pains Joyce took to write out the manuscript, which is an unusually fair copy, and then to keep it with him, through all his peregrinations, until the winter of 1940, it seems unlikely that he would use it as scrap paper to scribble down an odd note.

As Ilaria Natali points out, the Kinahan fragment may be a note for *Stephen Hero*, although she states that Kinahan was the model for McCann: he was in fact the model for Moynihan (14). Two brief notes in Joyce’s commonplace book of 1903-4 make this connection clear, as Scholes and Kain have shown (*WD* 149-50). They rightly point out that Robert Kinahan, who matriculated with James Joyce in the summer of 1899 (Davison 394), was “auditor,” or president, of UCD’s Literary and Historical Society from 1901-2 (*WD* 153-4), a position Joyce may have aspired to. In *Stephen Hero*, Moynihan’s inaugural paper, along with all the speakers who follow, “praise[s] the work done by the Jesuits” (*SH* 177).

However, this tentative connection to the note on 1.A.5 is far from conclusive. Even if the epiphany and the Kinahan fragment both provide material for *Stephen Hero*, the relationship between the two is cryptic. One possibility, intriguing though by no means certain, is that Aunt Lillie’s gentle mockery of Joyce’s artistic pretensions in the epiphany is implicitly compared, via Kinahan, to the Literary and Historical Society students’ mockery of Joyce’s Mangan paper, in which he first expressed his faith in literature as “the continuous affirmation of the human spirit” (*CW* 83, see *WD* 149-50, *JJ* 98-100). In this context, Kinahan, who was then president of the Society, becomes the focal point for Joyce’s ire, explaining the ungenerous description of Moynihan as “an ugly young man” who “was going to be a solicitor” (Kinahan did in fact become “an eminent K.C.”: Mamonian and Turner 438), and his later transformation into “the comic Irishman” in *Portrait* (210), although the relationship remains ambivalent.

Just as the Yale typescript draws attention to the mystery of Kinahan and Aunt Lillie, the accuracy of the copy highlights a crucial enigma in the original manuscript: the upper left-hand corner of eleven sheets on the typescript bear crosses in blue crayon, reminiscent of the lead pencil crosses on the autograph epiphanies.<sup>3</sup> At first sight, these crosses would appear to be authorial, resembling Joyce’s annotations for *Stephen Hero*, whose surviving pages begin in the middle of epiphany 30 (reused at the end of *Portrait*), immediately followed by the words “Departure for Paris,” written in blue crayon (*SH* 240; *JJA* 8:1);<sup>4</sup> Joyce marked passages in blue or red crayon throughout the *Stephen Hero* manuscript, a habit he continued in his *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* notebooks.

Close examination demonstrates how carefully the crosses have been copied from the Buffalo manuscript. In every case, they appear in the same place on the same sheets; some attempt even seems to have been made to reproduce the shape of the original marks (see figures 1-4). Unless Joyce had a secret cruciform code, the precision with which these crosses have been copied suggests that they are more likely to be scribal than authorial, raising the question of who typed the Yale epiphanies, when, and for what purpose.

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<sup>3</sup> See *JJA* 7:1, 3, 5, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 25, 27, 29, 41 and Yale GEN MS 108.XV.64.1503, 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17. The discrepancy between the eleven crosses on the typescript and the twelve on the manuscript is explained by the fact that epiphany 14, crossed on Buffalo 1.A-44 (*JJA* 7:27), is not reproduced in the Yale typescript.

<sup>4</sup> Incidentally, this provides the only evidence that Stephen Dedalus is headed for Paris at the end of *Portrait*, a widely held assumption which the work itself does not support.

