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# The Making of David Jones's Anathemata

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#### **Abstract**

David Jones, although highly praised by T. S. Eliot and W. H. Auden, is a neglected poet. This thesis seeks to make a reassessment of David Jones's achievement by undertaking a genetic-critical examination of the process by which he made *The Anathemata* (1952). This approach is peculiarly relevant because gratuitous making – the creation of objects without purely utilitarian ends – is the primary subject of the poem. For Jones, the first instance of such a making (at least 35,000 years ago) was the moment of the coming-into-being of man. However, he also believed that the utilitarian impulse which characterised man's makings in modernity had led to an inescapable paradox: that modern man was both man and non-man.

Existing accounts of Jones's writing process are rooted in an attempt to rehabilitate his reputation. These accounts, in asserting that Jones intentionally created a formal sign for his philosophy, attempt to counteract his critical neglect. This thesis overturns this intentionalist framework and discovers an alternative means of assessing Jones's achievement.

Using the manuscripts of *The Anathemata*, this thesis addresses the development of Jones's method, poem-concept, and poetics in the fifteen year period of the poem's writing. It emerges that, throughout the process of writing, Jones created the conditions whereby his making could proceed without his having a sense either of where or in what form it might end. Such a suspension of writerly intention was a means by which Jones enabled the process of his making to be as gratuitous as possible, and to become as a result a resistance movement against the depredation of his core value in modernity. This view of the making of *The Anathemata* allows Jones's reassessment because, in foregrounding the gratuitousness of its making, it uncovers an alternative means of assessing the value of an art object whose form was accidentally produced. As a result of this, Jones's unique achievement becomes visible: he produced a poem which is thematically, formally *and* genetically unified by the notion of gratuitous making.

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All images of David Jones's manuscripts in this thesis are reproduced with the kind permission of the Trustees of the David Jones Estate.

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#### **Abbreviations**

Throughout this thesis, I have employed a number of abbreviations for editions of David Jones's poetry, essays and letters which are cited frequently, as follows.

## **Poetry**

Ana The Anathemata (London: Faber and Faber, 1972 – first published in 1952).

IP In Parenthesis (London: Faber and Faber, 1963 – first published 1937).

SL The Sleeping Lord and Other Fragments (London: Faber and Faber, 1974)

RQ The Roman Quarry and Other Sequences, edited by Rene Hague (London: Agenda Editions, 1981)

#### **Essays**

E&A Epoch & Artist (London: Faber and Faber, 1959)

DG The Dying Gaul (London: Faber and Faber, 1978)

Rime Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, illustrated and introduced by David Jones (London: Enitharmon Press, 2005)

## Correspondence

DGC Dai Greatcoat: A Self-Portrait of David Jones in his letters, edited by Rene Hague (1980)

Inner Necessities: The Letters of David Jones to Desmond Chute, edited by Thomas Dilworth (Toronto: Anson-Cartwright Editions, 1984)

LF Letters to a Friend, edited by Aneirin Talfan Davies (Swansea: Triskele, 1980)

TL "Two Letters to Saunders Lewis." *Agenda: David Jones Special Issue* (1973-4) 11.4-12.1

WH Letters to William Hayward, edited by Colin Wilcockson (London: Agenda Editions, 1979)

VW Letters to Vernon Watkins, edited by Ruth Pryor (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1976)

#### **Archival** material

KFP Letters to W F Jackson Knight, 'Knight Family Papers' (MS 75)

Exeter University

KY Letters to H. S. (Jim) Ede, Kettle's Yard Gallery, Cambridge

DJP Manuscript, typescript, galley- and page-proof materials; draft letters; draft essays. These are part of the large 'David Jones Papers' (DJP) archive at the National Library of Wales (NLW), Aberystwyth. References to specific items from the DJP is made using the file reference, and adding the particular folio number (with a v for verso where applicable).

David Jones's personal library, National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.

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### A note on transcriptions

Throughout this thesis, I present transcriptions of David Jones's manuscripts. In so doing, I adopt a number of means by which the text can be presented both legibly and in adherence to the spatial disposition of the sheet being transcribed. Sometimes the demands of the former – readability – has required the alteration of the latter. So, all insertions, whether interlinear or made at the end of a line, are represented in-line with the text they supplement, and are marked <thus>. Where Jones inserts a number of lines, and then later inserts material within that first insertion, single insertion marks are used for both because it is clear that the latterly written text is dependent on the earlier. However, where Jones makes insertions separately and it is clear that this occurs on separate occasions, and where a chronological order can be determined, the second insertions are marked with double brackets <<thus>>. Questionable transcriptions of individual words are marked with a question mark within square brackets, like so[?]. Completely illegible words are replaced with [illeg.]. All crossings and rubbings out are denoted with a single strikethrough; where an individual word or phrase has been crossed out, and then Jones has later crossed out the passage containing that individual word or phrase, the earlier deletion is denoted by a double crossing out: the earlier deletion is therefore distinguishable from the Where sheets have had their entire contents crossed, this later deletion. invariably means 'dealt with' rather than 'cancelled' or 'discarded': Jones is making it clear to himself that a draft has been superseded by a fine copy so that he doesn't accidentally return to an earlier state of the text. Such crossings are transcribed when treating of the whole draft sheet, but not when quoting short passages from that sheet. Errors in spelling and punctuation go uncorrected.

To Casper and James, for whom much making

## ♦ Introduction ♦

In his review of 1961, W. H. Auden called The Anathemata: fragments of an attempted writing (1952) "very probably the finest long poem written in English in this century". In the Introductory Note to the second edition (1963) of In Parenthesis, T. S. Eliot placed David Jones (1895-1974) in a select group with Pound, Joyce and himself as the leading writers of their generation (IP vi). And yet David Jones is hardly even heard of, he is rarely anthologised, and until very recently The Anathemata seemed to have sunk without trace (the poem was republished in August 2010, after having spent 35 years out of print). There are some obvious explanations for this. The Anathemata is indeed long at almost 4,000 lines; and although describing it as a poem 'written in English' is not inaccurate, this lingual 'base' is infiltrated by great swathes of liturgical Latin, and Old and Modern Welsh, but also includes Greek, Old and Middle English, German, French and Spanish. These characteristics add up to a very difficult poem to tackle. Difficulty, though, is an insufficient explanation. Pound's Cantos (1922-62) are longer and no easier to grasp, and yet they loom ever-present over twentieth century poetry; and Finnegans Wake (1939), whilst it will always be largely unread, will never be unstudied. What, then, is wrong with Jones?

One of the major reasons is surely that Jones never wrote short poems: his two major works – *In Parenthesis* (1937) and *The Anathemata* – are close to 200 pages long each. And despite referring to all the poetry he produced after the publication of *In Parenthesis* as 'fragments', Jones also believed that each part of the text only worked because of its place within the larger fabric of fragments. When Jones was asked by Vernon Watkins in 1955 to make a submission to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> W. H. Auden (1963) 17.

*Poetry* magazine, he wrote that "[i]t is the *very devil* finding a bit that stands complete – it *all* hinges on *other* bits in this kind of technique of mine" (*VW* 26).

However, possibly a more important reason for the critical neglect of Jones is the unavoidable Roman Catholic strain in his poetry. Of course, Eliot was Anglo-Catholic, and Auden's middle and later thought was very pro-Roman Catholic. Whilst not explaining their positive assessment, this at least contextualises the general lack of non-Catholic interest in Jones's work. There is of course a strong Catholic element to Joyce's work, but Joyce is explicitly hostile in his treatment of the Church. By contrast, Jones seems to treat all aspects of his Catholic faith with orthodox veneration. Accordingly, Jones critics are rarely anything but Catholic or High Anglican, and atheists are rarely readers of Jones. Thus, when Drew Milne introduces a selection from Jones in the poetry anthology Conductors of Chaos, he writes that "the toxic qualities of Jones's modernist Catholicism should not be seen as unfortunate lapses into dogmatics, but rather a perspective which enables an antisocial critique which needs to be read against its overtly affirmative claims." 2 'Toxic', 'unfortunate', 'dogmatics' - the binary choice Milne's rhetoric allows us seems to exemplify the approach any nonbeliever (or even non-Catholic) must have to Jones: he must be turned against his ostensible self. I don't believe this to be the case. Jones's Catholicism need not be politicised as Milne believes it must be (as a charter against the British empire) because his Catholicism functions within the poem as one element (albeit a paradigmatic one) of a trenchantly humanistic account of the history of culture, an account which we shall examine in detail shortly.

Every publication on David Jones is at least implicitly a campaign for his greater recognition. The most recent, Thomas Dilworth's *Reading David Jones* (2008), is explicitly so: it is a lively introductory guide to Jones's poetry for the uninitiated, whose aim is "to make it accessible to virtually any adult reader." In so being, it is most similar to the earliest critical engagements with Jones's poetry, which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Drew Milne in Sinclair (ed.), *Conductors of Chaos* (1996) 261. Milne's selection is taken from the material Jones had not published at the time of his death, and which Hague and Grisewood edited as *The Roman Quarry*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dilworth (2008) 1.

were published shortly before and after his death in 1974.<sup>4</sup> This apparent circularity might imply that the study of David Jones has led nowhere; to think so would be a mistake. I therefore begin this introduction by summarising the history of David Jones criticism, from which it will emerge that there are two major strains, at least with regard to *The Anathemata*: first, the exposition of the formal characteristics of the poem, an analysis which is founded on a view of the process of the poem's writing; and second, the location of *The Anathemata* within its modernist literary-historical context. This thesis seeks to gain a more accurate view of the former in order better to achieve the latter – to locate *The Anathemata* with those works which Eliot mentioned in the same breath, and whose critical industry has, by contrast, continued to develop.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> These being David Blamires, *David Jones: Artist and Writer* (1971); Rene Hague, *David Jones* (1975); and Kathleen Raine, *David Jones and the Actually Loved and Known* (1978).

