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Verpoorte, A.

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The Palaeolithic of Finnegans Wake

Alexander Verpoorte

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Contact information:

Alexander Verpoorte
Faculty of Archaeology
Leiden University
The Netherlands
a.verpoorte@arch.leidenuniv.nl

Abstract

A study of how James Joyce tinkered with palaeolithic words in *Finnegans Wake*.

James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* is a notorious, unreadable book published in 1939.

Surprisingly, it is littered with words that allude to archaeology and palaeoanthropology. This work reports on a reading of *Finnegans Wake* that traces a small number of words that are related to the study of human origins. It follows the appearance and revisions over the 17 years that Joyce worked on it and explores some of the associations, references and allusions that the words activate. Joyce picked up some words from newspapers and handbooks and appropriated them in composing the language, narrative, structure, landscape, layering, cyclicity, linearity, and incomprehensibility of *Finnegans Wake*.

key-words: palaeolithic; human origins; James Joyce; *Finnegans Wake*

Motto

What one has come to know piece by piece, just as a bird gleans each little straw for itself, happier over each little bit than over all the rest of the world.

Kierkegaard, Either/or

Note on copyright

I suppose that all of James Joyce writings are in the public domain in the European Union, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. Apparently *Finnegans Wake* is under copyright in the USA till 1 January 2035.

I quote about 900 words from the 1939 edition of *Finnegans Wake* and 26 sentences or partial sentences from the drafts, fair copies, galleys and page proofs as publicly available on the James Joyce Digital Archive (jjda.ie).

I think that my use of quotes can be considered fair use, because it concerns a non-commercial, scholarly, very niche interpretation of the work and to some extent in the spirit of the work itself, without any reference to the private life of James Joyce or his family, but if any copyright holder considers my use of Joyce's texts, drafts, proofs etc. as a breach of their rights, please contact me.

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Preface – a naïve reader.

It took me about five years before I decided to try *Finnegans Wake*, the unreadable, experimental book by James Joyce published in 1939. Once upon a time I had found the book in a second-hand bookshop, read the first lines and thought: perhaps not. Five years later I encountered the book again, together with the 1991 edition of McHugh's *Annotations*, and decided to buy both. The edition that I have used as the primary text is the 1939 edition published as a Wordsworth Classics in 2012 with an introduction by Len Platt. Before starting with the book, and simultaneous the Dutch translation by Bindervoet and Henkes (2020), I first read Bindervoet and Henkes' *Finnegancyclopedie* (2005), a very useful introduction. It is on the one hand a guide to the book, the author, and the wider context, but it also felt like a warning: do you really want to dive in? If I hadn't encountered such words as 'piltdowns' and 'mousterious' in the first part of the book, I had most probably given up. But these words provided me a hook, and a question. What did these words that sound so familiar to me as a palaeolithic archaeologist do in *Finnegans Wake*? It gave me a reason to continue. So I first wrestled, struggled, stumbled my way through the book as a whole and then spend months reading a few sentences, taking notes, checking references to other books, and scrolling webpages for obscure names. This booklet is the result.

A range of books on *Finnegans Wake* helped me in my efforts. Umberto Eco showed in an essay in *The role of the reader* (1979) and chapter in *The limits of interpretation* (1991) both the morphology and the associative course of 'meandertale' with the well-known, nice, loose drawing (figure 9.2 respectively 2.1) as well as the importance of 'puns'. John Bishop's *Joyce's Book of the Dark: Finnegans Wake* (1986) and particularly chapter 7 'Vico's "Night of Darkness": the New Science and Finnegans Wake' provided insights into Vico's cyclical version of the history of human society and the evolution of language and mind. Each cycle of history consists of a primitive or divine age, a semi-historic age of heros, and a historic or human age, and ends with a *recorso*, a decline and return to the primitive age of gods and giants (Hart 1962). This is the schematic, orthodox, structural view of *Finnegans Wake*, that Bishop criticizes, amends and modifies. He also sums up several allusions and images to fossil humans, the palaeolithic and prehistory (especially page 196). Len Platt's *Joyce, race, and Finnegans Wake* (2007) discusses how race, social Darwinism and eugenics of the late 19th and early 20th century are incorporated in the Wake, arguing that Joyce used, criticized,

subverted and ridiculed their theories and assumptions. One section in chapter 4 deals specifically with the field of palaeoanthropology (pages 78-82) and mentions the references to fossil types “in no particular sequence” (page 81) and “periodisations invented by archaeologists to denote stages in human progress, again in no order” (page 81). Kimberly J. Devlin's 2016 paper titled: *Joyce's “meanderthal tale”: tracing the passed/past in Finnegans Wake*, also mentions the palaeolithic terms, but focuses more on archaeology as a practice related to burial and excavation. Of particular interest is the reference to the history of the alphabet. Margot Norris' *The decentered universe of Finnegans Wake: a structural analysis* (1974) illustrates not only the theme of dreaming, but also how Joyce fused thematic and linguistic ambiguity in a manner comparable to Levi-Strauss's “bricoleur” (also Norris 2006). Bricolage seems one of the main techniques to consider when reading the words I am interested in in their new settings. I try to trace the 'bricolage' by following the words from drafts (and sometimes notebooks) to proofs to publication and see how the words themselves, the associations and the sentences are tinkered with. The approach of digging into notebooks, drafts and the series of revisions is inspired by and based on Finn Fordham's *Lots of fun at Finnegans Wake: unravelling universals* (2007). For short sections of text, Fordham discusses how the revising and rewriting of drafts and proofs elaborates the intricacies of the text. The key resource for the tracing of revisions is James Joyce Digital Archive, edited by Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon (www.jjda.ie; Rose et al. 2020). I also could not resist “absorbing some new materials by analogy” (Fordham 2007, 19).

What is reading *Finnegans Wake*? It is not decoding some secret language or hidden message, but it does convey something. It is not a riddle, but it is full of them. It is not re-casting a mythical or literary model, but it is firmly related to numerous other books as Atherton's *The books at the Wake* (1959) documents. What then does following a few scientific words, deformed and out of context, tell about what? Speaking for myself, it became a form of intense, slow and focused reading, reminiscent perhaps of Nietzsche's “reading like a cow”. And in this manner of reading emerged a sense of understanding, of parts of the text, perhaps also of the life of letters, words and language, and definitely an appreciation of the book as such. This is therefore not so much an interpretation of *Finnegans Wake*, but more a report on my reading.

Introduction. The palaeolithic words.

Which are the terms that we will engage with? They are limited to terms that refer to the palaeolithic period of human history. The palaeolithic, or Old Stone Age, is scientifically defined as the period from the earliest known stone tools till the end of the Pleistocene. The earliest stone tools are known from Lomekwi, Kenya, dating about 3.3 million years ago. The earliest tradition of stone toolmaking is known as the Oldowan from about 2.5 million years ago. The period ends with the climatic shift from the Pleistocene, the geological period of the so-called ice ages, to the Holocene, the current geological period, which started about 11,700 years ago. The palaeolithic covers a large part of the evolution of the human lineage, including the origins of the genus *Homo* as well as the origins of *Homo sapiens*, the taxonomic name for all extant humans. The terms that caught my attention fall in two categories: terms for fossil hominins and the names of archaeological cultures.

Fossils or fossil hominins that appear in *Finnegans Wake* in one way or another are: Piltdown man (*Eoanthropus dawsoni*), Java man (originally *Pithecanthropus erectus*, now *Homo erectus*), Heidelberg man (*Homo heidelbergensis*), Neandertal man (*Homo neanderthalensis*), Cro-Magnon man and Grimaldi man (both *Homo sapiens*). The names of palaeolithic, archaeological cultures that appear are: Mousterian, Aurignacian, Magdalenian, Azilian. Strictly speaking, Tardenoisian and Robenhausian should have been excluded because they are mesolithic respectively neolithic cultures, but they are included here because they appear in the same section of text and probably derive from the same source as the others. The text is littered with other archaeology- and prehistory-related terms, but I have limited myself to palaeolithic terms.

A very very short version of *Finnegans Wake* as a narrative to set something of a scene (for longer versions, see Bindervoet and Henkes (2005), Fordham (2007) or the Chicken Guide in James Joyce Digital Archive). *Finnegans Wake* consists of four books, subdivided in episodes. Book I – Twilight – opens with Tim Finnegan's life, works and death, tells how Earwicker (also HCE, 'here comes everybody') becomes the victim of gossip and slander and has to hide. Witnesses testify of his behaviour in a trial – something with girls in the park. A letter of his wife (ALP, Anna Livia Plurabelle) turns up. The family and their surroundings are presented and son Shem and wife ALP are talked about. Book II – Evening – opens with a play. When

the play is finished, the children, the brothers Shem and Shaun and daughter Issy, have to do their homework. Earwicker is downstairs in his pub, telling his story to the customers. Book III – Night – opens with questions to Shaun who is on his way to deliver the letter. He gets carried away, cautions his sister, and disappears. He is found in the garbage and questioned about his father who intervenes to plead his innocence. Finally, everybody is asleep. Book IV – Dawn – tells the return of Shaun, Earwicker awakes, Shem reflects, and the contents of the letter are revealed. Finally, ALP as the Liffey returns to the ocean. And the palaeolithic somehow found its way into this.

Where in *Finnegans Wake* do the terms appear? Their distribution is clearly patterned. The terms are mostly found in Book I, that contains 16 words directly related to palaeolithic terms. The opening episode (I.1) includes five words. The presentation of family members and other characters, the quiz (I.6), contain six words. Episode I.3 contains three words, whereas episode I.2 and I.4 each contains one word. None were located in episodes I.5, I.7 and I.8. I could find one word in Book II in episode II.1. In Book III, three words were located: two in episode III.1 and one in episode III.4. Book IV contains one word in episode IV.1. Overall, the words and the sentences in which they appear represent only a tiny fraction of the entire 223.478 words and 628 pages (referencing is to the standardized page and line numbers of the 1939 edition).

Different characters are broadly associated with one or several palaeolithic terms, but not without ambiguity. HCE, Earwicker, the pater familias, is associated with Java man, Heidelberg man, and Neandertal man. Son Shaun is also associated with Heidelberg man, but also with Grimaldi man, handaxe, Azilian and Tardenoisian. The other son Shem is associated with Mousterian and Magdalenian. Wife and mother ALP is associated with the Magdalenian.

The words in the text are transformations of the palaeolithic terms. The mutation is sometimes limited to the change of a single letter. An example is ‘cromagnom’ with m replacing the n at the end of Cro-Magnon. Capitals usually become small letters and in the case of Cro-Magnon also the hyphen is deleted. Other words are combinations or portmanteau words. An example is ‘azylium’, combining Azilian and asylum. A creation by hybridisation of English and German for the mutation of an allusion is ‘jawr war hoo hleepy hor halk’ referring to the lower jaw of Mauer, type fossil of *Homo heidelbergensis* (Heidelberg man). Other words are

not mutilated and used without modification, for example ‘handaxe’.

James Joyce worked and reworked the text over a period of about 17 years. When do the palaeolithic terms appear in the course of the “work in progress”? The process of revision and rewriting is documented in the James Joyce Digital Archive. Tracking the genesis of the sentences using the drafts, typescripts, proofs etc. in James Joyce Digital Archive reveals that the first group of terms appeared in the period 1923-1927. ‘Caveman’ appears in the first draft of episode I.3 that is dated to 1923. Others appear in the fair copy, typescript and proofs. A group of names of archaeological cultures appears in 1929 in preparation of the separate publication of *Tales told of Shem and Shaun*. A third group of terms appears in the editing work in the period 1930-1933 for publication in the literary journal *transition*. A fourth group appears in the galleys and 5th typescript dated to 1937-1939. The 'first appearance dates' have been instrumental in structuring my text in three chapters and an intermezzo (table 1).