**Figures 1-2: Details of Buffalo I.A-42 (epiphany 19) and Yale XV.64.1503, 2**



**Figures 3-4: Details of Buffalo I.A-41 (epiphany 38) and Yale XV.64.1503, 11**



There seem to be three possibilities: the typescript could have been made by or for Joyce, it could have been made by someone else during his lifetime, or it could be posthumous. It is unlikely that Joyce typed the copies himself, especially given the crosses, but he might have had it made for him. If so, the most likely typist would be Stanislaus, who tells us on the first page of his diary that he admired his brother's epiphanies even more than his lyrics (September 1903 [S Joyce 1971 14]). As we have seen, Stanislaus copied 24 of Joyce's lyrical epiphanies into his prose "Selections," and made at least two fair copies which may have been intended for circulation. He also made a scribal copy of Joyce's 1904 "Portrait" essay, the earliest surviving work in which Joyce reused his epiphanies, and over twenty years later, Stanislaus had a typescript of that same essay prepared, shortly before Joyce gave the manuscript to Sylvia Beach (January 20 1928: see Buffalo II.A; Cornell 34, 35; *JJA* 7.95-105).

The "Portrait" typescript provides an intriguing precedent, but if Stanislaus was responsible for the Yale typescript, it seems strange that there is no mention of it in his letters and papers at Cornell, and that it should have ended up with the Jolases. According to Timothy Young, curator of the Eugene and Maria Jolas collection, the Joyce papers at Yale were left with the Jolas family "shortly before [Joyce] died" (Yale Catalogue), suggesting the typescript predates December 1940, when Joyce returned to Zurich. It is quite possible, therefore, that Joyce had the typescript with him in St. Gérard-le-Puy, near Vichy, where he spent most of 1940, leaving it with the Jolases, along with many of his books and papers.

Another possibility is that the copy was made by or for Eugene or Maria Jolas. Eugene Jolas first met Joyce in 1924 at a banquet at the Restaurant Marguéry (E Jolas 83). Their next meeting was at a reading of *Finnegans Wake* arranged by Joyce on 21 December 1926 (*JJ* 601) which so impressed Jolas that he made *Work in Progress* the centerpiece of *transition*, publishing installments punctually from April to November 1927 and then irregularly until February 1933. In her guide to the collection, Maria Jolas recalls that initially she did much of the typing for *transition* herself (original finding aid [Yale 1.3]), but she goes on to describe how at times she, Eugene Jolas and Lucie Léon were all "typing like mad" to get Joyce's revisions ready for the printers. As late as 1936, Eugene Jolas typed out notes for Joyce on the names O'Reilly and Finnegan, as well as their family crests, which were later incorporated into book IV of *Finnegans Wake*. Interestingly, these notes are typed on paper whose weight,

colour and size are identical to that used for the epiphanies typescript. It is also the same paper and typeface used for carbon copies of the French translation of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* by Joyce, Jolas, Beckett et al in 1932, and Joyce's "Comeallyou," written for Maria Jolas after their 1937 Thanksgiving celebration (Yale XV.64.1496, 1499). All this suggests that the epiphanies typescript was made by or for the Jolases; and Eugene Jolas's poetry, typed on the same paper, with similar marks in blue crayon, corroborates this (see, for example, "Le Spectre," "Panorama," Coda," Minuit," "By Radio to God" [III.17.318-319]).

The possibility that the Jolases copied the epiphanies in the late 1920s or 1930s challenges the commonplace assumption that Joyce lost interest in his epiphanies by the time *Portrait* was published in 1916, if not after *Stephen Hero*. However, if Joyce had given the Jolases his epiphanies manuscript to type, it would seem strange that there is no record of this in their correspondence, or in the original catalogue. On the other hand, Maria Jolas's finding aid was prepared decades later (undated, but during the 1960s, according to Young), with the help of unnamed assistants of questionable expertise, so it is possible that it was overlooked. Indeed, an undated, handwritten note at the end of the typescript reads: "Non repertoriés: Un manuscript dactylographié, jauni: apparemment fragment d'une pièce ^des Epiphanies^ où figurent Hanna Sheehy, O'Reilly, Mrs Joyce, Joyce..." Clearly this reader wasn't certain what these yellowed (the paper shows signs of discolouration and foxing) and uncatalogued texts were, initially thinking them fragments of a play, perhaps akin to Stuart Gilbert's dramatic adaptation of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*, also in the Yale collection (XV.64.1499). (The uncertainty persists: even today, the Yale [catalogue](#) lists the item as "[Epiphanies?].") It is difficult to be sure whose writing this is: certainly not Maria or Eugene Jolas's, but possibly their daughter Tina's – as well as the similar handwriting, Tina helped her mother edit Eugene's autobiographical *Man from Babel*, and with her sister Betsy, she part-gave, part-sold her parents' papers to Yale in 1989.