## I. The History of David Jones Studies

The first monograph to examine Jones's poetry was David Blamires' David Jones: Artist and Writer (1971). In this examination, Blamires looks at Jones's ideas about art and his achievement in the visual arts, and then looks at each of Jones's three major poetic works. In the chapter on *The Anathemata*, the major preoccupations which Jones criticism will continue to have are already at play before us: the poem's generic elusiveness and consequent critical neglect (114); the common desire it holds with the Cantos, Finnegans Wake and Ulysses "to depict a universum"; its Roman Catholic vision of a humanity perpetually saved (115); its debt to the English, Welsh, Roman and Greek traditions, and Jones's consequent "way of joining together disparate motifs into a larger whole" using a "collage" method (116-7); its resultant form, which is "not meant as pure pattern or as representative of chaos, but rather as representative of order", and in which (borrowing from a passage in St Augustine of which Jones was particularly fond) "the poem is a circle whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere" (119). These issues have formed the backbone of Jones studies ever since, though a genealogy of Jones criticism can be discerned: from the consideration of sources, through themes, motifs and method, to literaryhistorical context.

Rene Hague, one of Jones's closest friends from the time they lived together at Ditchling with the Gill family in the early 1920s, was an important early figure in the explication of Jones's allusions. In the mid-1950s, Jones read and was deeply impressed by Campbell and Robinson's *A Skeleton Key to* Finnegans Wake (1954). This experience no doubt lay behind Jones's eager assistance with Hague's project of assembling *A Commentary on* The Anathemata *of David Jones* (1977) in the last few years of his life. In the *Commentary*, Hague takes us through the poem page by page, and provides lengthy glosses on Jones's

allusions, mostly concentrating on liturgical and classical-historical references.<sup>5</sup> This source-finding project for Jones, like that for Joyce, is unlikely ever to stop. The most recent comprehensive assessment of Jones's sources was Jonathan Miles' Backgrounds to David Jones: A Study in Sources and Drafts (1990). This excellent study allows a chapter to address each of Jones's major formative influences, including Jacques Maritain, Eric Gill, Oswald Spengler, Roman history, and the archaeological discoveries of the nineteenth century. Miles is particularly important in providing the first comprehensive account of Jones's theory of art in the context of neo-Thomism, which has been subsequently addressed by Rowan Williams and Thomas Dilworth.<sup>6</sup> Miles went on to write David Jones: The Maker Unmade (1995) with Derek Shiel, which undertakes an analysis of Jones's visual work with regard to its historical context, and in relation to his poetry; but also, importantly, it applies a psychoanalytic reading to these works, an undertaking which, in view of Jones's treatment in the late 1940s by the Freudian Dr Stevenson, had surprisingly not already been attempted. This large, amply illustrated study functions also as a much-needed catalogue of Jones's visual work.

As this source work was in the very earliest stages of its development, Thomas Dilworth, at the time a Master's student from Toronto, visited Jones at the Monkdene Nursing Home, Harrow with William Blissett, another Canadian who had befriended Jones in the late-1950s. Dilworth has since become the leading authority on all aspects of David Jones's life and work. He has edited Jones's letters to Desmond Chute (1984), as well as 'Prothalamion' and 'Epithalamion' (two poems written by Jones on the occasion of his friend Harman Grisewood's wedding to Margaret Bailey) and 'The Brenner', which dramatises the meeting of Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner Pass. He has written about Jones's personal library (1977), self-annotation (1980), manuscripts (1988), political allegiances (1986), friendships (2000[a] and [b]) and visual art (1997). Dilworth's immersion in David Jones's correspondence and literary manuscripts for the past

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Summerfield's *An Introductory Guide to* The Anathemata *and* The Sleeping Lord *Sequence of David Jones* (1979) is structured in the same way, but, in being less discursive, covers a greater number and variety of Jones's sources.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Miles (1990) chapter 1; Dilworth 'David Jones and the Maritain Conversation' (2000); and Williams (2005), chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> 'Prothalamion', 'Epithalamion' and 'The Brenner' were published as *Wedding Poems* in 2002.

three decades has led to his commission, by Random House, to write the definitive biography of Jones, the progress of which the audience of the annual David Jones Society Symposium never fail to enquire about, and the slow progress at which Dilworth continues to despair.

The great variety to Dilworth's interest in Jones has a common element, which is a focus upon the formal aspects of Jones's poetry. In 'The Anagogical Form of The Anathemata' (1979) and The Shape of Meaning in the Poetry of David Jones (1988), Dilworth looks for the specific means by which aesthetic unity is experienced as we read *The Anathemata* (that the poem is aesthetically unified is, for Dilworth, not in doubt). Two major formal attributes are identified. The first is typological (or analogical): each individual character within the poem is experienced as a nexus for a number of mythological and historical figures.8 (This forms the starting point for my investigation in Chapter 4.) The second is thematic, insofar as the repetitions of themes within the poem create a spatial form. Over the course of twenty years, from the publication of his first article on The Anathemata in 1979, Dilworth has presented compelling evidence for Jones's preoccupation with spatial form. Dilworth steadily develops the tentative observation made by David Blamires (noted above) that the form of The Anathemata is imitative of Christ as both centre and circumference of a circle. Dilworth amasses more and more evidence – moving from a thematic reading of the published text (1979), through an analysis of the manuscript material (1988), to a reading of Jones's early engravings (1997) – in order to show how Jones intentionally created such a form in his poem. Tom Goldpaugh has in turn built on Dilworth's observations (see Goldpaugh 1999), and presents evidence that Jones developed this spatial form and method in a poem he subsequently abandoned prior to beginning *The Anathemata*. These are very important issues within David Jones studies, and I engage with Dilworth's and Goldpaugh's analyses in detail in my first chapter.

Several important studies have placed Jones in his historical context. Elizabeth Ward's *David Jones: Mythmaker* (1984) presents Jones as a protofascist member

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Dilworth (1979) 184-5, and (1988) 201-56.

of the so-called Chelsea Group, which included, among others, Christopher Dawson, W. F. Jackson Knight, the Burns brothers, and Harman Grisewood. Ward's odd recommendation that we disregard Jones's poetry altogether because of his admiration for Hitler is resoundingly refused in Dilworth's article 'David Jones and Fascism' (1986).9 Colin Wilcockson, in 'David Jones and "the Break" (1977), situates Jones within a branch of thought stemming from the arts and crafts movement, and makes the case for Jones's notion of "the Break" – his term for an increasing sense of cultural discontinuity following the industrial revolution – being directly inherited from Ruskin and Morris. 10 Thirty years later, Paul Robichaud takes up Wilcockson's lead and explores the debt of Jones and modernism in general to the arts and crafts movement in the first chapter of Making the Past Present: David Jones, the Middle Ages, and Modernism (2007). Of course, the arts and crafts movement influenced Eric Gill, and Jones lived intermittently with the Gill family at Ditchling, then Capel-y-Ffin, then Caldey Island, and then Piggots. Several studies have explored the influence of Gill on Jones, most notably Jonathan Miles in his Backgrounds to David Jones (1990), and in Eric Gill and David Jones at Capel-y-Ffin (1992). What emerges from these studies is a view of Jones's heterodox appetite for isolated fragments of knowledge to add to his culture-hoard; he took what he needed from Gill, artistically speaking, and humoured his unvielding opposition to all things modern.11

An increasing concern with Jones's historical context has led a number of critics to a more specialised focus on his literary-historical context. Jones, accused of imitating *Ulysses* by reviewers of *In Parenthesis*, and of imitating the *Cantos* by reviewers of *The Anathemata*, asserted that he had read neither until after the publication of his own works (see *DGC* 163, *IN* 23-4 and *WH* 57-8). But when Jones did look at the *Cantos*, he saw immediately why the accusation had been made. In his correspondence with Desmond Chute, in which they discussed the style of *The Anathemata* (Chute was at the time writing a review of the poem), Jones seized enthusiastically upon one of Chute's phrases to describe this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ward's recommendations are also dismissed by Staudt in At the Turn of a Civilization (1994) 20-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Wilcockson (1977) 126-131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See Jones's essay 'Eric Gill, an Appreciation' in *E&A* 296-302.

phenomenon: 'the common tongue of the Zeitgeist' (*IN* 23). This issue – not of the influence of one writer upon another, but of an epoch upon many writers, and indeed artists of all media – fascinated Jones. Another important strain of David Jones studies has been a preoccupation with his work in the context of modernist poetics: how does 'the common tongue of the zeitgeist' wag in Jones?

The importance of Eliot as Jones's editor and publisher was matched by his importance as a formative poetic influence. Patrick Deane's early work (1987-88) on the non-narrative structure of *The Anathemata* was later developed (in an essay which resists Dilworth's assertions of formal integrity) to explore the notion that Eliot was an under-used model for Jones. Jones, Deane concludes, was unsuccessful in his attempt to create a diversity in unity because he did not have Eliot's dramatic breadth, and so, ironically, produced a poem which was not diverse enough to achieve a unity. 12 Kathleen Henderson Staudt's At the Turn of A Civilization: David Jones and Modern Poetics (1994) was the first monograph to conduct a comprehensive examination of Jones within the context of modernism. Here, the debt of Jones to Eliot is primarily discovered in their shared allusive method, though Staudt claims that this method is used differently by the two: whilst Eliot pieces together his poem from the texts of the past in order to signify and lament cultural discontinuity, Jones does the same in order to signify a hopeful sense of the opposite. 13 Staudt also explores the 'sacramental' nature of Jones's poetics in contradistinction to Eliot's concern with the mystical, particularly in Four Quartets (1943).<sup>14</sup> I agree with Staudt that, whilst Eliot's influence on Jones was important, it was tempered by Jones's awareness of aspects of his friend which ran counter to his own predilection for the "contactual", as Jones himself put it.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Patrick Deane 'David Jones, T. S. Eliot, and the Modernist Unfinished' (1995) 86-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Staudt (1994) 65-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> See Staudt (1994) 81-2. Barry Spurr concentrates on this difference between Jones and Eliot in "I loved old Tom": David Jones and T. S. Eliot' in *Yeats-Eliot Review* 17:1 (Winter 2001), pp.19-25, exploring the implications of Jones's statement to William Blissett that Eliot, in contradistinction to himself, is not so much concerned with objects as with concepts. Spurr (2001) 23-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Jones's full comparison, in a letter he wrote to William Blissett on 16<sup>th</sup> May 1967, runs thus: "I thought what you say on page 265 about Tom Eliot...and 'the centre of the silent Word' as contrasted to my sort of centre stated very truly something jolly difficult to state at all. It is a real distinction. I have a sort of feeling that it may be to do with my being first a visual artist & so terribly concerned with tangible, contactual 'things' – not 'concepts' really, except in so far as the concrete, creaturely material 'thing' is a *signum* of the concept & that it must be that way now because we are creatures with bodies." See Blissett (1981) 39.