	First draft 1923	Fair copy 1 st typescript <i>transition</i> 1 st set 1923-1927	First draft <i>transition</i> pages 1927	<i>transition</i> 1928	<i>Tales told of Shem and Shaun</i> 1929	<i>transition</i> 1930-1933	Galleys 5 th typescript 1937-1939
Chapter 1	caveman I.3	piltdown I.1 eolithostroton I.3 Homo Capite Erectus I.4				Java Jane II.1	
Chapter 2		meanderthalltale I.1 cromagnom I.1 Heidelberg I.2 Jaw too heavy III.1			mouster I.6	meandertale I.1 mousterious I.1 Heidenburgh I.1	Neandser IV.1
Intermezzo				handaxe III.1			grimaldism I.3
Chapter 3			aurignacian I.6 maudelenian I.6		azylium I.6 robenhauses I.6 tardeynois I.6		magdalenian III.4

Table 1. Overview of the first appearance dates of the palaeolithic terms and the episodes in which they occur.

Chapter 1. First appearances.

Section 1. Caveman chase.

Episode I.3 60.14.

The sentence with 'caveman' appears in a first draft of episode I.3, dated November 1923. It is the earliest use of a more or less palaeolithic term that I encountered. 'Caveman' is a general word for primitive man, early humans and human origins in a broad, non-specific sense. It is not referring to a particular fossil or hominin species, but to the interpretation of cave mouths and rockshelters with the remains of stone tools, animal bones, and fires as the dwelling sites of early humans. The sentence in the first draft is:

Brian Linskey, the boy curser, was questioned & gave a snappy comeback: I'm for caveman sex life, curse it! Them two whores ought to get strangled or axed.

Brian Linskey is one of the people in the streets of Dublin who is interviewed about Earwicker aka HCE and the behaviour in the park that he is accused of. The sentence is revised over the years into the version published in 1939. In 1st typescript (December 1923 – early 1927), the boy becomes the cub, the young pet animal. Additions to the sentence emphasize the newspaper-style and street language that Brian utters:

Brian Linskey, the cub curser, was questioned and gave a snappy comeback, when saying: Once more I say I am for caveman sex, curse it! Them two women ought to be strangled, curse them, I say! Paw!

More changes and additions appear in the 2nd Fair copy (March 1927). The cub turns out to be a young dog on a leash, pawing and barking. And whores changed to women and then to bitches.

Brian Linskey, the cub curser, was questioned and gave a snappy comeback, when saying: Paw! Once more I say! I am for caveman sex, burk you! Them two bitches ought to be leashed, canem! Paw!

The second set of *transition 3* proofs (May 1927) splits 'caveman sex' and doubles to 'caveman chase and sahara sex'. The 'sahara sex' refers to the desert, sex without procreation,

without offspring, but also to Sarah, wife of Abraham and mother of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and to the silent movie “Sahara love” (1926) in which a woman turns down her lover, marries a bully instead, ends up in a palace in the desert, where she is rescued by her former lover, who leaves her for his new-found love.

Further changes to the sentence intensify the ‘cub curser’ by placing him in ‘his shouting box’, howling, bawling and bragging, and by inferring more animality invoked by ‘hog’ and ‘hoar’ (boar/whore). Meanwhile it expands on alliterations, ending up in the sentence published in the 1939 edition:

Brian Lynskey, the cub curser, was questioned at his shouting box, Bawlonabraggat, and gave a snappy comeback, when saying: Paw! Once more I say I'll hellhowl! I am for caveman chase and sahara sex, burk you! Them two bitches ought to be leashed, canem! Up hog and hoar hunt! Paw!

The word ‘caveman’ is here associated with promiscuity, aggressive male sexuality and *machismo*: the ‘caveman’ attitude to women (Notebook VI.B.10.78i). It is these common and widely held opinions about ‘caveman’ that are activated here: the popular view and public opinion as expressed in newspapers of the time. But this reading is subverted by other allusions. Brian Lynskey (a pun on ‘linchpin’ and ‘key’) alludes to the song Brian O’Linn. Brian O’Linn is a poor ‘little man’, having nothing, but always making the best of it, always seeing the bright side of life. And what sort of curser is a cub that gives a paw. And the caveman chase may be a hunt, but it is also a rather hoary story of a hog, a castrated pig not capable of more than sahara sex. The sentence conveys one side of an opinion as well as its opposite, identifying HCE as a ‘caveman’ and a man of the street. But the identity of this ‘caveman’ is unstable. Brian Lynskey’s opinion is childplay, it is contradictory, disharmonious, we are not sure if we should take it seriously.

Section 2. Piltdowns.

Episode I.1 10.30.

The first word that led me to trace the palaeolithic terms in *Finnegans Wake* was 'piltdowns' in the rhythmic sentence: *The wagrant wind'z a walt'z around the piltdowns*. It first appears in the Fair copy, dating to December 1926, as a specification of the word 'downs' in previous drafts. In the early drafts, it is just: *The wind's around the downs*. Adding qualifiers and intensifiers, this becomes a more musical version with multiple double v's. In the Typescript, dated December 1926 – February 1927, the word 'wagrant' is inserted. The section to which the sentence belongs moves the scene from the visit to the Wellington museum, exhibiting the battle at Waterloo and the defeat of Napoleon, to the fresh air, the fields and the backyard of the house where the hen will find a letter.

What a warm time we were in there but how keling is here the airabouts! And such reasonable weather too! The wagrant wind'z awalt'z around the piltdowns and on every blasted knollyrock there's that gnarlybird ygathering, a runalittle, doalittle, preealittle, pouralittle, wipealittle, kicksalittle, severalittle, eatalittle, whinealittle, kenalittle, helfalittle, pelfalittle gnarlybird.

A broad range of associations is activated by the 'piltdowns'. It alludes to the so-called “missing link” between humans and apes, the ancestor that is only partly human and still partly ape. It specifically refers to the controversy about Piltdown man, *Eoanthropus dawsoni*, “Dawson’s dawn man” with his 'dawn stones', the eoliths, the earliest forms of stone tools. Piltdown man was discovered in 1912 and claimed as an ancient primitive human with a big brain, but an ape-like jaw. Whereas most British scholars supported Piltdown man as “the missing link”, many other scholars on the continent and the U.S. were critical. Marcellin Boule, the famous French anatomist whose study of Neandertals was highly influential, for example called it an artificial and composite species: a human skull and the mandible of an ape (Boule 1921). Piltdown was prominent in the headlines of popular newspapers at its discovery and announcement in 1912, but became more and more marginalized and problematic by the 1920s and 1930s with discoveries of hominin fossils in Africa, China and Indonesia.

Unknown to Joyce at the time, but highly significant, Piltdown is the most notorious case of fraud and forgery in palaeoanthropology. The fossil was manufactured out of a modified orangutan mandible and a modern human cranium. The forgery was only revealed by chemical analysis and exposed in 1953. Spanning more than 100 years, the story of Piltdown man is one of fame, gossip, rumour, lost reputation, and accusations (Stringer 2012). The latest examinations concern the microscopic level using radiocarbon dating, isotope analysis, DNA and other methods to unravel the forgery. In other words, the Piltdown case could have been the spark and inspiration for *Finnegans Wake*. The reference to the case of Piltdown man was more significant and contagious than Joyce probably imagined.

Through the Piltdown case, the ‘piltdowns’ is also associated with a place of excavation and discovery, where remains of the past, historic objects (FW 11.30 ‘historic presents’) are uncovered, where treasure was discarded, thrown away, lost, where disturbance of soil brings hidden pasts to light. The excavation as a window into the past, but also as a place to be kept secret. The association also suggests an attention to seemingly mundane details, fragments and traces, that are indicators, however partial and biased, of a larger whole. It is reflected in other sections of *Finnegans Wake*, for example in the attention to the pick marks on the envelop of a letter in episode I.5.

The ‘wagrant’ winds that waltz around the ‘piltdowns’ are the winds from Wagram, the last victory of Napoleon in 1809, as well as the winds of the vagrant, the outcast moving from place to place; they announce the fall that will come similar to the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo. Later revisions intensify the notions of secrecy, misleading, and fall. In *transition 1* pages (early 1930s-1933), the sentences inserted allude and play with references to keeping a secret and to mislead, to put others on a goose chase, and to a dramatic downfall:

What a warm time we were in there but how keling is here the airabouts! We nowhere she lives but you mussna tell annaone for the lamp of Jig-a-Lanthorn! It's a candlelitten houthse of a month and one windies. Downadown, High Downadown. And nummered quaintlymine. And such reasonable weather too! The wagrant wind'z awalt'z around the piltdowns and on every blasted knollyrock (if you can spot fifty I spy four more) there's that gnarlybird ygathering, a runalittle, doalittle, preealittle, pouralittle, wipealittle, kicksalittle, severalittle, eatalittle, whinealittle, kenalittle, helfalittle, pelfalittle gnarlybird.

The inserted cause after the 'piltdowns' and 'knollyrock' alludes to the wife and mother ALP, while the inserted sentence before hints at the circle of girls around daughter Izzy. A final revision of this section in the second set of Galleys (May 1938) is the addition of a final sentence, a concluding statement:

What a warm time we were in there but how keling is here the airabouts! We nowhere she lives but you mussna tell annaone for the lamp of Jig-a-Lanthorn! It's a candlelitten houthse of a month and one windies. Downadown, High Downadown. And nummored quaintlymine. And such reasonable weather too! The wagrant wind'z awalt'z around the piltdowns and on every blasted knollyrock (if you can spot fifty I spy four more) there's that gnarlybird ygatherin, a runalittle, doalittle, preealittle, pouralittle, wipealittle, kicksalittle, severalittle, eatalittle, whinealittle, kenalittle, helfalittle, pelfalittle gnarlybird. A verytableland of bleakbardfields!

The wordplay of 'verytableland' combines the 'veritable' with 'tableland', the geographical name for a high plateau separated by steep edges from the surrounding lowlands, as well as with 'fairytale'. Similarly, the wordplay around 'bleakbardfields', associated with blackbird, but also battlefield, also alludes to the bard, the poet-singer, 'praise-maker', but this time the songs are bleak. The 'piltdowns' are a bleak place. It is an exposed plateau of disturbing stories, where the winds reign freely and spread seductive tales and rumours. It alludes to Shakespeare's Henry V act II scene 3. Set in London, before a tavern in Eastcheap, line 16-18: "for his nose was as sharp as a pen, and a' babbled of green fields". The 'piltdowns' turns out to be a bleak place of fairytales, praise and babbling.



Figure 1.

Workers at Piltdown: A general impression of the Piltdown Gravel Pit, c. 1913 with the 'gnarlybird' goose 'Chipper' and left to right - Robert Kenward jnr. (standing), Charles Dawson (sitting), 'Venus' Hargreaves (centre), Arthur Smith Woodward. © Trustees of the Natural History Museum, London.

Section 3. Eolithostroton.

Episode I.3 73.30.

The ‘dawn stones’ of Piltdown man emerge later in episode I.3 in the word ‘eolithostroton’. ‘Eolithostroton’ is a portmanteau word, a combination of eolith and lithostroton. Eoliths, “dawn stones” – according to some the earliest forms of stone tools, according to others just natural stones formed by geological forces – appear in the notebooks VI.B.10 and VI.B.1. A note in the published notebook refers to an article in the Daily Mail of 2 January 1923 that mentions the “eoliths of the Kentish Weald”. Lithostroton is a word from the New Testament, in the Gospel of John, verse 19:13 (in my Dutch protestant bible). It is the place where Jezus Christ is presented in front of Pontius Pilatus and hears his conviction to crucifixion. The word ‘eolithostroton’ appears in the Protodraft 1st typescript, dating to December 1923 – early 1927, in the following sentence:

But he made leave to many a door beside of Finglas weald for his cairns are at browse up hill and down coombe and on eolithostroton, at Howth or at Coolock or even at Enniskerry and Oliver's lambs we call them.