The absence of the epiphanies typescript in the Jolases' original catalogue is something of a mystery. Maria Jolas was certainly familiar with the epiphanies from her curation of the 1949 La Hune exhibition, so assuming that the typescript was already in her possession, its omission from the catalogue is probably due to the oversight of an assistant. Then again, in a letter dated 1 January 1949, Eugene Jolas tells Maria "I was thinking about the mss of Joyce's which Norah [*sic*] let you have and feel we ought to make some kind of payment for it to be en règle. What do you think?" (Yale I.2.33) This is most intriguing. One would like to know what these manuscripts were, but I have not been able to trace them in the Joyce-Jolas correspondence. The only manuscript mentioned there is Joyce's "Comeallyou," which is the most important of his manuscripts in the Jolas papers, but since Joyce sent the poem to Maria Jolas in 1937, and Eugene is writing in 1949, it seems an unlikely candidate, unless Maria wished to return the poem to Nora, knowing that the Joyces were in difficult financial straits. Alternatively, given the close friendship between the Jolases and the Joyces, their tireless support for *Work in Progress*, and Maria Jolas's care for Lucia, it is at least conceivable that Nora might have offered Maria Jolas the epiphanies manuscript, or another work of comparable importance, which Maria Jolas, out of delicacy and concern for the Joyces, simply copied and silently restored to the Joyce collection she helped Nora and George sell.

As is well known, in the late 1940s Maria Jolas acted as literary executor for the Joyce estate, organizing a major exhibition of Joyce's work at the La Hune bookshop and gallery in 1949, and then at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in 1950, negotiating the sale of the entire collection to Buffalo. Although the story of how the collection was saved is familiar, it is worth recalling: in the summer of 1940 Paul Léon and Alex Ponizowski crossed occupied Paris, along with a handyman wielding a pushcart, to rescue the books and papers Joyce had left behind in his flat in rue des Vignes. Risking their lives, they made the journey twice,

saving as many books as they could, as well as “endless papers and sacks of clippings” (Lucie Léon to Oscar Silverman, June 22 1967, Buffalo XVI). Later they bought many more back from an auction of Joyce’s possessions at the Salle Drouot. The majority of these books were left with a well-disposed lawyer, Maître Gervais, from whom Maria Jolas and Lucie Léon retrieved them in 1948. In her note to Silverman, “How My Husband Paul Léon Saved the Joyce Books” (enclosed in her letter of 22 June 1967), Lucie Léon writes that two Russian librarians spent a month cataloguing the collection. Apparently the catalogue was sent to Maria Jolas, before they re-catalogued the entire collection, along with “clippings and papers” left in the care of Paul Léon, for the La Hune exhibition, although Maria Jolas gives a slightly different account, stating that she, Lucie and a secretary spent “over a year” sorting Joyce’s papers (letter to Mellisa Banta, 12 November 1973, Buffalo XVI).

Given that this is the one time we can be certain that Maria Jolas would have had access to the epiphanies, it seems most likely that the transcript was made during the preparations for the La Hune exhibition. Interestingly, although the La Hune catalogue mentions 22 manuscript leaves, only 19 are described (Gheerbrant 159), the same number as the Yale typescript. In a letter of 16 November 1949, Richard Kain, who wished to purchase an epiphany, asked Maria Jolas about this discrepancy (Yale VII.33.673);<sup>5</sup> I have not been able to track down her reply, but my initial hunch that the 19 epiphanies in the Yale typescript must have been used to prepare the catalogue proved false: there is no correlation between the missing epiphanies in each collection (table 2).