The modernist writer treated in greatest detail by Staudt in comparison with Jones is quite rightly James Joyce. As the shift of focus in Staudt's examination from Jones's earlier to his later long poem implies, if The Waste Land was the most important influence on In Parenthesis, Finnegans Wake - and the 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' chapter in particular – was by far the most important influence upon The Anathemata. Staudt's readings of passages of The Anathemata in the light of the influence of Finnegans Wake discover the nature of Joyce (with Picasso) as one of Jones's two "problem-solvers," as he described them (DGC Paul Robichaud's Making the Past Present (2007) also explores the influence of Joyce on Jones, and indeed undertakes a reading of the same densely macaronic passage from 'Angle-Land', the third section of The Anathemata, which Staudt analyses. In both examinations, Jones's indebtedness to Joyce in the development of a poetics of "linguistic otherness" is foregrounded, but equally the difference in Jones's and Joyce's strategies is signalled.<sup>16</sup> In Chapter 3 of this thesis, I take the same macaronic passage and explore its genesis in the light of one particular part of Finnegans Wake which Jones returned to again and again.

This thesis, therefore, unites and builds upon two otherwise separate strains in David Jones studies: it builds upon the work of Dilworth and Goldpaugh in relation to the genesis of the poem in order to enhance the view of *The Anathemata* as a modernist text which Staudt and Robichaud have produced. So, I seek to make a reassessment of Jones's achievement through undertaking a study of the process by which he made *The Anathemata*. This is peculiarly relevant in the study of Jones because the making of artworks is the primary subject of the poem; and it was so because, for Jones, such a behaviour was the defining behaviour of human beings. In what follows, I will give an account of David Jones's philosophy of man as *maker*, before moving on to an account of my genetic-critical methodology.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See Robichaud (2007) 159-62 and Staudt (1994) 136.

## II. Making and Modernity: Jones's Aporetic Idea of Man

## (i) Art as making: the importance of Aristotle

"My mind," wrote David Jones in an undated draft letter, "has been conditioned rather to think in terms of those 'Aristotelian-Thomistic' or 'neo-Scholastic' modes" (*DJP* CF1/10). The most important aspect of this conditioning is registered in Jones's essay 'Art and Sacrament' (1955), when he refers to "that brief chapter, of about thirty lines only, in which Aristotle contrasts 'making' (*poiesis*) with 'doing' (*praxis*)...it contains so much for those concerned with the kind of thing that art is; it is a foundational fragment." (*E&A* 172) This passage – from Book VI, Chapter 4 of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, 'Of Art' – is 'foundational' for a number of reasons. First, though, we must look at the terms of Aristotle's distinction between making and doing.

In Aristotle's theory, making and doing are both actions of the practical rather than the speculative intellect. Within this category, they are mutually exclusive: "the rational faculty exercised in doing is quite distinct from that which is exercised in making"; "doing never takes the form of making, nor making of doing." Making is art, which is an *activity*: "a rational faculty exercised in making something. In fact there is no art which cannot be so described, nor is there any faculty of the kind that is not an art." Art is a means which happens to produce an end; doing is, by contrast, an end in itself.

[T]he maker of a thing has a different end in view than just making it, whereas in doing something the end can only be the doing of it well...while there is such

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Aristotle (1955) 175. Jones acquired a version of *The Nicomachean Ethics* translated by R. W. Browne in September 1946, but knew this chapter of Aristotle from the early 1920s. The very fact that Jones bought *The Nicomachean Ethics* shortly after establishing the conceptual centre of *The Anathemata* as the activity of making (covered in Chapter 2 of this thesis) indicates the importance of this chapter to him. Jones was critical of Browne's use of 'practice' instead of 'doing' (see *KFP* 21 Jan 1947); for this reason, I use Thomson's translation.

a thing as excellence in the quality of a work of art, there cannot be excellence or virtue belonging to practical wisdom [i.e. prudence, or doing], which is a virtue.<sup>18</sup>

For Aristotle, a man is prudent "when he calculates well for the attainment of a particular end of a fine sort." <sup>19</sup>

This distinction between making and doing was of value to Jones for several reasons. First, both making and doing (or art/Ars and prudence/Prudentia as Jones refers to them in 'Art and Sacrament') in being 'rational faculties', are specifically human attributes. Second, the definition of art based on aesthetic judgements of the object produced is opposed by Aristotle's definition, and thus a common principle established for all makers, be they painters or boat builders, adults or children. Third, art is freed from moral purpose and judgement through not being defined by its end. If an absence of art is described as "a rational quality exercised in making when associated with *false* reasoning," as Jones approvingly quoted to W. F. Jackson Knight in a letter of January 1947, then a making which has an end in mind – any purpose, be it political, financial, etc. – becomes a lesser making. Indeed, the absence of a firm destination in making is very much an integral part of Aristotle's idea of that activity: "We may even say that in a manner art and chance work in the same field."

These three extrapolations are absolutely crucial for the development of making as the foundational concept in Jones's poetics because they lead him to a view of making as the foundational act of man. In the first case, a division is established between human and animal existence; in the second, this division is reinforced by the implication that making is a common and so in some sense a defining attribute of man; and in the third, the necessity of the gratuitousness of the act

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 177. Cf. Jones's statement in 'Art and Sacrament': "'art' describes an *activity* of a certain kind whereas 'prudence' describes a *quality* of a certain kind." ('A&S' 145) Also, "Ars has no end save the perfecting of a process by which all sorts of ends are made possible. It *is* that process. It is concerned with perfecting a means." (*E&A* 151).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> *Ibid*. 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "How frightfully good Aristotle is in the Ethics on 'Art': Of bad art – or the absence of art: 'the habit of making joined with false reason.' – you can't say much more. They ought to have put it in large letters over the entrance of 'Britain Can Make' Exhibition!' (*KFP* 21 January 1947)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Aristotle (1955) 176.

of art is foreshadowed.

## (ii) Making and man: the utile and the gratuitous

In Jones's view, whilst the 'utile' and the 'gratuitous' are philosophically distinct categories, man's makings have throughout all times incorporated both 'utile' and 'gratuitous' elements. The term 'utile' is used by Jones, as he states in a gloss to 'Art and Sacrament', "to indicate what is vulgarly and generally understood by "'merely utilitarian' or 'simply functional" (*E&A* 176-7). Thus, and as Jones makes clear elsewhere, the utile element of a making is of the same class as the making of nests, hives or dams by birds, bees and beavers: "This making is wholly functional" (*E&A* 149). By contrast, the gratuitous element of a making is that which is not oriented upon a specific benefit; gratuitousness is defined by absence: it is the "extra-utile" (*E&A* 181).

What, then, directs the gratuitous making? The answer to this question appears to be: the same thing that directs religious devotional ritual. Jones suggests in 'Art and Sacrament' that "there adheres to man's making a 'religious' something" (E&A 158). In a letter written whilst he was first embarking on experiments toward *The Anathemata*, Jones wrote: "And I think I mean also by saints – lovers, and all kinds of unifying makers" (*DGC* 93). The identification of these three types seems to be directed by their common preoccupation with the gratuitous: the saint, the lover and the artist, in Jones's opinion, are necessarily engaged in a rejection of the utile. Thus, the answer to the question, 'What directs the gratuitous making?' would appear to be love, or devotion, or desire, or praise.

This leads us to an important observation: whilst gratuitousness was of the utmost importance for Jones, it was never so in a rarefied philosophical sense – it was fundamental to every person's everyday experience of the world. Jones is clear on the universality of such acts of gratuitousness: "we stroke cats and tie ribbons and give girls boxes of chocolates and so on, which is all part of the sacramental world from my point of view."<sup>23</sup> Here we encounter another of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Orr (1966) 102.

Jones's key terms – the sacramental – and so can begin to open up the convoluted and contradictory ideas which formed *The Anathemata*.

One possible objection to Aristotle's theory is that, if art is an activity of the practical intellect, there is always, whether that making be utile or gratuitous, a material product of a making. Jones again used a theological analogy in order to understand the relationship between art as act, and the art object: "though art 'abides on the side of the mind' its products are of the body, are always and inescapably a sort of 'word made flesh'" (*DG* 168). This seeming contradiction, or at least inconsistency, was not a problem for Jones as a Thomist. Maurice de la Taille, an important Thomist influence on Jones (see *Ana* 36), wrote: "Because man is not a pure spirit, he feels a need to translate this interior gift of himself into an outward rite which symbolizes it." Jones, in turn, writes in 'Art and Sacrament': "Angel's can't [make sacraments] nor can the beasts. No wonder then that Theology regards the body as a unique good. Without body: without sacrament. Angels only: no sacrament. Beasts only: no sacrament. Man: sacrament at every turn" (*E&A* 167).