The sentence underwent a series of revisions before it was published in the 1939 edition as:

Yed he med leave to many a door beside of Oxmanswold for so witness his chambered cairns silent that are at browse up hill and down coombe and on eolithostroton, at Howth or at Coolock or even at Enniskerry, a theory none too rectiline of the evolution of human society and a testament of the rocks from all the dead unto some the living.

A point is set after Enniskerry in the 2nd Fair copy (March 1927), placing ‘Oliver's lambs’ in a separate sentence. The ‘weald’ becomes ‘wold’ and the ‘cairns’ become ‘chambered cairns’ in the copy for *transition* 3 (April 1927). Then, in the 2nd set of proofs for *transition* 3 (May 1927), the cairns no longer simply ‘are’, but the cairns ‘so witness [...] silent’. ‘Finglas weald’ becomes Oxmanswold, the place of the exiled Anglo-Normans on the other side of the river Liffey, in *transition* 3 pages (early 1930s-1933), when the second part of the sentence is also added. A final change is made for the first set of Galleys (March 1937-February 1938), when the beginning of the sentence ‘Yet he made’ is replaced by ‘Yed he med’.

The sentence narrates how HCE escapes and disappears after the siege by Bully Acre. The cairns located here and there in the landscape are the silent witnesses of his escape. The sentences that follow evoke his re-appearance, his awakening.

The use of 'eoliths' adds at least four dimensions to the biblical connotations of 'lithostroton'. First, they add a temporal dimension to this place through their presentation of the dawn of human history. Secondly, the 'eoliths' were the subject of intense debate, in particular between 1880 and 1930, between so-called 'eolithophiles' and 'eolithophobes', thereby adding the element of controversy. A third dimension is that some folklorists believed them to be thunderbolts (Atherton 1959, 182), linking with the importance of thunder in *Finnegans Wake*. A final point is that 'eolith' begins with an 'e' forming HCE together with 'hill' and 'coombe'.

More than 'lithostroton', the biblical place, 'eolithostroton' is the place of judgement and conviction since the dawn of human history. The second part of the sentence puts it in perspective. The connection between the dawn of human history and the present is not a straight line, not an ascent or progression. The 'theory none too rectiline' refers to Hugh Miller 1856 *The Testimony of the Rocks, or Geology in its bearings on the two theologies, natural and revealed*. Miller defends a reconciliation of the geological and Mosaic records of creation. To quote from the address "To the Reader":

No blank chaotic gap of death and darkness separated the creation to which man belongs from that of the old extinct elephant, hippopotamus, and hyæna; for familiar animals such as the red deer, the roe, the fox, the wild cat, and the badger, lived throughout the period which connected their times with our own; and so I have been compelled to hold, that the days of creation were not natural, but prophetic days, and stretched far back into the bygone eternity.

The direct line from 'all the dead unto some the living' evokes the ending of "Lecture Three":

One other remark ere I conclude. In the history of the earth which we inhabit, molluscs, fishes, reptiles, mammals, had each in succession their periods of vast duration; and then the human period began,—the period of a fellow worker with God, created in God's own image. What is to be the next advance? Is there to be merely a repetition of the past?—an

introduction a second time of man made in the image of God? No. The geologist, in those tables of stone which form his records, finds no example of dynasties once passed away again returning. There has been no repetition of the dynasty of the fish, of the reptile, of the mammal. The dynasty of the future is to have glorified man for its inhabitant; but it is to be the dynasty—"the kingdom"—not of glorified man made in the image of God, but of God himself in the form of man. In the doctrine of the two conjoined natures, human and Divine, and in the further doctrine that the terminal dynasty is to be peculiarly the dynasty of HIM in whom the natures are united, we find that required progression beyond which progress cannot go. We find the point of elevation never to be exceeded meetly coincident with the final period never to be terminated,—the infinite in height harmoniously associated with the eternal in duration. Creation and the Creator meet at one point, and in one person. The long ascending line from dead matter to man has been a progress Godwards,—not an asymptotical progress, but destined from the beginning to furnish a point of union; and occupying that point as true God and true man,—as Creator and created,—we recognize the adorable Monarch of all the future!

‘Eolithostroton’ is associated with an alternative theory: the word and the sentence conveys multiple times at the same time in the same place, in other words: repetition and return, and the history of the up and down and on; the past is not gone, it re-appears in the present and remains present.



Figure 2.

A sample of Kentish eoliths from the collection of Benjamin Harrison. Credit: Photograph with permission of The Seaside Museum – Herne Bay (courtesy of P.G. Knowles).

Section 4. *Pithecanthropus erectus* or Java man.

Episode I.4 101.12-13.

The long sentence that is the focus here is:

*Who, but who (for second time of asking) was then the scourge of the parts about folk rich
Lucalized it was wont to be asked, as, in ages behind of the Homo Capite Erectus, what price
Peabody's money, or, to put it bluntly, whence is the herringtons' white cravat, as, in epochs
more cainozoic, who struck Buckley though nowadays as thentimes every schoolfilly of
sevenscore moons or more who know her intimologies and every colleen bawl aroof and every
redflammelwaving warwife and widowpeace upon Dublin Wall for ever knows as yayas is
yayas how it was Buckleysself (we need no bleeding paper to tell it neither) who struck and the
Russian generals, (da! da!), instead of Buckley who was caddishly struck by him when be
herselves.*

The words 'Homo Capite Erectus' are a particularization of the 'ages behind' and they replace the earlier version using 'long'. They first appear in the 1st typescript section 2 (January 1924 – early 1927), together with another specification of time: 'cainozoic'. The sentence is revised several times in the period March to May 1927. Final revisions are added to the 2nd set of Galleys in May 1938, eleven years later.

The context is a comparison, an identification of one thing as another thing. The question 'who was the scourge' was asked in the same way as, in earlier times, questions were asked about Peabody's money and herrington's cravat, and as, in recent times, the question 'who struck Buckley' was asked. The sentence is full of time: 'then', 'ages behind', 'whence', 'epochs', 'nowadays', 'thentimes', 'moons', 'for ever'. The earlier times are the old days of Homo Capite Erectus or HCE. These questions are asked in a section beginning with: *Do tell us all about. As we want to hear allabout. So tellus tellas allabouter.*

'Homo Capite Erectus' refers to *Pithecanthropus erectus*, Java man, discovered in 1891 near Trinil on the island of Java by Eugene Dubois, a medical doctor who joined the Dutch army to search for the "missing link" in Southeast Asia. The remains consist primarily of a skull cap, a femur, and a tooth, though later excavations uncovered several other bones. Both

Pithecanthropus erectus and Java are identified in one of the notebooks: VI.B.1 on page 173. ‘Capite’ is a wordplay on pi-the-ca-nthropus, turning it into Latin for 'of the head'. Using the genus name *Homo* is remarkable from a paleoanthropological perspective. Renaming *Pithecanthropus erectus* to *Homo erectus* was only proposed in a lecture by Franz Weidenreich in 1939 published in 1940. Weidenreich (1940, 383) wrote:

In order to avoid this incorrect interpretation, the time has come, as I think, to eliminate all those names which may lead to some misunderstanding in this regard. Instead of Pithecanthropus erectus we should speak of Homo erectus javanensis. Sinanthropus pekinensis should be replaced by Homo erectus pekinensis or sinensis and Homo soloensis by Homo neanderthalensis soloensis etc. I want only to broach this question here but not to enter into a special discussion.

Joyce’s ‘Homo Capite Erectus’, for all the wrong reasons, was more than 10 years earlier than Weidenreich’s proposal. The contextual link of the words is primarily with time, but it opens to a range of other associations. *Pithecanthropus erectus* was presented as the “missing link”, but the bold reconstruction that Dubois presented at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 was controversial for several reasons. One of the question asked was: was the skull cap that of an ape (orangutan) or a human? Unlike Piltdown man, the skull of Java man was both flatter and smaller than that of a modern human. The femur on the other hand was distinctly human, demonstrating an erect body posture and bipedalism. Another bone of contention was the association of the fossils: were the femur, tooth and skull cap belonging to the same individual, the same species, or were they not connected? In addition, Dubois was an outsider in the paleoanthropological world of those days. The reference to *Pithecanthropus erectus* in this sentence is playing on the aspect of debate and controversy and the public questioning of identity.

Episode II.1 254.25.

Java man in his short appearance as ‘Homo Capite Erectus’ in Book I episode 4 re-appears in the first episode of Book II, now disguised as ‘Java Jane’:

And he! Who? Old Joe, the Java Jane, older even than Adam Costollo.

The sentence first appears in 1st draft of late 1932. After initial editing – a comma and the Java Jane instead of Old Joe Java Jane – and the addition of Costollo, initially Costola, to Adam, the sentence remained unchanged. However, in the 1939 edition, the sentence is altered. In the 2010 edition, the sentence is corrected and moved to the beginning of the paragraph.

The sentence is located in a section near the end of a play *The mime of Nick, Mick and the Maggies*, where HCE appears on stage. He is identified as the old Joe, the Java Jane, the average Joe and Jane, stuck in the past. He is even older than Adam, pre-human, when a man is not yet a man. The main association of Java Jane is temporal and related to origins, ancestry, and the question of identity.

Chapter 2. Heidelberg – Neandertal – Cro-Magnon.

Section 5. Who? The most mousterious Neandertal.

The word 'mousterious' (episode I.1 15.33) first appears in *transition 1* pages, dated early 1930s-1933. 'Mousterious' is a combination of Mousterian, the archaeological culture named after the village Le Moustier in France, that is associated with Neandertals, as well as mysterious and perhaps also monstrous and mouse. It is part of the section Mutt and Jute, preceding the discussion between these two characters. It is in answer to the question by Mutt:

In the name of Anem this carl on the kopje in pelted thongs a parth a lone who the joebiggar be he?

The answer is a not too flattering description of Jute culminating in that he seems to be a 'dragonsman'. The answer develops from a 2nd draft 1A dated to November 1926, which describes his strangely shaped head and feet:

Forshapen, his pigmayde hoagshead, shroonk, his plodsfoot. Meseemeth a mansman.

The fair copy of December 1926 revises a 'mansman' into a 'dragonsman':

Forshapen his pigmaid hoagshead, shroonk his plodsfoot. Meseemeth a dragonsman.

In the revisions for *transition 1* pages (early 1930s-1933), the description is further elaborating on his toes, legs and torso. He becomes 'it' when its eating habits are mentioned:

Forshapen his pigmaid hoagshead, shroonk his plodsfoot. He hath locktoes, this shortshins, and, Obeold that's pectoral, his mammamuscles! Most mousterious! It is slaking nuncheon out of some thing's brain pan. Meseemeth a dragonsman.

What Joyce seems to me tinkering with is the reconstruction of a Neandertal by Marcellin Boule. Many popular visual representations of Neandertals in the early 20th century are based on his detailed study of the "old man" from La Chapelle-aux-Saints, a probable burial of an adult male Neandertal, whose skeleton is marked by pathological deformations. A popularized description appeared in Boule's *Les hommes fossiles*. His reconstruction included abducted

halluxes ('locktoes'), low arches of the foot ('plodsfoot') and bent-knee, not fully erect posture with shortened limbs ('shortshins') and muscular torso ('mammamuscles'). The foot is small ('shroonk') with a low arch ('plodsfoot'). The skull was large but less globular, more elongated and flattened ('hoagshead'). But it is also deformed ('forshapen'), hence pig- and pygmy-like ('pigmaid'). Moreover, it was not uncommon to compare fossil hominins with distant "primitive peoples". Hugo Obermaier's *Der Mensch der Vorzeit* (1912) for instance makes an explicit comparison between Neandertals and "Pygmäenvölker" (p. 416):

wenn aber dem so ist, dann wäre es auch möglich, an der Hand der Übereinstimmung der materiellen Kultur der heutigen Pygmäenvölker mit jener der Altneandertaler desgleichen auf annähernde Verwandtschaft beider hinsichtlich ihrer geistigen Kultur zu schliessen.