<b>Buffalo Epiphany</b>	<b>Yale Typescript</b>	<b>La Hune catalogue</b>	<b>Workshop number</b>
1	✓	✓	1
2	✓	✓	4
3	✓	X	9
4	✓	✓	10
5	✓	✓	11
6	✓	✓	12
7	✓	✓	13
8	✓	✓	14
9	✓	X	15
10	✓	✓	16
11	✓	✓	17
12	✓	X	18
13	✓	✓	19
14	X	✓	21
15	✓	✓	22
16	X	✓	32
17	✓	✓	34
18	✓	✓	35
19	✓	✓	36
20	X	✓	37
21	✓	✓	38
22	✓	✓	39

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<sup>5</sup> “I wanted to ask you about one matter which interests me particularly, that is, the items listed under No. 159. You list them as 22 notes but describe the first 17, then 21, and 22 making 19 in all” (Yale VII.33.673).

In fact, I have not been able to find any conclusive evidence of who typed the Yale epiphanies, when, or why. To my mind, the most likely explanation is Maria Jolas's preparations for the exhibition of 1949, but it remains possible that they were made during Joyce's lifetime, perhaps even at his behest. Yet, regardless of their provenance, the discovery of these copies is of interest in itself, raising hope that further epiphanies may come to light, and putting those we have back into question. As I hope I have shown, the very fact that Joyce preserved his epiphanies so carefully, right through to the end of his life, is already significant, disproving the mistaken assumption that Joyce abandoned his youthful theory and practice of epiphany. On the contrary, he continued to reuse his epiphanies right through to the final book of *Finnegans Wake*. As Joyce's early archivists realized, the epiphanies are Joyce's first major literary work, so it is no wonder that the La Hune catalogue, Spielberg's Buffalo Catalogue, and Scholes's Cornell catalogue all begin with the epiphanies, or that early Joyceans like Kain, Tindall, Silverman, Scholes and Ellmann all sought to edit them. In fact, the Yale typescript is of particular interest here, because it almost certainly represents the earliest known sequence of Joyce's manuscript epiphanies, raising questions about their order and their relationship to Joyce's other texts.

### On the Order of the Epiphanies

The first edition of the epiphanies, edited by Oscar Silverman in 1956, followed the order of Bernt Gheerbrant's La Hune catalogue, inserting three epiphanies which were missing from Gheerbrant's description (Item 159) between his antepenultimate and penultimate entries (i.e., epiphanies 19 and 12 in the *Workshop* order: see table 3, below). Peter Spielberg followed Silverman's order for his 1962 Buffalo catalogue, although Spielberg notes that twelve epiphanies are numbered in pencil on their versos,<sup>6</sup> the numbers ranging from 1 to 71. Considering that Gheerbrant had already catalogued the manuscript, Silverman had edited it, someone had copied it carefully enough to reproduce the precise shape of Joyce's crosses, and numerous Joyceans had examined the Buffalo epiphanies (including Richard M. Kain, William Tindall, and Robert Scholes, who all sought permission to publish them), it seems strange that the verso numbers were not discovered until 1962, and that Peter Spielberg didn't make more of them. In fact, recent graphological analysis by William Brockman and Sabrina Alonso suggests that the hand is not authorial.<sup>7</sup>

**Table 3: Editorial Arrangements of the Epiphanies**

Epiphany WD #, Buffalo #	Buffalo 1.A order (WD #)	Cornell 17 order (WD #)	Yale typescript (WD #)	JJA Order (WD #)	La Hune catalogue (WD #)	Silverman/ Spielberg (WD #)	Hayman <i>Epifanias</i> (WD #)
1 (B 1)	1	30	12	1	11	11	1
2	5	24	19	4	13	13	28
3	12	8	18	9	14	14	4
4 (B 5)	10	27	9	10	22	22	2
5	11	34	15	11	35	35	5
6	12	3	34	12	1	1	3
7	13	26	10	13	16	16	31
8	14	20	39	14	38	38	6
9 (B 12)	15	7	17	15	4	4	7

<sup>6</sup> In fact number 14 is in ink.