So, whilst a diesel engine or screwdriver might be made towards the attainment of a specific benefit, it is possible for such makings to be utterly different to animalic makings if an element of extra-utile devotion enters into that making (through the maker's devotion to the achievement of beauty in that engine's or screwdriver's form, for example). The balance of the utile and gratuitous elements directing a making is, in view of the 'word' being made 'flesh' in such a making, in some way or other discernible in the object. This is a necessary but unproblematic assumption for Jones. The real difficulty for him was in working out how art was possible in the early- to mid-twentieth century. For it goes without saying that, whilst Jones believed that man was only man because he performed gratuitous makings, very few people were or are artists. This, though, was an historical issue: for Jones, it was only *now* that this was the case.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> De la Taille (1934) 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Another important aspect to Jones's use of Aristotle's definition of art as making was that it silenced the clamour of the competing groups and sub-groups of artists and theoreticians of the first half of the twentieth century to subvert art, or destroy it, or revolutionize it, or explain it, and so on. For a reflection on these competing approaches, see Richard Wollheim (1968).

## (iii) Modernity and the end of man

As far as David Jones was concerned, the objects of modern life for a variety of reasons (mostly economic) increasingly contained very little sign of gratuitous making:

the search in antique dealers' shops for a single spoon that does not affront the senses...is symptomatic of a general, if muddled, nostalgia for things which though serviceable and utile are not divorced from the extra-utile and which, on that account, conform to man's ordinary, normal and proper, if obscured, desires – the fundamental desires of all men, of Man.

(E&A 181)

Gratuitous making, love, desire, the devotional – the defining characteristics of man – are being obscured by what Jones called the 'contemporary technocracy' (*E&A* 143 and *passim*). This judgement is at the core of Jones's version of modernity.

An integral part of Neo-Thomist thought in the first half of the twentieth century was that modern consciousness and modernity had their roots in the bifurcation of philosophy and theology, for which William of Ockham has been largely held responsible.<sup>26</sup> David Jones was certainly of this opinion: "the turn that civilization has taken, the 'positivist' Hegelian turn, affects the Catholic thing in a special way. I suppose one can trace it, in embryonic form, to late Nominalism" (*DGC* 222). Leaving aside Jones's enormously wide of the mark pigeon-holing of Hegel, we can see a common feature in Catholicism and Post-Impressionism

Maritain wrote that Duns Scotus, William of Occam and Suarez constitute the beginnings of empiricism – see Maritain (1930) 41. Bertrand Russell extends this belief beyond solely Thomist commentators: "Occam has been regarded as bringing about the breakdown of scholasticism, as a precursor of Descartes or Kant or whoever might be the particular commentator's favourite among modern philosophers." Russell (1946) 494. Ockham is held to have reoriented universals from the real or God-made, to the conceptual or man-made, with the effect that: "the notion of a creation necessarily interrelated so as to form a 'universe' whose principle of unity amidst diversity derived from the exemplification of eternal ideas or from a participation in the divine essence was metaphysically shattered into a 'multiverse'...Despoiled of every possible ontological reference to God, natural phenomena offered no least hint of this existence and no demonstrable access to him as to a first cause." Ginascol (1959) 328

here, a commonality which Jones perceived from his early 20s onwards. Clive Bell and Roger Fry's attacks on six hundred years of naturalistic art mirror Maritain's – and another 'formative' thinker for Jones, T. E. Hulme's – increasing disgust with six hundred years of humanist thought.<sup>27</sup>

Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* (first published in English in 1932) was a key text for Jones, and it gave a shape to his own musings on the patterns of history. Although Jones disagreed with much of what Spengler had to say, he found the 'morphological' theory that cultures have life-cycles persuasive and useful (in the same way that Joyce found Vico's theory of the corso and ricorso both persuasive and useful).<sup>28</sup> Thus, as far as Spengler was concerned, our current 'Faustian' culture, having experienced its birth, morning, or Spring with Romanesque and Gothic architecture and the troubadours; moved into its maturity, noon or Summer with the Renaissance; then onto its late-maturity, afternoon or Autumn with Zwinger of Dresden, Watteau and Mozart; and finally its old-age, twilight or Winter with Romanticism and beyond.<sup>29</sup> Spengler maintained that this cycle was repeated in all cultures throughout all history.

Jones's sense of the relation between his contemporary culture and its history was clarified by reading Spengler. The West's entry into its twilight was, in Jones own interpretation, signalled by early nineteenth-century industrialism, at which point "Western Man moved across a rubicon". Jones was influenced in this conception of what he called 'The Break' (*Ana* 15) by William Morris. Colin Wilcockson proposes that Jones took the image from Morris's description of the increasingly mechanized society in which he lived being the possible cause of a "break in the continuity of the golden chain". Morris hopes that this break may just be an illusion, a minor upset; for Jones, born two generations after Morris, it is beyond doubt: the crossing "if as unseen as the 38th Parallel, seems to have been as definitive as the Styx" (*Ana* 16).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> For a consideration of pre- and post-Copernican man, see Hulme (1936) 78-85. Jones described Hulme's *Speculations* (1924), as "rewarding" in 'Art and Sacrament' (*E&A* 172), and numbers that collection among the "formative works" of his early mature reading (*DGC* 188).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See Bishop (1986) 174-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Spengler, *The Decline of the West* (1932) I.107-8; quoted in Miles (1990) 38-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Morris quoted in Wilcockson (1977) 130. For further observations of the link between Jones and Morris and Ruskin, see Corcoran (1982) 6, and Robichaud (2007) 25-30.

The 'Break' sets up a problem: if man feels only a utilitarian impulse towards the making of things, art, sacrament and religion are in danger of extinction; and the logically inescapable outcome of this in Jones's system is that man too must become extinct. The central dilemma of Jones's thought is that man in modernity seems both man and not-man: man, being defined and coming into existence as man-the-gratuitous-maker however many millennia ago, is in modernity not-man-the-utile-maker. Jones states this fundamental problem thus:

If we deny that man is man-the-artist, man the sacrament-maker, etc., we deny the existence of man and if we continue to believe in the existence of this man we find it difficult to account for these [utile] qualities that now characterize the works of man.

(E&A 182)

The apocalyptic vision Jones has of man un-man-ing himself in the modern West is expressed most forcefully in a passage of 'Use and Sign' (1962). In the wholly desacralised future,

[t]he story of the broken alabaster [the nard which Mary Magdalene breaks above Christ's feet] could still be told, but as a cautionary tale only, and as a classical instance of the ridiculously inutile practices of our species in what, by then, would be a kind of pre-history, before Man-the-Technocrat had fully evolved and had put away childish things.

(DG 184)

Writing in 'Art and Sacrament', Jones was unable to see from his place in the present how a total desacralisation is possible, but equally how it was avoidable. This is the dilemma at the root of the essay: "How are we to reconcile man-the-artist, man the sign-maker or sacrament-maker with the world in which we live today?...However one tries to express it one leaves much unsaid or puts it in such a way as to invite valid objections" (*E&A* 176). Jones states this even more emphatically in a letter to Harman Grisewood, written at the end of the year in

which 'Art and Sacrament' was published. Jones tells how, during an X-Ray examination he had recently had, "one could ponder on the beneficent gadgetworld and consider for a millionth time the work of the 'utile' and the world of 'sign' without getting any nearer a solution. I'm still stuck on that problem – I *can't* see how it works" (*DGC* 164-5).

And so Jones is stuck contemplating a problem which is fundamental to the act of making, here, in the modern world – and so *his* acts of making – and so, in view of both his philosophy and his vocation, of the utmost importance: it is, he concludes in 'Use and Sign', "a question to which I do not know the answer and which perturbs me all the day long" (*DG* 184).

## (iv) The makerly struggle in modernity

Unresolvable dilemmas had already arisen whilst Jones was writing *In Parenthesis* in 1926-33. But, although the question of whether new technologies might become suffused with the same poetic significances as old is a dilemma, Jones is by no means clear of its implications: "I only wish to record that such a dilemma exists, and that I have been particularly conscious of it during the making of this writing" (*IP* xv).

By the time Jones wrote 'Art and Sacrament', nearly twenty years after writing the Preface to *In Parenthesis*, these ideas had grown into the self-oppositional complex which perturbed Jones 'all the day long'. As the title of the collection in which this essay was first published implies – *Catholic Approaches to Modern Dilemmas* – and as Jones confirms for us in the very first sentence of his contribution, 'Art and Sacrament' was commissioned as an investigation into irresolvable problems. Jones's confusion of thought is clearly manifested in the form of the essay. He continually reminds us that describing the problems of his vocation is his sole intention, <sup>31</sup> and at the conclusion of the essay he can only reemphasise the "dilemmas which show themselves to underlie some of the

 $<sup>^{31}</sup>$  He does this on pages 143, 144, 145, 147, 153, 154, 176, 177, 178, 185 of 'Art and Sacrament' (in *E&A*).

The purpose of 'Art and Sacrament', then, is to investigate the nature of the problems which face the modern artist as a preliminary step to a greater understanding of the reason for these problems. The essay is therefore an aporetic text: it explores the nature of the aporia – "a perplexing difficulty" according to the Oxford English Dictionary, but by the implications of its etymology (and more pertinent here) 'an impassable path' – which prevents a systematic resolution of the issues which form the basis of its investigation. The aporetic method, systematized by Aristotle, forms the instinctive basis of Jones's investigation: he is perplexed by the nature of the arts in modernity (he is in a state of aporia) and seeks in the course of the essay to establish what is causing this perplexity (what the aporia are). In other words, the aporetic method Jones employs in 'Art and Sacrament' seeks only to move from a state of puzzlement to a statement of the puzzle. For a view of the necessity of the aporetic method, we will turn again to Aristotle.

In the *Metaphysics*, an initial sense of aporia leads Aristotle to state the primary difficulty of ontology (the most important of the fourteen aporia he identifies): the relationship of the universal and the particular.