The description would not be complete without a hint at cannibalistic practices and drinking from *Schädelbecher*. In other words, the description of Jute is the stereotype of the primitive, savage, brutish Neandertal, that is emphasized and exaggerated by the exclamation 'most mousterious!'.

The 'dragonsman' brings further associations. The first association is with William Blake's *The marriage of heaven and hell* (1790-1793). Page 27 of the 1906 edition (Boston, John W. Luce and company) opens with:

*<quoted>I was in a printing-house in Hell, and saw the method in which knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation.
In the first chamber was a dragon-man, clearing away the rubbish from a cave's mouth;
within, a number of dragons were hollowing the cave.*

The mention of 'dragonsman' hints at what is coming in the sections after the discussion of Mutt and Jute when the history of the alphabet and writing and printing are narrated.

Joyce may not have been aware of other dragonsmen to be absorbed here. In 1921, the Swedish geologist Andersson discovered hominin fossils in a cave near Beijing, China that were named *Sinanthropus pekinensis* (later subsumed in the species *Homo erectus*). The find location was known locally as Dragon Bone Hill after initial explorations in 1918 in an area

that is tellingly known as Chicken-bone Hill. More recently, another fossil “Dragon Man” was published: a re-discovered skull found during the construction of a bridge in Northern China in 1933 and attributed to the species *Homo longi*, after the geographic name Long Jiang, literally “dragon river”, and recently shown to belong to a “Denisovan” population, another early hominin species only recently described on the basis of ancient DNA (Ji et al. 2021; Fu et al. 2025).

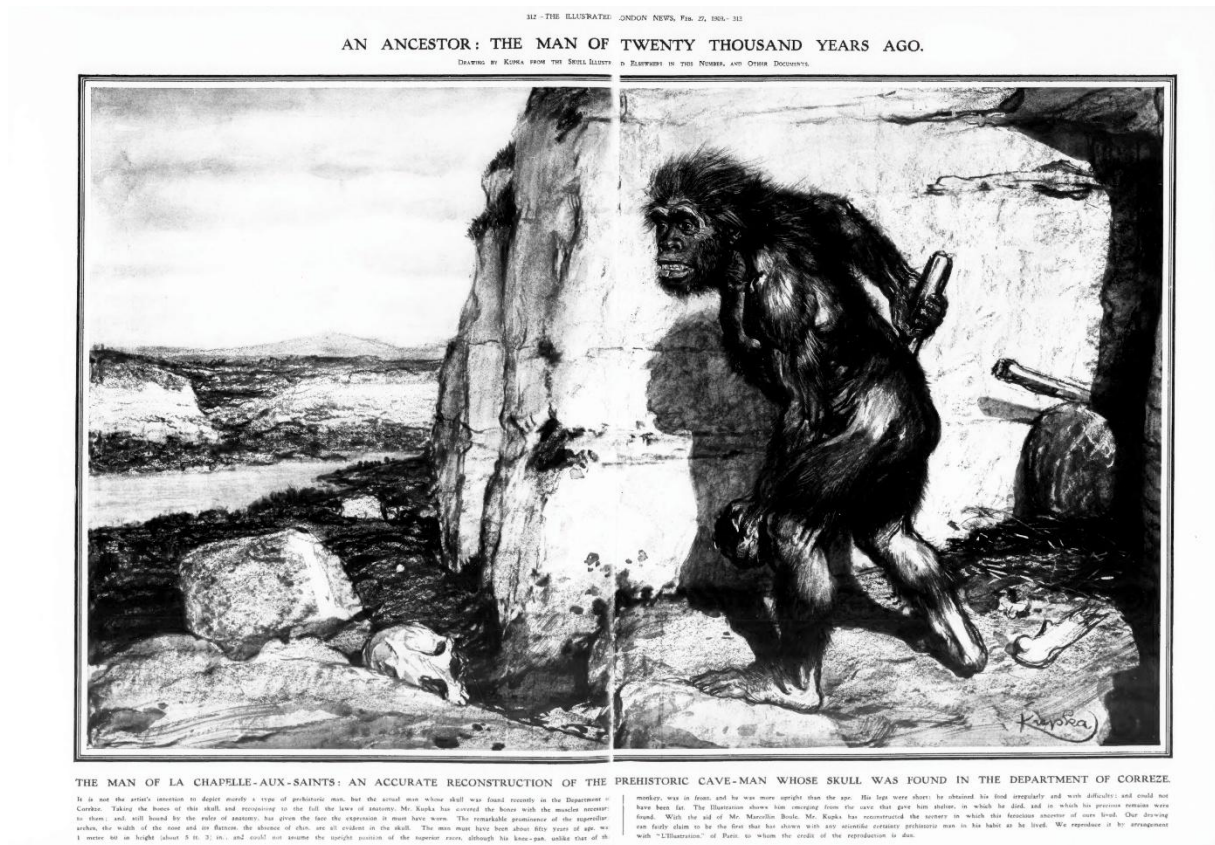


Figure 3.

The reconstruction of the Neandertal from La Chapelle-aux-Saints from *The Illustrated London News* February 27, 1909 ©František Kupka – An Ancestor: The Man of Twenty Thousand Years Ago, c/o Pictoright Amsterdam 2026.

Section 6. Mene tekel and the meandertale of our old Heidenburgh.

Umberto Eco has taken the 'lexeme' Neanderthal as an example of the semantics of metaphors. He demonstrates the phonetic and semantic associations that this word has generated. The 'lexemes' meander, tal, and tale combine to form the new word 'meandertale'. Following the connections of the four lexemes, his diagram – having “a purely orientative value” – illustrates the associative chains that crosscut the entire *Finnegans Wake* and names it a 'meandertale'. Eco calls it an experiment to enter the linguistic universe of *Finnegans Wake*. We can elaborate on the associative chains of Neanderthal when we look when and where the 'derived' words – 'meandertale', 'meanderthalltale', and 'Neandser' – appear.

The first word to appear in the fair copy dated to December 1926 is the word 'meanderthalltale' (FW 19.25), that is inserted in the beginning of a sentence from the First Draft (November 1926) as a specification of a 'tale'. The sentence in episode I.1 remains unchanged through the series of revisions and is published as such in the 1939 edition:

What a meanderthalltale to unfurl and with what an end in view of squattor and auntisquattor and postproneauntisquattor!

During the revisions for *transition* in the early 1930s-1933, the word 'meandertale' (FW 18.22) appears in episode I.1 together with a major expanded and rewritten section that is modelled on the biblical “Mene tekel” (Daniel 5:1-30). The sentence itself remains unchanged in later revisions and is published as:

The meandertale, aloss and again, of our old Heidenburgh in the days when Head-in-Clouds walked the earth.

The word Neanderthal resurfaces in the guise of Neandser (FW 600.12) in the 5th typescript dated to November 1938 in book IV episode 1 in the following sentence from the 2010 edition:

Where Allbroggt Neandser tracking Vikkynette Neeinsee gladsighted her Linfian Falls and a teamdiggingharrow turned the first sod.

How to proceed?

Perhaps – let us start to disentangle ‘meanderthalltale’. This word is a combination of Neandertal, Meander, meander, tal, and a tall tale. Neandertal refers to a fossil discovered in august 1856 near Düsseldorf, Germany. It is named after the valley of the Neander which is Latin for 'new man'. The skull cap found in the Feldhofergrotte was the first fossil of an extinct, archaic human, but initially some scholars thought that it was a sick man or a Cossack or even an idiot. Since its discovery, controversies over Neandertals and their role in the origins of the human lineage have shaped the course of the palaeoanthropological sciences (Trinkaus and Shipman 1992; 1993).

The associations of Neandertals as savage primitives tell us what type of origin story is 'unfurling'. And the tale is unfolding, evolving, progressing, like the meandering of a river, not 'too rectiline'. Meander is also a Greek river god who is the son of Oceanus and Tethys, brother and sister: a hint at incest and sexual transgression. Another qualifier of the tale is that it is a tall tale, a tale that is very difficult to believe, that is greatly exaggerated, like the doubling of the ll in ‘thall’ and the doubling of ‘thall’ and ‘tale’ are exaggerations of ‘thal’. The second part of the sentence is a flash-forward to the end of the story: a view of the squattor, auntisquattor and postproneauntisquattor. But it is also a cliffhanger: what an end of the story is coming for these squattors. The term ‘squattor’ may also allude to the Australian meaning of occupying Crown land without permission and to squattocracy. A further association is with powerlifter, as the muscular and compact body of a Neandertal. Another link maybe with the apparently outdated meaning of ‘to squat’ for ‘to fall flat’. The story is here compared to the argumentation of thesis and antithesis and a Nietzschean 'beyond good and evil' (post pro and anti) – no place for a harmonizing synthesis, here no ending like 'they lived happily ever after'. By the way, is 'neaunti' in postproneauntisquattor also a wordplay pointing at Neandertal?

The build-up to this characterisation of the story as a ‘meanderthalltale’ is gradual. It starts with the description of Jute as a Neandertal ('most moustierous' FW 15.33). It is followed by the dialogue between Mutt and Jute, figuring as the opposites native/outsider, pagan/Christian and St Patrick/Bishop Berkeley (Platt 2012) that ends with Mutt asking: *Ore you astoneaged, jute you?* Then the story of the allaphbed begins which is characterised as a ‘meandertale of

our old Heidenburgh’.

This sentence is part of rewriting and modelling the beginning of the section on Daniel 5:1-30. The section goes as follows:

(Stoop), if you are abcedminded, to this claybook, what curios of signs (please stoop) in this allaphbed! Can you rede (since We and Thou had it out already) its world? It is the some told of all. Many. Miscegenations on miscegenations. Tieckle. They lived und laughed and loved end left. Forsin. Thy thingdome is given to the Meades and Porsons. The meandertale, aloss and again, of our old Heidenburgh in the days when Head-in-Clouds walked the earth.

In other words, the ‘meandertale’ here refers to the same old story that is meant in Joyce’s mocking version of ‘mene tekel ufarsim’. In the bible book Daniel, King Belsassar is feasting with the gold and silver tableware from the Temple of Jerusalem and praising the gods of gold, silver, copper, iron, stone and wood. Then a hand starts writing on the wall in signs that no one can read: ‘curios of signs’ in a ‘claybook’. Belsassar asks Daniel if he can read and explain this writing: ‘can you rede [...] its world?’ ‘Rede’ referring to read, but also to the German ‘reden’. Who is you? Is it Jute? Or Mutt? Or you the reader?

In Daniel, the same old story, the ‘some told of all’, is the saying ‘pride comes before the fall’, when Daniel recounts the fall of Nebukadnezar, Belsassar’s predecessor, and then speaks the words on the wall.

Mene – counted: the days of your kingship are counted. Here it becomes: *Many*.

Miscegenations on miscegenations. It is mixing and mingling and blending all over. It is perhaps also significant that the word ‘miscegenation’ was coined and invented in a 1863 pamphlet promoting interracial marriage, intended to discredit the Republicans during the presidential elections. The pamphlet was exposed after the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1864 as a hoax concocted by Democrats.

Tekel – weighed: the king is weighed and found inadequate. Here it becomes: *Tieckle. They lived and laughed and loved end left*. Tieckl, the German poet (1773-1853) who is one of the founding fathers of the Romantic movement, is also ‘tickled’. They lived and laughed and loved and left, life and death in vowels. The end. End of the story. Left, the audience is leaving.

Ufarsim – divided: the kingdom is broken and divided among the Medes and the Persians.