<sup>7</sup> Personal communication. See <http://joycehand.blogspot.ch> for examples of Joyce's handwriting.



10 (B 13)	16	2	4	16	36	36	8
11 (B 14)	17	16	38	17	17	17	9
12 (B 16)	18	32	1	18	39	39	10
13 (B 19)	19	36	22	19	10	10	11
14 (B 21)	21	23	35	21	21	21	12
15 (B 22)	22	33	14	22	34	34	13
16 (B 26)	32	37	13	32	32	32	14
17 (B 28)	34	31	11	34	19	19	15
18 (B 30)	35	5	16	35	12	18	16
19 (B 42)	36	29	36	36	37	9	17
20	37	28		37		15	18
21 (B 44)	38	21		38		12	19
22 (B 45)	39	6		39		37	20
23		25		24			21
24*		39		27			22
25				30			23
26				8			24
27*				3			25
28				26			26
29				20			27
30				7			29
31				2			30
32 (B 52)				23			32
33				33			33
34 (B 56)*				31			40
35 (B 57)				5			34
36 (B 59)				29			35
37 (B 65)				28			36
38 (B 70)				6			37
39 (B 71)				25			38
40				40			39

\* Copied (twice) by Stanislaus Joyce in the following order: *WD* 24, 27, 34 (Cornell 15).

For Scholes, however, the numbers were crucial. In his introduction to *The Workshop of Daedalus* (1965), the first complete edition of the epiphanies, he writes:

A discovery made recently by Peter Spielberg in his work of cataloguing the Joyce papers at the University of Buffalo enables us to reconstruct with considerable certainty the way in which Joyce actually used his Epiphanies. There are twenty-two of them in manuscript at Buffalo. Mr. Spielberg noticed that on the versos of these twenty-two sheets of paper were numbers, ranging from 1 to 71. If we arrange the Epiphanies according to the sequence of these numbers, they fall into an orderly pattern which represents a sort of compromise between their dates in Joyce's life and their employment in his autobiographical fiction. (4-5)

According to Scholes, this sequence of seventy-plus epiphanies “must have been very close to the arrangement used by Joyce as part of the plan for *Stephen Hero*”; placed in this order, the “Epiphanies became the principal building blocks for the novel” (6).

Yet half the manuscript for *Stephen Hero* has been lost, so that there is no way to know whether epiphany 1 was “the first used in *Stephen Hero*” (6), and there is no correlation between the verso numbering of the Buffalo epiphanies and the order in which they are reused in *Stephen Hero*, *Portrait*, or any of Joyce’s works (see table 4, below). Scholes himself points out that “[t]he handwriting in these numbers has not been positively identified,” before advancing “the hypothesis that the numbers were written either by Joyce or at his direction” (5). As mentioned, Brockman and Alonso are sceptical that the hand is Joyce’s, but there is no certainty either way; the important point is to recognise that even if Scholes’s attribution is correct, the numbers simply provide us with “one meaningful order” (*WD* 5, my emphasis; see Feshbach 1972, Beja 1972).

**Table 4: Orderings of the Epiphanies in Joyce’s Oeuvre**

<b>Epiphany (WD #)</b>	<b>Manuscripts (Buffalo 1.A, Cornell 17, 18)</b>	<b>Marked in mss</b>	<b><i>Stephen Hero</i> order</b>	<b><i>Portrait</i> order</b>	<b><i>Ulysses</i> order</b>	<b><i>Finnegans Wake</i> order</b>	<b>Composite order (<i>SH, P, U, FW</i>)</b>
1	1	✓	30	1	34	35	30
2	4	✓	16	28	29	16	16
3	9		8	5	32	38	8
4	10		12	3	33	34	12
5	11	✓	14	31	5	1	14
6	12		11	6	16	19	11
7	13		3	24	28	6	3
8	14		19	25	30		19
9	15	✓	20	26	21		20
10	16		21	29	18		21
11	17	✓	22	27	15		22
12	18	✓	25	30	38		25
13	19	✓	15		39		15
14	21	✓	9		35		9
15	22	✓					1
16	32	✓					28
17	34						5
18	35						31
19	36	✓					6
20	37						24
21	38	✓					26
22	39	✓					29
23	30	✓					27
24	24	(recopied)					34
25	8						32
26	27						33
27	3	(recopied)					18
28	26						38
29	20						39
30	7						35
31	2	✓					
32	23						
33	33	✓					
34	31						