There is a difficulty concerned with these [preceding aporia], the hardest of all and the most necessary to examine, and of this the discussion now awaits us. If, on the one hand, there is nothing apart from individual things, and the individuals are infinite in number, how then is it possible to get knowledge of the infinite individuals? For all things that we come to know, we come to know in so far as they have some unity and identity, and in so far as some attribute belongs to them universally.

But if this is necessary, and there must be something apart from the individuals, it will be necessary that the genera exist apart from the individuals, – either the lowest or the highest genera; but we found by discussion just now that this is impossible.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Aristotle (1928) 999a24-33.

This central aporia in Aristotle's ontology is fundamental to the aporetic end to the whole of the *Metaphysics*. Following the identification of fourteen ontological aporia, it transpires in Aristotle's subsequent enquiry that an explanation for the nature of being can only be found in an explanation for the nature of primary being; and that this in turn can only be had with recourse to a divine being.<sup>33</sup> The Western philosophical tradition which Aristotle is in the process of forming here requires a first cause, to the effect that a divine being *must* underpin an *a priori* primary being. As V. Politis observes, the connotation of this realization for Aristotle – "that metaphysics is both ontology and theology"<sup>34</sup> – is never systematically stated.<sup>35</sup> The implication of this for philosophy is that Aristotle has reached the systemic limit in his metaphysical enquiry: that metaphysics is fundamentally aporetic.

This failure of philosophy, as Umberto Eco identifies, presents itself because "Being is that which enables all subsequent definitions to be made." Rational ontology inhabits an inescapable loop or self-referential recursion in its study of being because "being underpins all discourses except the one we hold about it." Indeed, the aporetic end of ontology is implicit in the etymology of the term: how can what is (being, or *ontos*) be revealed by something contingent upon what is (reason, or *logos*)? Jones's aporetic predicament is of the same order: his logical examination of man as man-the-gratuitous-maker has reached its systemic limit, and is thereby sunk in paradox.

The recursive, self-invalidating terms of the problems of 'Art and Sacrament' make their adequate expression extremely difficult.<sup>37</sup> Jones has to spend ninetenths of his essay in a struggle to define how art *should* function before he can begin to state how modernity interferes with this function – and by then he has run out of space.<sup>38</sup> The aporetic approach of 'Art and Sacrament' is perhaps the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> See Politis (2004) 120-121 and 292-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> *Ibid*. 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> See *ibid*, 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Eco (2000) 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Aristotle explicitly states the difficulty of the aporetic method in the *Metaphysics* following his summary of the fourteen ontological aporia in the *Metaphysics*: "With regard to all these matters not only is it hard to get possession of the truth, but it is not easy even to think out the difficulties well." Aristotle (1928) 996a15-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> This is why Jones appended a further short essay – 'The Utile' – to 'Art and Sacrament' (E&A 180-5). However, this essay, proposing that contemporary makers of various kinds might compare their

reason for the essay's poor contemporary reception.<sup>39</sup> Even sympathetic modern critics continue to find an obscure coherence in the essay, or to ignore the implications of the knot at its centre.<sup>40</sup> This, as Howard Caygill remarks in another context, is "a common response to aporetic texts."<sup>41</sup> I think that the sinuous, disconcerting form of 'Art and Sacrament' should be seen as a mark of the limits of logical discourse in treating of ideas which subvert that logical discourse. And here we reach a point at which we might tentatively introduce *The Anathemata*, if only momentarily: *The Anathemata* is a successful embodiment of those ideas because it is their *embodiment* not their discursive vehicle – but, in being a successful making, it is also a kind of *resolution* of aporia through embodying it in a made object, through a *making*, which these very aporia appear to maintain is impossible. *The Anathemata* is Jones's mobilization of a resistance movement.

This practical resolution of aporia, though, was only partial: as we shall see throughout this thesis, Jones was never sure if *The Anathemata* was successful. Moreover, as we might have guessed from the fact that Jones was first alerted to such dilemmas in his practice as an artist, making was difficult – as Jones makes clear in a letter to Rene and Joan Hague in 1931 (just before his first nervous breakdown): "Been trying to paint but with no result save intolerable annoyance and rage" (*DGC* 49). Thirty years later, he wrote of the "mystery' or 'subtlety' or 'illusiveness' or 'fragility' or 'waywardness' or 'complexity' or 'fancifulness' etc." which people find in his paintings; and then continued:

difficulties with a view to elucidating the apparently complete dichotomy of the utile and gratuitous, ends with the following restatement of dilemma: "In the view of the present writer any data whatsoever which help toward our understanding of this dichotomy are data most necessary to us in our present fix" (*E&A* 185).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Late in life, Jones wrote: "All the bloody sweat of half of *Epoch and Artist* simply evidently had no meaning. You will remember how we were a little surprised at the time that no one took up the questions raised. They are or are not real questions" (*DGC* 232).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Very little critical space is given over to treatments of Jones's essays. Usually, they are only used to support critical readings of the poetry. Miles (1990), Staudt (1994), Corcoran (1982) and Williams (2005), though they do write on Jones's essays apart from his poetry, do not comment on the puzzles at the centre of 'Art and Sacrament'. They can therefore only interpret his thinking in relation to individual aspects of his theory, such as the utile and gratuitous. The implications of the questioning and confused nature of the essay are therefore overlooked.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Caygill (1989) 6. In an endnote (on page 396) Caygill remarks that late classical and early medieval readings of Aristotelian ontological aporia "either dissolved the aporia into a wider unity or analyzed it out of existence."

It isn't the artist's 'fancy' or 'imagination' that imposes these qualities on a work – the blasted stuff is there as plain as a pikestaff – the bugger of it is how to 'transubstantiate' these qualities into whatever medium one is using, whether paint or words or whatever. It's only about once in a hundred times that one can come near to doing this.

(DGC 189)

And it is here that we encounter Jones's figure for art: the bread and wine transubstantiated into the body and the blood of Christ at the consecration of the Eucharist.

## (v) The Eucharist: Jones's aporetic figure for art

Jones first felt a connection between the Eucharist and the arts, prior to his conversion to Catholicism, whilst a student at Westminster School of Art from 1919-21.<sup>42</sup> He discussed this with his fellow students, as he recalls in a letter written fifty years later.

I said, Well, the insistence that a painting must be a thing and not the impression of something has an affinity with what the Church said of the Mass, that what was oblated under the species of Bread and Wine at the Supper was the same thing as what was bloodily immolated on Calvary. Post-Impressionist theorists, however bad their paintings, were always loudly asserting that their aim was to make a 'thing' – let's say a mountain or a table or a girl that was one of these objects under the form of paint, and not the impression of 'mountain', 'table' or 'girl'. And that this idea was, *mutatis mutandis*, similar or analogous to what, I understood, the Church held with regard to the Mass.

(DGC 232)

Following this initial tentative step, Maurice de la Taille's *The Mystery of Faith* (1930) and Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1943; though Jones first encountered it in the 1948 edition) became key texts for Jones in the development of his analogy into a complex statement and justification of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Miles and Shiel (1995) 33.

function of works of art. In de la Taille he read of the "sacramental presence, perfectly real, although differing in almost every point from what we know by the name of presence." Jones's analogy gains its power in – but equally is problematized by – the statement of orthodoxy Catholic sacramental theology at de la Taille's conclusion: "It is a presence unique in its kind." From Dix, Jones acquired the key term 'anamnesis'. When Jones writes that the Eucharist uses "the unequivocal words 'Do this for an anamnesis of me" (*E&A* 170), his non-canonical translation of the Lukan narrative emphasizes the real presence through the use of the original Greek 'anamnesis' rather than the English 'remembrance'. Dix defines anamnesis as being "a 're-calling' or 'representing' of a thing in such a way that it is not so much regarded as being 'absent', as itself presently operative by its effects" – clearly not a meaning carried by the inadequate English 'remembrance.'

When Jones spoke to his fellow students, he was equating the way the Post-Impressionist artwork re-presents an invisible reality 'under the form' – or, to use Jones's own scholastic appropriation, "under the species" (E&A 175) – 'of paint' with the way the bread and wine used in the Mass brings Christ into a material form in the present. The sacraments of bread and wine are to the body and blood of Christ, as the paint on a canvas is to the reality in the mind of the painter: "One is the thing we see, another is the thing we do not see. The Body of Christ is invisible; the outward shape he derives from the bread in order to give himself as food is visible. But beneath that visible wrapping is concealed the hidden reality."45 In 'Art and Sacrament', Jones wrote of the "various materials" of Hogarth's 'The Shrimp Girl,' and their presentation of a universal reality to us: "It is a 'thing', an object contrived of various materials...to show forth, recall and re-present...such and such a reality. It is a signum of that reality, and it makes a kind of anamnesis of that reality." However, what really matters - what is over and above the thingly element - is, as Jones shows, beyond our knowledge: "the 'reality' shown forth is too complicated to posit with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> De la Taille (1934) 210.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Dix (1945) 245

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> De la Taille (1934) 206. Cf. Heidegger's statement of this dual existence: "the art work is something else over and above the thingly element. This something else in the work constitutes its artistic nature." Heidegger (1971) 19.

any precision or fullness" (*E&A* 174). Jones's Eucharistic analogy – the foundational presence of which is again signified in this description by Jones's use of the term 'anamnesis' – steps into the discursive breach and shows us what we know about art's ineffable function but cannot reasonably say or comprehend.

By identifying art's common function with the Eucharist, which in the dogma of the Roman Catholic Church has for nearly two thousand years brought the most supremely transcendental universal into the everyday material particular of the bread and wine – themselves "quasi-artefacts" (see *Ana* 30-1), as he notes<sup>46</sup> – Jones, we might think, has resolved the ontological aporia inherent in any systematization of the function of art. This depends, of course, on a credence in the Eucharistic action of the bread and wine. But it also depends on whether the consecration of the Eucharist is an analogy for art, or an act of art itself.