This becomes: *Forsin. Thy thingdome is given to the Meades and Porsons*. 'Forsin' could be Middle English for 'to make ready for' or 'to foresee in', 'to provide'. It results in giving Dublin ('thy thingdome') to the Meades and Porsons. The Meades are a family of building contractors and housing developers. Joseph Michael Meade (1839-1900) expanded the business and was one of the main developers of Victorian Dublin. He was an Irish nationalist, supporter of Parnell, and Lord Mayor of Dublin. He was seen as a philanthrope, in particular for the housing of the poor, though in hindsight became known as landlord of the slums. Porsons, in addition to 'poor sons', refers to Richard Porson, classical scholar, who for some time lost a fellowship and was supported by friends with an annuity of 100 pounds a year, and who was devoted to cleaning classical Greek texts from corruptions over the centuries of their transmission. The word 'Meades' with a little help of the alphabet changes into Meander, hinting forward to the 'meandertale'.

The 'meandertale' is the story of 'pride before the fall', of mixing and the myth of purity, of love and death, of renewal and destruction, of a loss and a gain. That is the story that "you" can tell about the world. It is the story of all times, since the beginning, 'of our old Heidenburgh'. 'Heidenburgh' is a combination of Heidelberg man, Edinburgh, 'heiden' (German/Dutch for pagan) and possibly the family name Burgh, Irish family, descending from the Anglo-Norman de Burgh dynasty, who played a prominent role in the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. Heidelberg man refers to the fossil mandible found in 1907 near Mauer in fluvial sands of the river Neckar. It was considered as one of the oldest hominin fossils at the time. The most remarkable feature of the jaw was that it was very heavily built despite having small human-like teeth. The addition 'in the days when Head-in-Clouds walked the earth', infers the association of HCE with Heidelberg man. Head-in-Clouds is also a web of allusions. One is the allusion to giants. Another is to walk with your head in the clouds, in other words to loose contact with reality, a dreamer. Atherton (1959, 42) also refers to James Hogg: "One of the incidents which is mentioned by Hogg: his hero's vision of his own shadow magnified enormously as it is cast on the clouds from Arthur's Seat". Arthur's Seat is an old volcanic mountain in Edinburgh. In a footnote on page 42, he further mentions: the appearance of God to Mozes in Genesis 16:13 and Exodus 33:16 as well as the Norse god Odin as Head-in-Clouds. According to McHugh, it also refers to the enlightened Buddha walking the world.

The combination of Neandertal and Heidelberg man can be associated with both the native/foreign opposition and the pagan/christian opposition of the Mutt and Jute dialogue. In the colonial and racial world of the 19th and early 20th century, these “German” fossil species are opposed to the “English” Piltdown man (Platt 2007, 2012). The pagan, antediluvial aspect is strengthened by the opposition to the world religions: Christianity and Judaism, Islam and Buddhism.

The additive 'aloss and again', as a variant of 'again and again' and associated with the themes of winning and losing, is also describing the meandering river. Meandering means erosion of sediment in the outer bend and deposition of fine sediment in the inner bend. Erosion is leading to things being activated, moving, coming to the surface, to the light, whereas sedimentation covers things up, brings to a hold, hides from sight. To liken the story to the meandering of a river is to combine revealing and concealing in one movement.

The association of Neandertal with the course of a river is taken up in episode IV.1, when Allbroggt Neandser is tracking Vikkynette Neeinsee. The association is with Albert and Victoria Nyanza, the two large lakes at the source of White Nile. ‘Neandser’ is a combination of Neander and Nyanza, associated with Allbroggt, Albert, HCE. It alludes to the place where HCE saw his ALP and where they 'turned the first sod', the groundbreaking ceremony at the beginning of a building project, the building of their life and the start of a family and a house. ‘Neandser’ takes us forward to a new bend of the ‘meanderthale’ of *Finnegans Wake*.

Where Neandertal leads us from the meandering tall tale to the Neandser HCE, the appearances of Heidelberg man brings a new range of associations. The first references to Heidelberg man can be found in the first typescript of *transition*, dated between December 1923 and early 1927, and the fair copy of episode III.1 dated to January 1925. The word ‘Heidenburgh’ is entered in the revisions for *transition* in the period 1930s-1933.

After ‘our old Heidenburgh’ (FW 18.22) in episode I.1, the second appearance of Heidelberg man is in episode I.2. The section of interest is the encounter with the tramp, Gaping Gill. In a first draft, the sentence goes:

The cad perceiving that he had to do with a clear postpuberal hyperpituitary type, thanked

him for the time of day.

The sentence is expanded and elaborated for the first typescript of *transition*. The ordinary ‘cad’ is intensified to Gaping Gill, one of deepest caves in England, while Gill is also short for Gilmartin, the name of the devil that possessed the chief character of James Hogg's *Private memoirs and confessions of a justified sinner* (1824) (Atherton 1959, 41-42). Gill not merely perceives, but diagnoses whom he is dealing with. And ‘thanked’ as well as ‘the time of day’ are also further qualified and intensified.

Gaping Gill, who, diagnosing at once through his eustacetube that he had to do with a markedly postpuberal hyperpituitary type of Heidelbergmanlike ethics, like a sensible man ham thanked him, sir, for guilders received and the time of day bad him good murrrough (not a little taken aback all the same that that was all the time owl the God's clock it was).

The type, that Gaping Gill is dealing with, is diagnosed not only as ‘markedly postpuberal hyperpituitary’, but also as someone with ‘Heidelbergmanlike ethics’. Hyperpituitarism is a developmental growth disorder with a hormonal cause. The symptoms include enlargement of hand and feet, also forehead, jaw and nose, a deepening of voice, excessive hair, increased libido, lethargy, headache, double sight, bruising, and excessive sweating. The association with the enlarged, heavy mandible of Heidelberg man is obvious, and other symptoms such as increased libido provide associations to morality and ethics.

In *transition* Proofs and typescript (March 1927), ‘Heidelbergmanlike’ is rewritten as ‘Heidelbergmannleich’, making use of the sound of the English ‘like’ softened into the German ‘leich’. The copy for *transition 2* inserts ‘cavern’ between ‘Heidelbergmannleich’ and ‘ethics’, intensifying the imagery of caves, shafts, tubes, corridors, holes as well as the identification as HCE. Further revisions qualify Gaping Gill, the tramp whose diagnosis of HCE is presented here. The sentence published (in the 2010 edition) is:

Gaping Gill, swift to mate errthors, stern to checkself, diagnosing through his eustacetube that it was to make with a markedly postpuberal hyperpituitary type of Heidelbergmannleich cavern ethics, lufted his slopingforward, bad Sweatagore good murrrough and dublnotch on to is as he was greedily obliged, and like a sensible ham,

Among the other interesting changes, one is to replace the straightforward 'he had to do with' by 'it was to make with', according to McHugh from the German 'es war zu machen mit', a linguistic hint at the German fossil in the following part of the sentence. In addition, Gaping Gill becomes an 'it' instead of a 'he'. Though the fossil mandible of Mauer, type fossil of Heidelberg man, was not found in a cave but in river deposits, the addition of 'cavern' reinforces the association with 'caveman' in the general sense of a primitive, savage brute. Gill diagnoses HCE as deformed person with a caveman mentality, shared by Brian Lynskey in episode I.3.

Another reference to Heidelberg man is found about 300 pages later in Book III.1 in the obscure word sequence: 'him jawr war hoo hleepy hor halk urthing hurther'. Entry 173(l) in Notebook VI.B.1 (late February-April 1924) gives a beginning: jaw too heavy to speak. The reference is specifically to the anatomical characteristic of the fossil mandible from Mauer. The body of the lower jaw is massive compared to modern human mandibles and, according to Boule (1921, 155): "Le jeu de cet organe, dans le langage articulé, devait être, par suite, singulièrement réduit." This interpretation of a reduced ability to speak is envisaged in the context and emphasized by the strange word sequence. At the end of episode 1 in Book III, Shaun is sobbing a bit over his departure. He is dumbed, has lost his tongue:

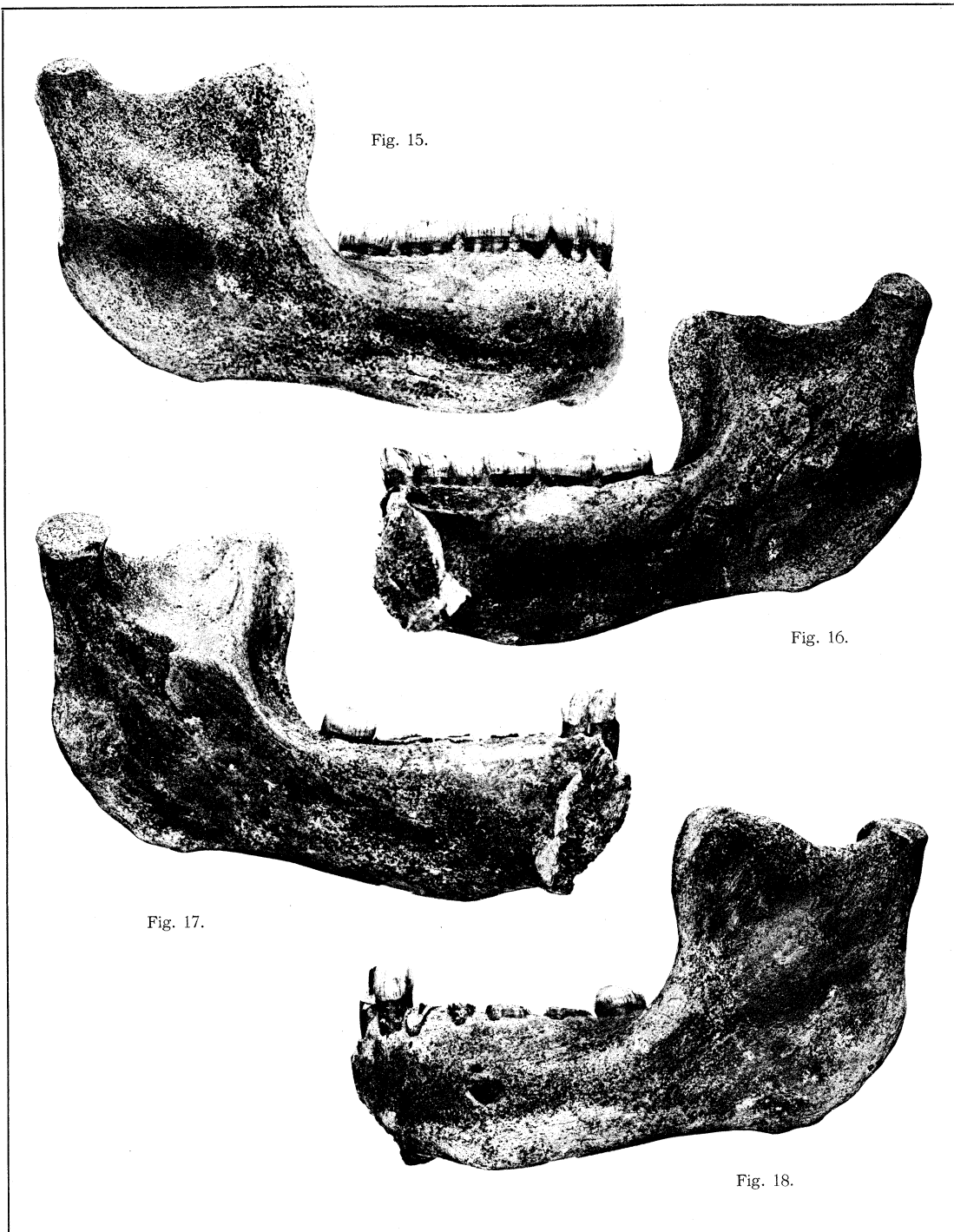
Mind you, now, that he was in the dumpest of earnest orthough him jawr war hoo hleepy hor halk urthing hurther.