35	5						
36	29	✓					
37	28	✓					
38	6	✓					
39	25	✓					
40	40						

The order in which Scholes printed the epiphanies in *The Workshop of Daedalus*, which is replicated in Ellmann, Litz and Whittier-Fergusons's *Poems and Shorter Writings* (1991), has become standard, but the issue is far from being settled. First, Scholes's attribution of the Buffalo numbers to Joyce is speculative; secondly, no grounds are given for the order in which the remaining eighteen epiphanies at Cornell are arranged. Scholes states that "it is not hard to assign them to likely places in the ordered arrangement" (6), but he offers no explanation of how this was done. Presumably he sought to fill in the gaps between the numerical Buffalo sequence based on the biographical and narrative contexts of the Cornell epiphanies so as to form "an orderly pattern which represents a sort of compromise between their dates in Joyce's life and their employment in his autobiographical fiction" (4-5), but Scholes provides none of the evidence on which his decisions were based, so that his claim that "these forty Epiphanies reflect as accurately as possible [Joyce's] original arrangement" (6) remains unjustified.

In his introduction to the *Joyce Archive* edition of the epiphanies, Hans Walter Gabler implicitly rejects Scholes's order by showing that the assumption that the verso numbering "reflects an ordering in view of the planned structure of *Stephen Hero* [...] is not safe" (xxiv). Nevertheless, he believes the numbering to be authorial, indicating an ordered collection.<sup>8</sup> Gabler discerns an "autobiographical impulse [...] in the sequential ordering of the epiphanies," which is largely true of the Buffalo numbering, although, as he notes, there are anachronisms, such as the grouping of epiphany 21, based on a scene at May Joyce's funeral (August 1903), with three epiphanies concerning George Joyce's death (March 1902): "[t]heme and mood" also contribute to the arrangement (xxiv-xxv). Moving from childhood to adolescence, with groups of epiphanies concerning death, infatuation, imaginary journeys and sexuality, there is a sense of biographical and thematic cohesion in the Buffalo, but one should not forget that there are wide gaps between the numbers, with no certainty that they are authorial.

Although Gabler's critique of the *Workshop* order is justified, his own proposal is equally problematic. Gabler notes that the first group of sixteen epiphanies in Stanislaus Joyce's "Selections" is bookended by three epiphanies connected to Paris, inferring that this group may constitute the "fifteen new epiphanies – of which twelve are insertions and three additions" Joyce told Stanislaus he had written on March 9 1903, during one of his Paris sojourns (*L II*, 35). This is an attractive theory, and assuming Joyce sent the epiphanies (which is not clear from the letter), it would seem probable that Stanislaus copied at least some of them into his prose "Selections," but there is no evidence that they correspond to the first sixteen in Stanislaus's notebook. In fact, four epiphanies in that first group are also included in the Buffalo holograph, so they are certainly not "insertions" or "additions" to that collection, and according to Stanislaus, two of them were written at least a month after the letter in which Gabler supposes they were enclosed: the dream described in epiphany 34 postdates the famous telegram "Mother dying come home father" sent on 10 April 1903, and the journey from Newhaven-Dieppe described in number 37 took place on 11 April 1903 (*WD 5*). Likewise, Gabler suggests that there is "some likelihood that the order of entry of the

<sup>8</sup> As does Luca Crispi: [http://purl.org/net/findingaids/view?docId=ead/poetry/ubpo\\_pcms0020.xml](http://purl.org/net/findingaids/view?docId=ead/poetry/ubpo_pcms0020.xml).

epiphanies in ‘Selections’ reflects their order of composition from March to August 1903, and beyond” (xxvii), but the only substantial evidence in support of this claim is Stanislaus’s recollection that epiphany 21 was written a few months after their mother’s funeral (August 1903); to my knowledge, there is nothing that allows epiphany 6 to be “positively assigned to a period following the death of Mary Joyce,” and the final piece in “Selections,” epiphany 39, hardly “provides a transition” to Joyce’s “art of portraiture” (xxvii) – according to Stanislaus, this epiphany is about Aunt Josephine Murray, who, he affectionately recalls, half raised the Joyces (Cornell 33 f.670).