In dramatic contrast to Jonathan Miles's downplaying of the real presence in Jones's Eucharistic analogy,<sup>47</sup> Neil Corcoran and Thomas Goldpaugh identify that, for Jones, the Eucharist is not an analogy at all – that it is an art-act.<sup>48</sup> Goldpaugh argues (I think conclusively) that Jones saw both the Eucharist and the arts as sub-classes within the broader class of sacraments evident in man's everyday life. "Art, [Jones] claimed, is not similar to a sacrament. It is a specific subclass of sacrament, just as the Eucharist is part of that same subclass." Jones's Eucharistic analogy therefore ceases to be an analogy for art, becoming as it does a paradigm at the head of all makings.

For Jones, the liturgy and its centre, the Eucharist, are fittings-together: they are makings. And the Eucharist in turn re-presents in the process of the priest's actions and words both the institution at the Supper and the sacrifice on Calvary, both of which are seen by Jones as art-acts, and which, being central to Western

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> In his copy of Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy* (dated 3 August 1948 in his hand) Jones has marked the following passage with a large asterisk: "the offering of bread and wine – not wheat and grapes...– is the offering of human labour upon God's gifts...Do we not expressly call them 'these *Thy creatures* of bread and wine'?" *DJL* Dix (1945). Jones mis-remembers this passage in the Preface to *The Anathemata* (in note 3, *Ana* 30).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> See Miles (1990) 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> See Corcoran (1982) 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Goldpaugh (1994[b]) 115.

culture, can be taken to sum up all such art-acts:

What was done in the Cenacle was a 'making' (*poiesis*)...Calvary itself (if less obviously than the Supper) involves *poiesis*. For what was accomplished on the Tree of the Cross presupposes the sign-world and looks back to foreshadowing rites and arts of mediation and conjugation stretching back for tens of thousands of years in actual pre-history.

(E&A 168)

What has been seen as a perfect analogy, and its attributes used metaphorically in an analysis of the function of art, is none other than the paradigmatic art-act. The figure which so powerfully stands for the function of the art object, and which refines out of existence the clamour of the many versions of modernism competing for Jones's attention, is, if we pull back to its foundations, subject to the very aporetic condition which it is called upon to attempt to resolve. So why does Jones continue to use it?

I would argue that Jones's Eucharistic analogy-paradigm remained the central figure of his aesthetic for half a century precisely because of its protean, will-it-or-won't-it? nature. One of the reasons Jones was attracted to the use of analogy in general (as we shall see in detail in Chapter 4) was because of analogy's open-ness; had the Eucharistic figure ossified into operating within certain limits, I feel Jones would have abandoned it. As it was, he continued to use it precisely because of what it promised; it was important as *potential*, not as *actual*: "I am sure that some such concept is the inner secret and nodal point of *all* the arts" (*DGC* 190) he wrote over forty years after the connection between the arts and the Eucharist first occurred to him. The value of the analogy lies in its ambiguity, its open-endedness. As such, it formally imitates that which it seeks to describe: between the immaterial and the material is an invisible process of making. In specific regard to *The Anathemata*, this thesis seeks to make that process at least partially visible.

### (vi) The many makings of *The Anathemata*

In one version of his Preface to The Anathemata, Jones writes that none of the ideas in the poem are his (DJP LA1/1). This is to an extent true (as indeed it would be true for St Thomas to say the same of his Summa Theologica, which synthesises Aristotelian ontology and patristic theology): in addition to many other diverse supplementary sources, Jones's anthropology was drawn from Christopher Dawson, his Classical culture from W. F. Jackson Knight, his Roman history from R. G. Collingwood, his aesthetic from Clive Bell and Roger Fry (via Bernard Meninsky, his teacher at art school), his concepts of the gratuitous and utile from Jacques Maritain (via Eric Gill), and the overall structure for the arrangement of these ideas and knowledge from Aristotle and St Thomas. The Anathemata is at least in part a synthesis of Jones's textual inheritance; but it is also a poem, and it was as a practising artist that Jones found his logically cohesive system of thought to be twisted into aporia. Equally, though, it was only through the struggle of making, and on some lucky occasions and for reasons inexplicable, that this aporia could then be overcome or negotiated, and an object of beauty and significance produced. The making of *The Anathemata* had to negotiate that problem, it is true; but the crucial originality in Jones's ideas and work is that his poem is about that problem, and that it performs the reality of that problem at the same time as attempting to overcome it. The Anathemata is a making about the inescapable necessity of making. As such, this thesis gets to the heart of the situational difficulties Jones sought to outline in 'Art and Sacrament.' In exploring the making of *The Anathemata*, this thesis reassesses David Jones's achievement by focusing on the poet's foundational principle, and so also on the poem's subject in action forming the poem itself.

## III. Methodology, Structure and Aims of this Thesis

The essays collected as *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-textes* (2004) were translated from the French and published in English because the editors felt that "since interest in the materiality of texts is now strong in the English-speaking world,...this collection has the potential to open up new perspectives and broaden the audience for genetic criticism." The valuable introduction begins by describing the paradoxical position of genetic criticism:

It aims to restore a temporal dimension to the study of literature, but it cannot be identified with or derived from traditional literary history or New Historicism. It includes features of reception criticism but is mainly concerned with how texts Unlike Pierre Bourdieu's sociological dismissals of literary pheonomena or psychocriticism's reductively psychoanalytic accounts of them, it remains deeply aware of the text's aesthetic dimensions, and yet it is ever ready to accommodate the agency of sociological forces or psychoanalytic drives into its accounts. It grows out of a structuralist and post-structuralist notion of 'text' as an infinite play of signs, but it accepts a teleological model of textuality and constantly confronts the question of authorship. Like old-fashioned philology or textual criticism, it examines tangible documents such as writers' notes, drafts and proof corrections, but its real object is something much more abstract - not the existing documents but the movement of writing that must be inferred from them. Then, too, it remains concrete, for it never posits an ideal text beyond those documents but rather strives to reconstruct, from all available evidence, the chain of events in a writing process.<sup>51</sup>

Depending on our point of view, then, genetic criticism can be seen to interfere with or to enrich our view of such fundamental notions as textuality, authorship, intentionality, and ways of meaning. In what follows, I will summarise the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Deppman, Ferrer and Groden (2004) 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Deppman, Ferrer and Groden (2004) 2.

history of genetic criticism in France, survey the ripeness of Anglo-American criticism for genetic critical engagement, and briefly explore the kinds of genetic critical studies that have already appeared in English. I will then position my own study in relation to what precedes it.

# (i) The emergence of la critique génétique

In order for the emergence of genetic criticism to have occurred in France, theoretical and material pre-requisites had to be in place. First, the notion of text as an unstable object was required, one in which texts are experienced as "the contingent manifestations of a *diachronous* play of signifiers." For Deppman, Ferrer and Groden, Roland Barthes' 'From Work to Text' (first published in French in 1971) stands as the exemplary statement of such a conception: "Barthes suggestively described text as 'held in language', a 'methodological field,' a 'weave' of signifiers, a 'network', a 'force of subversion', 'plural', and 'caught up in a discourse' in contrast to the literary 'work' as 'held in the hand', a 'fragment of substance', and an 'object of a science of the letter, of philology." Implicit within this conception of the text is a destabilisation of the idea of the singular text, and a view of the pre-publication state of a given text, at the time of its coming-into-being, as just as 'complete' as the published version: as Jean Bellemin-Noël remarks, "what's *before* the published *text* is *already text* and *already the text*." "53

Second, genetic critical work can only be undertaken if the requisite materials are available, and since the mid-nineetenth century onwards author's archives have more and more commonly been preserved.<sup>54</sup> The major turning point for the development of genetic criticism in France came with the purchase by the Bibliothèque National in 1966 of Heinrich Heine's manuscripts. Importantly, this purchase coincided with the shift towards the foregrounding of textuality within

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Deppman and Ferrer's introduction to *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Textes* (2004) 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Jean Bellemin-Noël, 'Psychoanalytic Reading and the Avant-Texte' [first published in French in 1982] in Deppman, Ferrer and Groden (2004) 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Deppman, Ferrer and Groden (2004) 5. The increasing preservation of manuscript materials by authors is linked by Dirk Van Hulle to the self-consciousness that has characterized literature from the Romantic period onwards – see Van Hulle (2004) 8-10.

structuralist and post-structuralist theory. Louis Hay, who would shortly become head of the team of scholars studying the Heine manuscripts, made the case for the legitimacy of the study of process as an end in itself in an article entitled 'Des manuscrits, pour quio faire?' ('Manuscripts: So what?').55 Invigorated by this theoretical efflorescence, a growing number of scholars began working on this object of enquiry - process - and formulating a new theoretical framework and technical vocabulary. Accordingly, Jean Bellemin-Noël's 1972 study Le Texte et l'avant-texte: es Brouillons d'une poèm de Milosz is considered by Deppman, Ferrer and Groden to be "the true beginning of modern French genetic criticism". This work was important in signalling a movement away from the consideration of manuscripts in terms of the conscious intentions of the author, an approach which had seemed to be inextricably linked to manuscript studies through the 1950s and '60s, in spite of the dominance of the nouvelle critique in French literary criticism. The passage Deppman, Ferrer and Groden quote from Bellemin-Noël still stands today as a summational description of one of the central tenets of genetic criticism:

The point is to show to what extent *poems write themselves* despite, or even against, authors who believe they are implementing their writerly craft; to find any uncontrolled (perhaps uncontrollable) forces that were mobilized without the author's knowledge and resulted in a *structure*, to reconstruct the operations by which, in order to form itself, *something transformed itself*, all the while forming that locus of transformation of meaning that we call a text.<sup>56</sup>

The growth of genetic criticism in France was enabled by the institutional support provided by the Centre d'Analyse des Manuscrits (CAM), established in 1976, and which in 1982 became the Institut des Textes et Manuscrits Modernes (ITEM). Under the aegis of this institute, Bellemin-Noël's psychoanalytic focus within genetic criticism was expanded by scholars working on Nerval, Joyce, Flaubert, Valéry and Sartre to take in sociocritical and narratological approaches. The essays collected in *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Textes*, written between 1982 and 1994, undertake genetic critical examinations of Flaubert,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> See Deppman, Ferrer and Groden (2004) 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Jean Bellemin-Noël's book *Le Texte et l'avant-texte: es Brouillons d'une poèm de Milosz* (1972), quoted in Deppman, Ferrer and Groden (2004) 8.