Next, Shaun is looking up to the stars, falling backwards in a barrel, and drifting away ('downs' FW 427.6), disappearing, vanishing without a trace, behind the times (cf. FW 101.12 'ages behind of the Homo Capite Erectus'). As a review of Schoetensack's *Der Unterkiefer des Homo Heidelbergensis aus den Sanden von Mauer bei Heidelberg* (1908) stated: "Wir haben den alten Adam wieder einmal nicht gefunden". He slipped away again.

The sentence, that we are concerned with, first appears in Fair copy dated to January 1925. Only one word – 'now' – is added in the Galleys (April 1937-December 1938). The sequence is a wordplay with 'although his jaw was too sleepy for talk anything further' by tinkering with German and with alliterations. The German elements resonate in 'dumpest' ('dumm'), 'earnest' ('Ernst'), 'orthough' ('Ort'), 'war' ('war') and 'urthing' ('ur-'). Other associations are with ear

and mouth, similar to the 'eustachetube' to diagnose our Heidelberg man: 'dumpest' contains 'dumb', 'earnest' contains 'ear' and of course the jaw refers to the mouth. The word 'jawr' is an amalgamation of jaw and jar, followed by other words for containers in the same section: 'kettle' (FW 426.29), 'flask' (FW 426.29) and 'barrel' (FW 426.30). The word 'hleepy' is a combination of sleepy and heavy, characterizing primarily Shaun's state and still hinting at his Mauer mandible. In addition, the initial 'h' reinforces the seven h-alliterations in the sentence.

The web of meanings that Heidelberg man reveals here is with speech. The reappearance of Heidelberg man in Book III in association with Shaun is linking him to HCE who was closely associated with Heidelberg man in Book I. The meanings in Book I circle around ethics, morality, and time. They are related but distinct from the associative chains of Neandertal man in Book I and IV that are more linked to origins, sources, stories, movement, flow and the metaphor of the meandering river.



VERLAG VON WILHELM ENGELMANN IN LEIPZIG.

Figure 4.

The lower jaw of Mauer, type fossil of Heidelberg man (*Homo heidelbergensis*). Source: Schoetensack 1908.

Section 7. Writing and printing: his cromagnom charter.

The ‘meandertale’ and ‘meanderthalltale’ are followed by a section that recounts the history of writing. It is in this history that Cro-Magnon man appears. He makes his first appearance in the Fair copy in 1926 inserted in a sentence from the first draft:

A bone, a pebble, a ramskin; chip them, chap them, cut them allways: leave them to terracook in the slowth of their mutthering pot: and the gutenmorg of a magnum charter must one way dawn else is there no virtue more in alcohoran.

For the fair copy of 1926, the sentence is elaborated. To ‘cut’ becomes to ‘cut up’. The ‘gutenmorg’ becomes ‘Gutenmorg’. And not ‘of a magnum charter’, but ‘with his cromagnom charter’. Further highlights are added with ‘tintingfast’ and ‘great primer’. Instead of ‘one way dawn’, it is intensified to ‘once for omniboss’ and qualified with ‘step rubrickredd out of the wordpress’.

A bone, a pebble, a ramskin; chip them, chap them, cut them up allways; leave them to terracook in the slowth of the muttheringpot: and Gutenmorg with his cromagnom charter, tintingfast and great primer must once for omniboss step rubrickredd out of the wordpress else is there no virtue more in alcohoran.

In the pages for *transition* (early 1930s-1933), several words alluding to the Quran were inserted, but then deleted again. They were associated with a new preceding sentence:

But the hour, the smiting, the day of decision ~~will come~~ is not now. A bone, a pebble, a ramskin; chip them, chap them, cut them up allways; leave them to terracook in the slowth of the muttheringpot: and Gutenmorg with his cromagnom charter, tintingfast, ~~aeccoran to~~ ~~aleustom~~, and great primer must once for omniboss step rubrickredd out of the wordpress else is there no virtue more in ~~aleohoran Mahomahotma~~ alcohoran.

For the 1939 edition, the preceding sentence is revised relative to the page proofs:

But the horn, the drinking, the day of dread are not now. A bone, a pebble, a ramskin; chip

them, chap them, cut them up allways; leave them to terracook in the muttheringpot: and Gutenmorg with his cromagnom charter, tintingfast and great primer must once for omniboss step rubrickredd out of the wordpress else is there no virtue more in alcohoran.

The first part of the sentence reads like a recipe. Take these ingredients. Then chip, chap and cut up. Leave them to simmer in the mother-pot. Et voila: you have Gutenberg with his book printing. Cro Magnon man is introduced in this context of book printing and specifically printing of a significance similar to the Magna Charta. Or printing is presented as a historical event as significant as the Magna Charta and Cro Magnon man.

Cro Magnon man, mentioned in the notebooks VI.B.1 and 14, is named after the remains of multiple individuals in a probable burial in a rockshelter in France. The fossil humans are now known as *Homo sapiens*, but in the early 20th century they were interpreted as a new race and as ancestors to Europeans. The source for this interpretation is probably Camille Jullian's *De la Gaule à la France* (1922). Joyce requests this book in one of his letters. Jullian describes a Renaissance in the prehistory of France associated with the new Cro Magnon race:

race au front droit et vaste, à la tête fine, au cerveau développé, à la musculature solide, puissante, mais à la tournure dégagée, race dont on devine, à ses œuvres, qu'elle possédait dans un corps très sain une intelligence non moins saine. Et alors, sur notre sol, commença la floraison d'une civilisation splendide, où les principes établis par les générations antérieures parvinrent à leur apogée, où d'autres principes, posés par les générations nouvelles, produisirent des chefs-d'œuvre presque du premier coup.

Cro Magnon man heralds a new civilization and posits new principles for generations to come just as the Magna Carta draws a new relation between people and sovereign for the next generations. The Gutenberg press, building on the long and slow history of writing, is identified as an innovation of a similar status.

The first part of the sentence is a recipe that may have its source in Jullian's 1922 book as well. On pages 28-29, he describes the invention of writing ("l'écriture"). Initially, the signs are few in number and naïve in form, consisting of nothing more than notches in a bone. But soon writing developed further. The painted pebbles of the Azilian form conventional signs

painted in a red iron oxide:

ce sont des demi-cercles, des ronds, des bandes, tantôt isolés, tantôt enchevêtrés, tout ainsi que nos lettres peuvent se rapprocher ou se combiner. [...] l'écriture unit entre eux les vivants et les unit aux morts et à l'avenir, aux aïeux et aux descendants.

In this light, the sequence of bone, pebble and ramskin refers to Jullian's initial notched bones ('a bone'... 'chip them'), followed by painted pebbles ('a pebble'... 'chap them', from the French 'chape' meaning a glaze, a cover layer), and then later parchment ('a ramskin'... 'cut them up allways', as is the procedure to make parchment out of animal or human skin). In other words, this sentence is in a nutshell the prehistory and history of writing.

The final part of the sentence aligns it with the preceding sentence. Both make reference to the Quran. The preceding sentence, only revised for the published 1939 edition, is a mock, joking version referring to Judgement Day. The last subordinate clause hints at Sura 83 Al-Mutafiffin on the defrauders, those who take more and give less, and their fate on Judgement Day in contrast to the virtuous. One English translation of the lines 18-25 of this Sura (quran411.nl) gives:

18 Day, verily the record of the Righteous is (preserved) in Illiyin.
19 And what will explain to thee what Illiyun is?
20 (There is) a Register (fully) inscribed,
21 To which bear witness those Nearest (to Allah).
22 Truly the Righteous will be in Bliss:
23 On Thrones (of Dignity) will they command a sight (of all things):
24 Thou wilt recognise in their faces the beaming brightness of Bliss.
25 Their thirst will be slaked with Pure Wine sealed:

The history of writing in this section, then, is related to the religions of the Book. But the phrase 'else is there no virtue more' is peculiar. It sounds like Dutch: 'anders is er geen deugd meer'. The word order of 'is there' suggests a question in English. The Sura refers to the inscribed Register, the completed Book, as the record of the Righteous, the virtuous. The sentence seems to say something like: if not for printing, there would be no virtue anymore in

the Book. Printing and the press have taken the role of recording the virtues of people and of preserving their record for the days of their judgement, in a transformed, analogous way to the role of the inscribed Register as a record of the Righteous at Judgement Day. But the verb 'step ... out of', meaning showing unacceptable or undesired behaviour, adds another layer of ambiguity to printing. Starting out as a virtue – printing and distributing the Bible (in 'great primer') – it was soon confiscated by the press to spread truths, lies and rumours. Virtue is out on the street and forgotten is the Book.



Gemalte Kiesel von Mas d'Azil.
Nach Edouard Piette.

Figure 5.

Painted pebbles of the Azilian. Source: Obermaier 1912.

Intermezzo.

Grimaldi man.

Episode I.3 55.35.

Expanding on a section of the Fair copy dating to November 1923 about how the story is told and re-told by others, the word 'grimaldism' is added in the first set of Galleys dated March 1937-February 1938. The section in episode I.3 is a long sentence of 26 lines (55.30-56.19) containing the following:

the new garrickson's grimacing grimaldism hypostasised by substitution the axiomatic orerotundity of that once grand old elrington bawl,

The primary references are to drama and actors: David Garrick (1716-1779) and Thomas Erlington (1688-1732). Notebook VI.B.44, dated spring-late August 1937, lists 'garrickson / grimacing / grimaldism' (149 a) and 'Elrington / bawl' (148 g). The first association of grimaldism is therefore with Joseph Grimaldi (1778-1837), an English clown, known for his white-face make-up and expressive and energetic performance.

However, there is also an association with Grimaldi man, also listed in the notebooks, but much earlier in Notebook VI.B.1 (February-April 1924) and VI.B.14 (August-November 1924). Grimaldi man is named after two fossil human skeletons in the Grotte des Enfants, one of the Grimaldi caves near Monaco. It concerns a double burial of an old woman and an adolescent. They became known as the so-called “Negroids of Grimaldi”, based on the prognathism of the face. However, a re-study of the skeletons in the 1960s demonstrated that the prognathism of the old woman was due to the loss of teeth in the lower jaw, whereas the prognathism of the adolescent was due to mistakes in the reconstruction of the face. In addition, the position in which the double burial was exhibited in the Museum of Monaco was a construct to emphasize the faces 'en profile', whereas in fact the old woman was buried face down, while her skull was partly covering the face of the adolescent (Masset 1989; Formicola & Holt 2015).

On Notebook VI.B.14 page 173 Cro Magnon is combined with Man, Chancelade with Ape, and Grimaldi with Idiot. A strange set of associations, at odds with what would be the majority view in the early 20th century palaeoanthropology, which interpreted Cro Magnon

man as an ancestor of Europeans, Chancelade man for Asians, and Grimaldi man for Africans. It is not clear to me how the combination of Grimaldi and idiot is linked to drama, other than – perhaps – 'acting like an idiot'.

The word 'grimaldism' may allude to Grimaldi man due to the presumed prognathic face, perhaps resonating with the expressive, lively type of acting that Garrick was known for. A little additional hint that 'grimaldism' is linked to Grimaldi man, further on in the section, is the mention of the 'seasiders' (FW 56.4), as the Grimaldi caves are located on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. Masset (1989) has named 'Grimaldi' “une imposture honnête et toujours jeune”, an honest imposter seems a fitting allusion in the wider context.

The enigma of the handaxe.

Episode III.1 407.24.

The handaxe is the icon of palaeolithic stone tools and a major topic of palaeolithic studies. The exposé about the handaxe in *Finnegans Wake* is short and different from the mainstream studies. Early in Book III episode 1, the ass meets Shaun resting. The sentence we are interested in is written from the perspective of the ass, describing Shaun before he starts to speak. The sentence is:

His handpalm lifted, his handshell cupped, his handsign pointed, his handheart mated, his handaxe risen, his handleaf fallen.

It first appears in *transition* proofs 3rd set (March 1928) and remains unchanged through the series of revisions.