Thus, Gabler’s assumption that the last eight epiphanies in “Selections” were recorded in chronological order “from March to August 1903, and beyond” is far from safe, while his claim that “the prose pieces recorded by Stanislaus” provide evidence for “a genuine progression within James Joyce’s self-created genre from the scene of dramatic immediacy to the prose miniature mediated in the narrative mode” (xxvii) rests on false grounds. The reason that Stanislaus only recorded prose epiphanies is that his notebook contains “Selections in *Prose* from Various Authors” (my emphasis). Every quotation in the notebook, including four of Joyce’s epigrams, is, naturally, in prose; it would have been strange if Stanislaus had copied *dramatic* epiphanies. In fact, Stanislaus kept a similar notebook entitled “Selections in Verse from Various Authors” (Cornell 4609.10.5) which contains two of Joyce’s lyrics from *Chamber Music*; <sup>9</sup> perhaps if he had kept one of dramatic fragments, he would have recorded some of Joyce’s dramatic epiphanies, alongside passages from the lost plays, “Dream Stuff” and “A Brilliant Career.”<sup>10</sup> Having said that, preference also plays a role: on the first page of his diary, Stanislaus writes that his brother’s “‘epiphanies’ – his prose pieces (which I almost prefer to his lyrics) and his dialogues – are [...] subtle” (2): the twenty-four prose epiphanies he recorded, versus two lyrics, evince this preference, and the position of the parenthesis implies (somewhat ambiguously) that he prefers the prose epiphanies to their dialogue counterparts. In fact, Stanislaus was the first critic to make this distinction between the two types of epiphanies, and the first to chart their relationship. In *My Brother’s Keeper*, he describes how Joyce’s “notes were in the beginning ironical observations of slips, and little errors and gestures,” suggestive of the dramatic epiphanies, while later “[t]he epiphanies became more frequently subjective and included dreams which he considered in some way revelatory” (*MBK*, 124-5). Written over half a century after the event, with a tendency towards self-aggrandisement, it is difficult to know how far to trust Stanislaus here, but he provides much better evidence to support Gabler’s claim for the generic development from “the scene of dramatic immediacy to the prose miniature” (xxvii) than the fact that Stanislaus’s prose “Selections” contain only prose epiphanies, or their speculative chronology. And while the notion that Joyce’s epiphanies progress from drama to prose is alluring (*pace* Scholes and McFadzean), any such narrative must account for chronological anomalies such as epiphany 40, a dramatic epiphany, which is generally considered to have been drafted last (Scholes dates the scene to 1903 or 1904).

All this goes to show that there is no certainty about the order of the epiphanies, and consequently that we should be wary of drawing any inferences about their chronological or narrative development. As table 3 shows, the Buffalo epiphanies exist in three different orders (according to their verso numbers, in the Yale typescript, and the La Hune/Silverman/

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<sup>9</sup> Both “Selections” were recorded in 80 page Gunn’s Challenge Exercise Books; both are dated 1 October 1901.

<sup>10</sup> In fact, Stanislaus seems to have culled an earlier commonplace book (Cornell 4609.10.1) for quotations to include in his “Selections.” For instance, quotations from Renan, Yeats, Seneca, and Bacon, all of which are crossed out in the commonplace book appear in his “Selections in Prose.” The same manuscript also includes fragments of “A Brilliant Career” (July 1900) and “Dream Stuff,” which are not copied in Stanislaus’s “Selections.”