Chateaubriand, Montaigne, Stendhal, Zola, Joyce and Proust, and we thereby learn more about the ways in which those writers worked. But in addition to this, each investigation opens up a new perspective on notions of textuality, literary influence, the embeddeness of the politico-cultural present in writing, form, and autobiography.<sup>57</sup> In other words, genetic criticism, though it may focus on process, finds this focus refracted with the same multiplicity as we find in the diversity of constituent elements within that enterprise we call 'literary criticism'.

## (ii) Uses of genetic criticism in Anglo-American scholarship

As Deppman, Ferrer and Groden point out in *Genetic Criticism*, an interest in the process of writing for its own sake is by no means a new phenomenon in Anglo-American writing. Joseph Spence writing in 1730, and Samuel Johnson in 1779, expressed an interest in investigating the means by which the writing of literature occurs. However, it is only with Edgar Allen Poe's essay 'The Philosophy of Composition', written in 1846, that we see "one of the foundational texts of genetic criticism" emerge. The crucial difference between Poe's account of process and the accounts that preceded it was that Poe conducts a strictly empirical study of his own method of writing 'The Raven', and counters

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> As regards textuality, Pierre-Marc Biasi's 'Toward a Science of Literature: Manuscript Analysis and the Genesis of the Work' (pp.36-68) (first published in French in 1985) shows (among other things) how manuscript study has altered the conception of the 'work' as 'text'; Jacques Neefs' 'With a Live Hand: Three Versions of Textual Transimission (Chateaubriand, Montaigne, Stendhal)' (pp.96-115) (first published in 1986) uses a comparative approach to show how different authors had different attitudes to the finality of their published work; while Jean-Louis Lebrave's 'Hypertexts - Memories - Writing' (pp.218-37) (first published in 1994) explores the difference new technologies might involve in our presentation and conception of texts and avant-textes. Raymonde Debray Genette's 'Flaubert's "A Simple Heart," or How to Make an Ending: A Study of the Manuscripts' (pp.69-95) (first published in 1984) explores the way in which Flaubert dealt with the models of his literary tradition in the completion of his short story. Henri Mitterand, in 'Genetic Criticism and Cultural History: Zola's Rougon-Macquart Dossiers' (pp.116-131) (first published in 1989), explores how historical textures enter, and are retrievable by us as genetic critics from within, a text. As regards form, Daniel Ferrer and Jean-Michel Rabaté's 'Paragraphs in Expansion (James Joyce)' (pp.132-151) (first published in 1989) uses a view of the way Joyce's paragraphs grew to suggest a new concept of what a paragraph is; while Almuth Grésillon, in 'Still Lost Time: Already the Text of the Recherche' (pp.152-70), explores how Proust's repetitions of 'already' and 'not yet' were built up into a grammatico-rhetorical form which interrogates the experience of time. Finally, as regards autobiography, Catherine Viollet, in 'Proust's "Confessions of a Young Girl": Truth or Fiction?' (pp.171-92) (first published in 1991), explores the way Proust dealt with and confessed his own sexuality in the writing of this story; while Philippe Lejeune's 'Auto-Genesis: Genetic Studies of Autobiographical Texts' (pp.193-217) explores how autobiographical texts need to be viewed, and what they can tell us.

what he took to be the myth of inspired creativity in the writing of poetry.<sup>58</sup> Poe's place within the French Symbolist movement is perhaps largely responsible for such concerns with poetic process entering the French rather than the English critical tradition. Indeed, as Deppman, Ferrer and Groden point out, the geneaology of interest in process moves from Poe, through Mallarmé and Valéry, to the French scholars at CAM and ITEM.<sup>59</sup>

So, what of the English tradition? In the twentieth century, many works in English have appeared, prior to the theorisation of a critique génétique, which explore the process of writing. Frank Budgen's James Joyce and the Making of 'Ulysses' (1923), published just one year after Joyce's novel, is a precursor to the emergence of the most extensive genetic critical investigation upon a single author within Anglo-American letters, to which we shall return shortly. More generally, between the late-1950s and the early 1980s, and apparently working against the dominant New Critical orthodoxy, a number of critical works dedicated to examining the writerly methods of Eliot, Yeats, Hardy, Dickinson and Charlotte Brontë appeared. For the French genetic critics, however, these studies can not rightly be described as genetic critical works because they "tended to be pragmatic and not theoretically self-conscious, to consider textuality and intention as unproblematic, and to see the manuscripts exclusively in relation to the subsequent published work."60 As the structuralist and poststructuralist notions of text have gradually come to assume theoretical dominance in Anglophone critical theory over the past thirty years, and as considerations of textuality have become complexified by the writings of such textual critics as Paul Eggert, Donald Reiman, Michael Groden, Jack Stillinger, Peter Shillingsburg, Jerome McGann and D. C. Greetham, what can properly be referred to as 'genetic critical' studies in the style of the French tradition have begun to appear in English.<sup>61</sup>

An overview of Anglo-American textual criticism is helpful here. In the development of Anglo-American textual editing practices – and of theories of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> See Deppman, Ferrer and Groden (2004) 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> See *ibid*. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> See Van Hulle (2004) 21-22.

textuality – over the past forty years, we see a much more gradual movement towards a consideration of text as contingent, unfinished, or unfixed than in the French tradition, in which such a change occurred as a theoretical explosion between 1968 and 1972. Nevertheless, this conception of textuality, which would appear to be a precondition for the emergence of a 'strong' genetic criticism – one which finds infinite process rather than final text – no longer has a whiff of the occult about it: it is relatively mainstream. Prior to this, the socalled Greg-Bowers tradition had predominated in Anglo-American editorial practice from the early twentieth century, up until at least the early-1980s. Editions produced within this tradition sought to construct a single copy-text from published and unpublished material. Walter W. Greg's division of editorial choices into two distinct categories – those affecting the 'substantives', and those the 'accidentals', of the text – was made in order to assist the editor in his or her task, which was to "represent most nearly what the author wrote" or to "come nearest to the author's original."62 The editor did this by weeding out the erroneous accidentals (introduced by printers, editors, and authorial oversight) and restoring the true substantive forms which the author intended for the text. Although the notions of the accidental and substantive receded gradually, copytext theory, which had come to dominate editorial practice in the United States after Fredson Bowers took up Greg's ideas, remained the critical orthodoxy for textual editing until the early-1980s.

The apparent opposition of the Greg-Bowers tradition to the New Criticism is, as Dirk Van Hulle points out in *Textual Awareness: A Genetic Study of the Late Manusrcipts by Joyce, Proust and Mann* (2004), a chimera. Indeed, the foundational precepts of the Greg-Bowers and New Criticism traditions are the same: that such a thing as *the* text exists. In the mid-1980s, this notion began to come under fire from textual editorial theorists.<sup>63</sup> Herschel Parker explicitly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Walter W. Greg, 'Rationale of Copy-Text' (1950-1), quoted in Van Hulle (2004) 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> The second of D. C. Greetham's two types of textual theory – a simple and a complex – came into being at this time. "One [the former] is the theory or theories that drive editorial decisions and editorial display of those decisions. This is, if you will, 'simple' theory, and it may appear to be metaphysical because it may appeal to generalizations about the supposed nature of text. The other [the latter] is the theory ('complex' theory) that responds to the very instability that these individual theories partake of, and emblematize, in their disparate characterizations of text...We may call the first sort of theory Newtonian, since it continually appeals to a metaphysical or universal ground, and the second Einsteinean, since it denies any stable 'place' for meaning or measurement." Greetham (1999) 19.

questioned the notion of the reconstruction of a single text according to authorial intention because authorial intention itself was not singular. Jerome McGann attacked from a different angle; according to McGann, the idea that an author, and an author alone, produced a text was misguided, and so no singular text could be reconstructed by appealing to authorial intention.<sup>64</sup> Even if an editor locates numerous errors in the first edition of a work by comparing it to the manuscript from which the type was set, that edition, with all its 'errors', was still the one that went out into the world, and thus its entry into culture was in that form. In what way, we might ask, is that text less of a text – indeed, in what way is it not more of a text – than the sequestered, ideal and supposedly 'true' state of the text which has never been read? The current state of Anglo-American textual editorial theory finds the notion of 'text' being described as, among other things, a 'palimpsest' of all its past states, as the locus of 'family resemblances' between versions, as a 'fluid' - all of which, of course, imply flux and contingency, and thus destabilise a singular notion of textuality.<sup>65</sup> It is within this theoretical climate - one in which, to use D. C. Greetham's phrase, the "de-naturalizing of textual practice" is a guiding principle – that genetic criticism has begun to emerge in Anglo-American scholarship. 66 I will now present an overview of the development of genetic critical work on Joyce in order to provide an exemplary account of what Anglo-American genetic criticism has been able to achieve.

Joyce left an enormous quantity of pre-publication material in the form of manuscripts and notebooks to Harriet Shaw Weaver after his death. Weaver donated most of this material to the British Museum (the manuscript department of which was later subsumed within the British Library). Ever since, the genetic Joyce industry has been growing. Fred Higginson's *Anna Livia Plurabelle: The Making of A Chapter* (1960), although its methods of presentation are now outdated, nevertheless enables the reader to see how each draft stage of the writing of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' developed out of its predecessor. In the late-1970s, the British Library (and other) Joyce documents were published in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> See Van Hulle (2004) 25-26.