The six formulas describe six of the fourteen principle hand positions of Bell's *Standard Elocutionist* from 1889. Page 30 provides the illustration of the hand positions and their interpretation (figure 6; table 2). The hand gestures should be used to support the text in recitation.

Handpalm lifted	Negation or denial
Handshell cupped	Simple affirmation
Handsign pointed	Indexing or cautioning
Handheart mated	Supplication
Handaxe risen	Violent repulsion
Handleaf fallen	Apathy or prostration

Table 2. The list of six hand gestures and their meaning.

Shaun is exercising the gestures before he will answer the questions. The association of handaxe with violence and aggression can be found also in this description of the handaxe by Jullian (1922, 16):

Alors, avec cet instrument [the handaxe], voilà le bras doté de deux ressources que la nature lui a refusées : elle ne lui a permis que la force brutale, le choc ou la pesée du poing qui brise et qui abat. Avec cette pierre aux côtés amincis, il peut frapper de taille, trancher et couper; et avec elle encore, grâce à la pointe qui la termine, il peut piquer et percer. A coup sûr, nous sommes encore très loin de l'épée, l'arme la plus profondément humaine qu'ait imaginée l'homme : et cependant, le silex de Saint-Acheul [the handaxe] nous en montre déjà l'embryon solide et complet. Car, lui aussi, bien empoigné par la main, il peut frapper d'estoc et de taille.

It is obvious why the word 'handaxe' appears here; it is hard to avoid in this sequence of hand-words. Its association is therefore not so much with the palaeolithic tool, but with the hand. The sentence ties in with the web of associations around the history of language and writing. The gestures of Shaun gesticulate a story before Shaun starts to speak. The gestures seem to be straightforward, clear and limited, a communicative practice before the rich and complex textures of sounds, letters, words and syntax. The sequence suggests a religious experience in a series of oppositions: denial/affirmation, cautioning/asking humbly, repulsion/surrender. The ass is excited: 'what is it holy!' Its Dutch grammatical construction suggests that 'holy' may also allude to the Dutch word 'hol': empty. The series of oppositions prefigures the strict dualism of the fable of the Ondt and the Gracehoper that Shaun recounts in episode III.1. It aligns with the opposition of the twins Shem and Shaun: "The opposition of Shem and Shaun is a means for producing the identity of opposites in the work, something produced by revision, and a correlative for auto-critique" (Fordham 2007, 221). The question of oppositions returns in the next chapter.

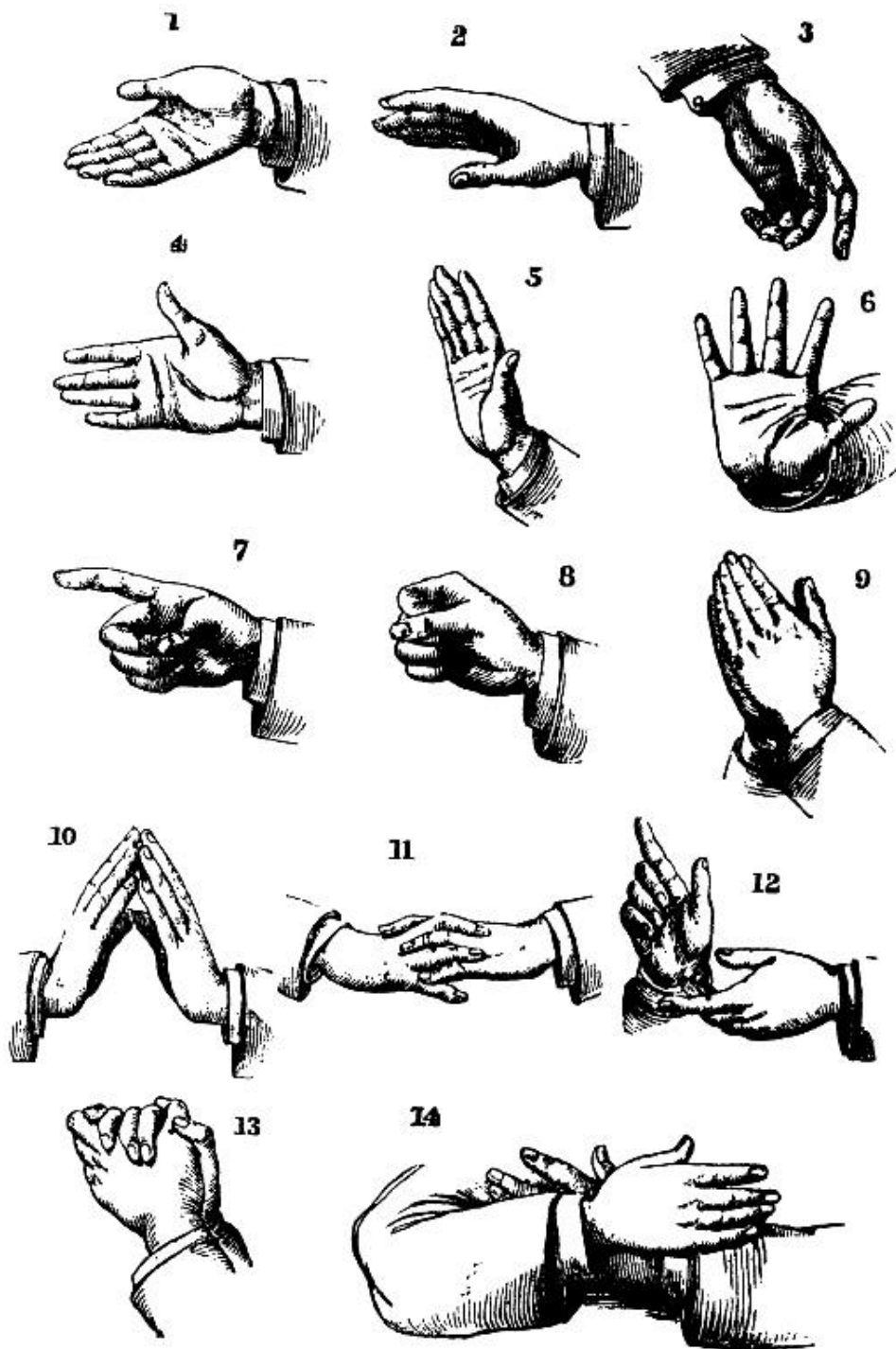


Figure 6.

Positions of the hands. 1. Simple affirmation. 2. Emphatic declaration. 3. Apathy or prostration. 4. Energetic appeal. 5. Negation or denial. 6. Violent repulsion. 7. Indexing or cautioning. 8. Determination or anger. 9. Supplication. 10. Gentle entreaty. 11. Carelessness. 12. Argumentation. 13. Earnest entreaty. 14. Resignation. Source: Bell 1889.

Chapter 3. Aurignacian – Magdalenian.

Section 8. The palaeolithic cultures of the Mookse and the Gripes.

Episode I.6 contains references to palaeolithic cultures on the pages 152-154. The episode is known as 'the quiz' in which Shaun answers twelve questions posed by Shem. The palaeolithic cultures are played with in answer to question 11: Shaun's answer about Shaun. They are all found in the fable of the Mookse and the Gripes. According to Atherton (1959, page 147), the fable “combines the 'Old Catholic' controversy of 1870 with one about Pope Adrian IV's bull *Laudabiliter* (FW 154.22), which gave Henry II temporal rights over Ireland.” Throughout the fable, the Mookse and the Gripes are associated with a series of opposites (table 3).

Shaun	Shem
Postman	Penman
Mookse	Gripes
Fox	Grapes
Space	Time
London	Dublin
Stone	Tree
Apron	Handkerchief
Latin	Greek / Russian
Deaf	Blind
Right Bank	Left Bank
Pope	Heretic
Adrian IV	Barbarossa

Table 3. The series of opposites associated with the twin brothers Shaun and Shem, based on the Chicken guide of the James Joyce Digital Archive.

This raises the question: how are the different palaeolithic cultures or periods articulated with the characters? What dynamic is added by these terms? My procedure will be to follow the terms in the order that they appear in text, consider the development of the sentences, and follow their associations with the Mookse and the Gripes. The likely source for the archaeological terms is Jullian's book *De la Gaule à la France* (1922). Joyce requested the book in a letter to Sylvia Beach of 12 July 1924 and thanks her for the book in a letter of 21

August 1924.

Five archaeological culture can be recognized. The Aurignacian, Magdalenian and Azilian are archaeological cultures that belong to the Upper Palaeolithic, roughly dating between 45.000 and 12.000 years ago. The Aurignacian is an archaeological culture associated with the early dispersal of *Homo sapiens* into Europe, whereas the Magdalenian and Azilian date to the end of the Upper Palaeolithic. Jullian (1922) describes the cultures in the first chapter on the “epoch of hunters”. The other two archaeological cultures, the Tardenoisian and the Robenhausian, appear in footnotes in the second chapter on the “epoch of farmers”. The Tardenoisian is now considered an archaeological culture of Mesolithic hunter-gatherers, dating to the first part of the Holocene, the current geological era, while the Robenhausian is a now abandoned term referring to the Neolithic, the period of the first farming communities.

The first appearance dates for these archaeological cultures suggest that the associative chain developed from the first use of 'Aurignacian' in a first draft dated to August 1927, followed by the Magdalenian, modified to 'maudelenian', in the pages of *transition* (September 1927). The other terms, in their modified forms, are all entered in the third set of proofs of *Tales told of Shem and Shaun* from May 1929, roughly the same time as they were entered in notebook VI.B.27.

In the beginning of the fable of the Mookse and the Gripes, the Mookse set off and walked a small distance before he saw a stream (Fair copy, August 1927):

He had not walked over a pair of parsecs when at the turning of the wrong lane near Saint Patrick's-without-his-Walls he came upon the most unconsciously boggylooking stream he ever locked his eyes on.

For the setting of the typescript (April 1929), a ‘pair’ is intensified to a ‘pentiad’, the ‘wrong lane’ is particularized to ‘Shinshone Lanteran’, ‘Saint Patrick’ is replaced by ‘Saint Bowery’, a clause with reference to ALP, mother Anna Livia Plurabelle, is added, and the eyes are locked ‘with’ instead of ‘on’:

He had not walked over a pentiad of parsecs when at the turning of the Shinshone Lanteran

near Saint Bowery's-without-his-Walls he came (secunding to the one one oneth of the propecies, Amnium Limina Permanent) upon the most unconsciously boggylooking stream he ever locked his eyes with.

In the third set of proofs for *Tales told of Shem and Shaun* (May 1929), the place is added that the Mookse walked away from, namely his home, his ‘azylium’, a Latinized portmanteau of Azilian and asylum (FW 152.36-153.4):

He had not walked over a pentiad of parsecs from his azylium when at the turning of the Shinshone Lanteran near Saint Bowery's-without-his-Walls he came (secunding to the one one oneth of the propecies, Amnis Limina Permanent) upon the most unconsciously boggylooking stream he ever locked his eyes with.

The associations of Azilian in this context are with space and place. The Azilian is an archaeological culture dating to the end of the palaeolithic period. The name is derived from the cave Mas d'Azil in southern France. Jullian (1922) refers to the painted pebbles from the Azilian as the origins of writing (see Section 7). It is likely that the link with the origins of writing are locked in this association, making the ‘azylium’ an asylum, a refuge, where the Mookse retreated to write, presumably in Latin. The clause between brackets refers to the prophecies of St. Malachy, that consist of short Latin sentences linked to the popes and counterpopes since Celestinus II (1143-1144). It is a hint at doubles, first and second, and to opposites.

After a short walk, the Mookse sees a stream. And who is sitting on the other side of the stream? His ‘brooder-on-low’ the Gripes. The Mookse, in his capacity as Pope Adrian, stands still viz-à-viz the Gripes (FW 153.20-21):

Adrian (that was the Mookse now's assumptinome) stuccstill phiz-à-phiz to the Gripes in an accessit of aurignacian.