Spielberg order).<sup>11</sup> Likewise, Scholes's arrangement of the Cornell epiphanies bears no relation to their original order in Stanislaus's "Selections" (or the twice repeated sequence, 24-27-34 in Cornell 15), and David Hayman makes further, unexplained, changes to the *Workshop* order in his Spanish edition, *Epifanías* (c.1996).

Furthermore, the widely divergent use of the epiphanies in Joyce's subsequent works raises doubts about the utility of any such order. Within each work patterns emerge, but aside from the fact that epiphany 30 appears on the first surviving page of *Stephen Hero* and is the last used in *Portrait*, while number 35 is the last discernible epiphany in *Ulysses* and the first in *Finnegans Wake*, there is no correlation between the epiphanies Joyce reuses in his prose works. What is apparent from table 4, though, is that Joyce reused 30 of the 40 extant epiphanies in his major works, and that over half of these are marked in the manuscripts. Eight of the twelve epiphanies bearing crosses in the Buffalo manuscript are reused in the extant portion of *Stephen Hero*; considering that only half the manuscript survives, there is some likelihood that the remaining four were reused on pages now lost. The significance of the eight ticks which appear in blue and red pencil on Stanislaus's "Selections" is less clear, but five of the epiphanies ticked are reused in *Ulysses*, one appears in *Portrait*, and one is echoed in *Giacomo Joyce*, so there may still be a correspondence with Joyce's later work.<sup>12</sup> As with the crosses on the Buffalo epiphanies, or the Yale typescript on which they were copied, there is no certainty about who made the ticks, just as there is no certainty about the order of the epiphanies, but taken together, these features provide a good deal of evidence to debunk Scholes's claim that "the epiphany seems never to have been in [Joyce's] recorded thoughts except in *Stephen Hero*" (1964 72). There is no reliable evidence upon which to reconstruct the original arrangement, and no clear pattern emerges from the use Joyce made of them, but as the table shows, the epiphanies undeniably remained important until the end of *Finnegans Wake*.

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<sup>11</sup> The size, shape and position of perforations in the upper-left hand corners of all twenty-two sheets suggests that they were once affixed in a different order to their current arrangement (based on the verso numbers), although it is not possible to reconstruct this order with any certainty.

<sup>12</sup> Three red ticks on Cornell 17.51 and 17. 53 and are not visible in the *Joyce Archive* facsimile (*JJA* 7: 61, 63). The five ticks seen in the reproduction are in red pencil (*JJA* 7:62) or blue ink (*JJA* 7:58, 60, 69), suggesting they were made at a later date than the quotations, which are copied in black ink.

## Abbreviations Used

- Buffalo The James Joyce Collection, University of Buffalo
- Cornell The James Joyce Collection, Cornell University
- CW Joyce, James. *The Critical Writings*. Ed. Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann. New York: Viking, 1973.
- D ---. *Dubliners*. London: Penguin, 2000.
- FW ---. *Finnegans Wake*. London: Penguin, 1992.
- JJA ---. *The James Joyce Archive*. Ed. Michael Groden et al. 63 vols. New York: Garland, 1977.
- L I, II, III ---. *Letters of James Joyce*. 3 vols. Ed. Stuart Gilbert and Richard Ellmann. New York: Viking, 1966.
- P ---. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. London: Penguin, 1992.
- PSW ---. *Poems and Shorter Writings*. Ed. Richard Ellmann, A. Walton Litz and John Whittier-Ferguson. London: Faber and Faber, 1991.
- SH ---. *Stephen Hero*. Ed. Theodore Spencer, rev. John J. Slocum and Herbert Cahoon. London: J. Cape, 1975.
- U ---. *Ulysses: The Corrected Text*. Ed. Hans Walter Gabler. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986.
- JJ Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*. New York: Oxford UP, 1959.
- MBK Joyce, Stanislaus. *My Brother's Keeper*. New York: Viking, 1958.
- WD Scholes, Robert and Richard M. Kain. *The Workshop of Daedalus: James Joyce and the Raw Materials for A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1965.
- Yale Eugène and Maria Jolas Papers, Yale University

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