Aurignacian (with a capital A) first appears in a first draft of August 1927, when the fable was called “The Moose and the Grapes”, in the following sentence: *He stood before the Grapes in an outfit all of Aurignacian*. In the fair copy, the verb 'stood' is intensified by the sequence

'resting', 'stuck' and 'still'. The Mookse is not just standing, he is fixed in space, stuck on a place, in his Aurignacian outfit:

Adrian (that was the Mookse's restingname) stuck still phiz-à-phiz to the Gripes in an outfit of Aurignacian.

Revisions for the setting typescript play with the motive of doubling. Fusing 'stuck' and 'still' to 'stuccstill' is a play with doubling of st, c and l, together with the ph of phiz and the c's and s's of accessit, replacing 'outfit', and the double name Adrian / Mookse.

Adrian (that was the Mookse's restingname) stuccstill phiz-à-phiz to the Gripes in an accessit of Aurignacian.

The final version of the sentence appears in the third set of proofs of *Tales told*, dated May 1929. The rewriting latinizes 'restingname' into 'assumptinome' and deletes the capital A of Aurignacian.

Adrian (that was the Mookse now's assumptinome) stuccstill phiz-à-phiz to the Gripes in an accessit of aurignacian.

Aurignacian is an attribute of 'accessit', a complex of Latin for 'he approached', runner-up in an academic competition, the vote in the election of a new pope, accessories, and accessory law. All of this of an Aurignacian kind. But why Aurignacian, the palaeolithic culture named after a rockshelter near Aurignac in the south of France? If Jullian (1922) is indeed the main source, perhaps the description of the Aurignacian as “une civilisation splendide” with new, refined tools is the atmosphere in which these meanings became intertwined with the image of the Mookse as Pope Adrian. Another connection is the similarity of the word image of Aurignacian with auricular, linking it with theme of hearing and sound. Another question is: who is 'in an accessit of aurignacian'? Based on the earlier drafts, I suppose that it is the Mookse, but it is ambiguous: it can also be read as an attribute of the Gripes.

After this encounter, the Mookse sits down on a stone. The Gripes greets him with (FW 153.36-154.3):

Good appetite us, Sir Mookse! How do you do it? cheeped the Gripes in a wherry whiggy maudelenian woice and the jackasses all within bawl laughed and brayed for his intentions for they knew their sly toad lowry now. I am rarumominum blessed to see you, my dear mouster.

The sentence is written as such in the Fair copy of August 1927 with only two later revisions. In the pages of *transition*, dated to September 1927, 'maudelenian' is added as a further qualifier of 'a wherry whiggy woice'. In the third set of proofs of *Tales told of Shem and Shaun* (May 1929), 'mister' is modified to 'mouster'. The portmanteau word 'maudelenian', an amalgamation of Magdalenian and maudlin, someone who feels sorry for himself after too much drinking, adds to the humble and subservient tone of the Gripes. Magdalenian, a name derived from the rockshelter of La Madeleine, France, is an archaeological culture of the Upper Palaeolithic, that Jullian (1922) describes as a splendid civilisation of hunters and artists. However, in this sentence, the Magdalenian as a second culture relative to the Aurignacian seems of relevance to the broader associations of firsts and seconds.

Revising 'mister' to 'mouster' associates the Mookse with the Mousterian and savage, primitive Neandertals, which seems ambiguous in view of the earlier characterisation of Jute as 'most mousterious!' (see Section 5). The superiority of the Mookse over the Gripes is subverted by 'mouster', being a play with mister, master, muster, mouse, Mousterian, perhaps also the German 'Muster', a sample and example. But the formula using Latin and religious language can also be understood as an answer by the Mookse, in which case 'mouster' refers to the Gripes.

The Gripes asks the Mookse if he would – perhaps, please, in all his sanity and sanctity – tell him everything about 'aulne and lithial', about 'awn and liseias', about alder tree and stone, Anna Livia, Demeter and Dionysos. The Mookse responds in strong contrast to the Gripes' tone (FW 154.8-9):

Rats! Bullowed the Mookse most telesphorously, the concionator, and the sissymusses and the zozzymusses in their robenhauses quailed to hear his tardeynois at all, for you cannot wake a silken nouse out of a hoarse oar.

Not a 'wherry, whiggy, maudelenian voice', but the Mookse 'bulowed', an amalgamation of to bellow and to bully, with a hint at the papal bull. The weaklings, the 'sissymusses' and 'zozzymusses' (referring to popes who ruled for only a short time and had little impact), hide in their 'robenhauses', away from his 'tardeynois'. Robenhausian and Tardenoisian are – strictly speaking – not palaeolithic terms, but Jullian (1922) mentions both in *De la Gaule à la France*, where Joyce probably picked them up. The main association of Tardenoisian seems to be the '– noise', fitting with the loudness of the Mookse and the theme of hearing. But there is some ambiguity in this association, because as Jullian (1922, 45) notes:

On a souvent constitué, aux limites du paléolithique et du néolithique, après l'azilien, une époque tardenoisienne (le pays du Tardenois dans l'Aisne), caractérisée surtout par une multiplicité de très petits silex dits silex pygmées.

The associations of Robenhausian, named after the village Robenhausen near Zürich, is with 'robes' as clothing of popes, with houses, and perhaps with being second – Robenhausian being the second period of the Neolithic, after the Campignian.

This short exchange of words sets up an apparently clear opposition between first and second, the 'Macher', bringer of order, the lord, the Mookse, and the low, little, weak, subservient Gripes. However, the references to Mousterian and Tardenoisian in relation to the Mookse provide subtle commentary to Shaun's sympathy and identification with the Mookse, while reference to the Magdalenian – as splendid an archaeological culture as the Aurignacian – is a positive comment on the Gripes.

The terms for the palaeolithic and prehistoric cultures are used in their own particular chain of associations within the text, not in terms of their archaeological characteristics, relevance or relations. The associations seems to be triggered mainly by the words themselves, their visual appearance, their sound, rather than particular features of the cultures or their chronological order or any other 'scientific' attribute. The associations with the characters of the Mookse and the Gripes follow the wider binary pattern (table 3), but there is ambiguity. The derivatives of Azilian and Tardenoisian are associated with the Mookse and Magdalenian is associated with the Gripes, but the words 'aurignacian' and 'mouster' can be associated with both, depending on how the sentence is read – like a Necker cube.

Section 9. Magdalenian jinnyjones.

The Magdalenian resurfaces in the section that is known as the night prayer to the master builder, the pater familias Earwicker aka HCE, in the words 'magdalenian jinnyjones', paired with 'neoliffic smith' (Book III, episode 4 576.36). This group of words is inserted in the Galleys between May 1937 and January 1939 in the text of the prayer that was first drafted in October-November 1925. They are added together with four other paired phrases:

*neoliffic smith and magdalenian jinnyjones, mandragon mor and weak wiffeyducky,
Morianmale and Thrydacionmade, basilisk glorious with his weeniequeenie, tigernack and
swansgrace*

The prayer asks for protection of this man and this woman, our first parents: *from loss of bearings deliver them; so they keep to their rights and be ware of dutyfrees*. The five phrases form a series of re-inforcing binary identifications: a is to be as she is to thee. In the phrase 'neoliffic smith and magdalenian jinnyjones', a number of aspects need to be made explicit. Word by word. 'Neoliffic' is a portmanteau of Neolithic, the period of agriculture, and Liffey, the river that runs through Dublin. 'Smith' is a craftsman working with metals, often imbued with special powers, but also a common last name, the name for the average everybody. The word 'and' connects the two terms in a couple, but keeps them apart, separate in their role and identity. The word 'magdalenian' is referring to the Magdalenian palaeolithic culture, to Magdalena, to magdalen, to Magdalen College, Oxford. Jinny Jones refers to Jenny Jones, a central maid-mother-lover-character in Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), while Jinny is connected to Virginia from the Latin 'virgo' (maiden, virgin). Jones is another common last name.

The phrase plays with the opposition of Neolithic and Palaeolithic (Magdalenian). The Neolithic is the age of agriculture, buildings, and barrows, of place and space, the Palaeolithic is the age of hunters and gatherers, of movement and flow, of time. The new and the old. The 'neoliffic smith' is identified with 'mandragon mor', 'Morianmale' and 'basilisk glorious', all kinds of dragons of sorts, or, in other words, the re-appearance of the 'dragonsman' from episode I.1 (FW 15.34). In addition, he is identified as king and lord. On the other hand, 'magdalenian jinnyjones' is identified with 'weak wiffeyducky', 'Thrydacionmade', 'weeniequeenie', but also with 'swansgrace'. Not to forget that the first parents are also Smith

and Jones. This short sequence substantiates just a fragment of what the prayer, fifty-four lines long (576.18-577.35), describes as: *the labyrinth of their semilikes and the alteregoases of their pseudoselves*.

Conclusion.

Tracking the palaeolithic of *Finnegans Wake* forms one entry into its universe out of the 1001 possibilities. What does it bring about in my reading of this book?

Joyce envisaged *Finnegans Wake* as a universal history, but – as noted by Fordham (2007, 3) - it is not one starting with Genesis and Adam and Eve, or the evolution from a last common ancestor or the evolution of the brain, or the discovery of cooking, sociality, or imagination, or the dispersal of *Homo sapiens* and its subsequent encounters with other hominins for example Neandertals and Denisovans. It is not a universal history that claims to explain how the world is shaped and why history matters. It is very unlike books by for example Diamond, Harari, or Graeber and Wengrow. In other words, *Finnegans Wake* has no realistic or scientific link to the palaeolithic as a period in human history. Yet human origins and the palaeolithic are part of it.

Fordham (2007) distinguished seven approaches to *Finnegans Wake*. They provide a framework to draw some conclusions about how Joyce adopted and adapted the palaeolithic terms in *Finnegans Wake*.

1) Structurally, the prominence of the palaeolithic terms in Book I is explained by the structural alignment with Vico's theory of history and distinction of ages. Book I signifies the age of the gods, giants, and caves (Bishop 1986). Their appearance in the other books derives from this association, but is not limited to it.

2) In terms of narrative, the palaeolithic terms and their associations and allusions support the plot as a whole such as the topics of controversy, rumour and gossip, but also the other stories in which they appear such as the fable of the Mookse and the Gripes. When the terms reappear in modified form hundreds of pages later, they strengthen the flow or renew connections.

3) Theoretically, they are mostly linked to the questioning of identity and free play of language (Norris 1974). The language, words and syllables, letters and sounds that appear as traces. Writing and speaking as acts following traces rather than language as an instrument of communication, clear, transparent, discrete. Nothing is transparent in the use of the palaeolithic words, and nothing is clarified by their use.

4) In terms of inspiration, the palaeolithic terms illustrate how Joyce consumed and

reproduced and played with popular culture including the newspapers and general history books that refer to the palaeolithic. He appropriated the words, sometimes with some concern about their scientific meaning or connotations for example Jullian's version of the prehistoric origins of writing, sometimes with more concern about the sound and composition of the words themselves.

5) Philologically, some more allusions and connections in *Finnegans Wake* have been explored through the palaeolithic terms.

6) In terms of the genesis of the text, following the appearance and revisions as documented in the James Joyce Digital Archive, some palaeolithic terms appear in early drafts of the 1920s (such as 'caveman' and 'piltdowns') and become seeds for further elaboration along associational chains, whereas others are added in the last revisions of 1937-1939 to elaborate specific themes or aspects.

7) Finally, my exploration of the palaeolithic of *Finnegans Wake* can be seen as modest and rather naïve attempt at (genetic) exegesis, limiting the exegesis to what seems to me relevant for why and how the words appear in the text.

But the most important conclusion from my own perspective is the ruminant form of reading itself, a way of reading that fits the book *Finnegans Wake*, as Fordham (2007) suggested: slow down, read in detail, read out loud, follow up references and links, and re-read.

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