<sup>65</sup> Van Hulle (2004) 37-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Greetham (1999) 5. According to Greetham, textual editorial practice has lagged behind these destabilized theories of textuality because editing is so time-consuming. See Greetham (1999) 2-4.

twenty volumes, and Joyce's notebooks, held by the University of Buffalo, in sixteen volumes, both as part of *The James Joyce Archive*. This led in turn to the publication of a number of properly genetic critical studies, the earliest and still one of the most comprehensive of these being David Hayman's *The 'Wake' In Transit* (1981).

Geert Lernout, surveying the genetic critical landscape in Joyce studies in 'The Finnegans Wake Notebooks and Radical Philology', published in Probes (1995), observes that David Hayman was practising a form of genetic criticism comparable with the French critique génétique several years prior to the theorization of the French discipline. The first properly genetic critical study of Joyce, says Lernout, was Hayman's 'From Finnegans Wake: A Sentence in Progress', published in March 1958, a full eight years before Louis Hay started working on the manuscripts of Heinrich Heine.<sup>67</sup> However, Lernout also draws attention to the fact that, after the publication of facsimiles of the notebooks and manuscripts of Finnegans Wake by the James Joyce Archive in 1978, Claude Jacquet, Jean-Michel Rabate, Daniel Ferrer and Laurent Milesi founded the Joyce Studies Group in France in 1982, which was affiliated with ITEM, which as we know was the home of the French critique génétique. 68 Thus, institutional support for genetical critical work on Joyce was provided in France, but not in the UK, Ireland, or North America. Indeed, as Lernout states, "the pressure on young academics to publish quickly and regularly, makes work on the notebooks effectively impossible. Who can afford to invest a couple of years' work in a project that may only yield a twenty-page article? A formalist or feminist or deconstructionist reading of the Wake requires a lot less time and energy and yields much more marketable results."69 By contrast, scholarly work within ITEM in France has the expectation of long hours and few results institutionally written into its research agenda. Thus, while genetic critical work on Joyce has continued to be produced in English, it has been far surpassed by both the volume and critical reach of the work in French.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> In *PMLA* LXIII (March 1958): pp.136-154. See Lernout (1995) 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> See Lernout (1995) 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Lernout (1995) 47-8.

Anglo-American genetic criticism, whether a result of this or not, remains slight, and less theoretically engaged. For example, the most recent genetic critical study of Joyce's last work, How Joyce Wrote 'Finnegans Wake', edited by Luca Crispi and Sam Slote, and published in 2007, attempts only to provide a detailed description of Joyce's method of writing through a meticulous survey of the notebooks and manuscripts; it does not engage with wider contexts – be they sociocritical or theoretical – at all. 70 Joyce is treated as if he were writing in an ahistorical vacuum, and the theoretical implications as regards notions of writing and textuality remain uninterrogated. Moreover, in some essays in the collection, the genetic approach – though its purpose is presented in the introduction as being to "understand the writing as a process rather than reduce its complexity" - regresses (theoretically speaking) into literary critical hermeneutics to uncover the 'true' meanings of parts of the published text.<sup>71</sup> This is all the more surprising in view of the fact that two of the three editors of Genetic Criticism contribute essays to How Joyce Wrote 'Finnegans Wake', and the other (Groden) writes the Preface.<sup>72</sup> Overall, *How Joyce Wrote 'Finnegans Wake'* might be treated as an intermediate state in the digestion of the vast amount of material Joyce left: the essays perhaps await the work of others to turn their critical minds upon more wide-ranging implications of Joyce's methods. Far more interesting, in my view, is the approach taken by Dirk Van Hulle in Textual Awareness A Genetic Study of the Late Manuscripts by Joyce, Proust and Mann  $(2004)^{73}$ 

The very title of Van Hulle's book implicitly stakes the claim that theoretical questions are inextricably linked to the empirical study of manuscripts within genetic criticism: through *genetic study* we will increase our *textual awareness*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> A kind of obverse of this is Lawrence Rainey's *Revisiting 'The Waste Land'* (2005), which does engage with literary historical and sociocritical influences on Eliot's writing, but makes no contribution to the theorization of genetic criticism, nor uses its enquiry as a springboard to remark on other theoretical issues

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> For example, R. J. Schork concludes 'Genetic Primer: Chapter I.6' by stating that "without the application of a modicum of genetic techniques most of these [preceding] insights would lie obscured by the series of little clouds that Joyce arranged to dance over the surface of *Finnegans Wake*." Crispi and Slote (2007) 139. This conception of genetic criticism, being concerned less with process as an object of study than with decoding the final text, is at odds with the presiding view of geneticists, and of myself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> See Groden's Preface (pp.vii-xi); Deppman's 'A Chapter in Composition: Chapter II.4' (pp.304-46); and Ferrer 'Wondrous Devices in the Dark: Chapter III.4 (pp.410-35) in Crispi and Slote (2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> It should be noted that Van Hulle also contributed the same kind of 'hermetic' Joyce essay to the latter collection. See Van Hulle, 'The Lost Word: Book IV', in Crispi and Slote (2007) 436-61.

In the introduction, Van Hulle explores this link, and finds that the closer we interrogate the transition from a writing in process (manuscript) to a 'finished' text (book), the more the unfinishedness of all texts becomes inevitable fact:

There is a constant tension between the finished and the unfinished, especially in modernist texts where the time lost in writing them becomes thematic, reflecting a poetics of process – which is the central theme of this book [*Textual Awareness*]. This poetics of process throws into relief the somewhat strained relationship between literary and textual criticism, and the mediating role of genetic criticism...Literary critics tend to take the text for granted by assuming that the words on which they base their interpretations are an unproblematical starting point...A rapprochement can be effectuated by genetic criticism, a form of literary criticism that tries to be as aware of textual uncertainties as textual critics are.<sup>74</sup>

Van Hulle's chapter on *Finnegans Wake*, after providing a detailed chronology of the making of the book, focuses on the roles Jones's amanuenses played in altering the text. Such non-authorial alterations were either adapted as serendipitous textual 'improvements', were rejected, or went unnoticed by Joyce. The fact that textual editors cannot definitively discover which of these categories every part of Joyce's text belongs to in the production of a final text leads van Hulle to the view that *Finnegans Wake* was always still *Work in Progress*.75

The opening part of Van Hulle's study engages with an important aspect of genetic critical enquiry which had not been explored before: the textual critical traditions of Germany, England and France, and their several notions of genetic criticism. Van Hulle is concerned with tracing not only the vertical relationships between textual editorial practices within each tradition, but also the horizontal relationships – that is to say, commonalities and differences between the features of German, Anglo-American and French editorial practice over the past hundred or so years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Van Hulle (2004) 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 95-113 and 155-8.

Sally Bushell's *Text as Process: Creative Composition in Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Dickinson* (2009) explores the same context for the emergence of genetic criticism, but, unlike Van Hulle, then goes on to explore in depth how a specifically Anglo-American genetic criticism might be theorized and so be encouraged to emerge. One of the major aims of Bushell's book is to address a fundamental question: why has a recognizably Anglo-American genetic criticism not so far emerged?<sup>76</sup> Bushell's reaction to this absence is to attempt, in the opening three chapters of *Text as Process*, to synthesize a theoretical foundation for the emergence of a specifically and characteristically Anglo-American critical approach to the process of writing.

After describing recent work relating to textual process in Germany and France, and the relation of this work to their native theoretical and practical inheritances, Bushell proposes that an Anglo-American genetic criticism, if it is to emerge, needs to address the relationship it has with its critical heritage. Bushell's book is an attempt to negotiate these terms, and she does this by focusing on the problem of intention. "For the purposes of this book," Bushell writes,

the question to be asked is simple: To what extent is an intentional context a necessary context for the interpretation of meaning? I want to suggest that we can agree with Heidegger, Gadamer, and Derrida that it is not a necessary context for the interpretation of a completed work of art but to acknowledge that it *is* a necessary context for the interpretation of the coming-into-being of a work of art.<sup>77</sup>

Pre-empting further objections from phenomenologists, Bushell goes on to make the following important statement:

Reader and writer are both retroactively placing intention onto text, but the difference is that for the writer, this is not just a question of interpretation or self-interpretation but part of an active process and event: a sequence of acts will

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Indeed, the very title of Sally Bushell's earlier "Intention Revisited: Towards an Anglo-American 'Genetic Criticism'" (2005) reveals how the practice of genetic criticism in English cannot be said to participate in a 'movement'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Bushell (2009) 54.

follow from that reappropriation. For the writer at the time of writing, unlike for the reader, the draft text is still open to change so that the reading of intentions into it also results in acts on the page and changes to the language. I accept that there are limits to the retroactive reconstruction of such intentions on the part of the reader (and that we can still only access a writerly experience indirectly). Nonetheless, intention as a complex and changing sequence of acts must emerge as having a considerable role to play in our understanding of text as process.<sup>78</sup>

Accordingly, in the third chapter of *Text as Process*, Bushell outlines a typology for literary composition which is structured according to different intentional functions. Thus we find programmatic intention, contingent intention, intention-as-action (micro-intentionality), unfulfilled and revised intention, unintentional meaning, and non-authorial intention outlined as factors requiring consideration in the view of process.<sup>79</sup> The *critique génétique* may be the leading school of criticism of literary process, but it has almost exclusively dealt with prose. Bushell's typology is especially valuable in the context of my own study because it was formulated in relation to the examination of the process of writing poetry.

I only read *Text as Process* after completing a first draft of this thesis. As a result, the theoretical position which Bushell stakes out did not play a part in guiding my hypotheses or methods. Although the absence of such a structuring typology to my research might have been a hindrance – with Bushell, I found Pierre-Marc de Biasi's typology to be too heavily oriented upon the novel<sup>80</sup> – it did enable me to assemble ad hoc methods for the study of Jones's poetic process based on hypotheses freely established during the process of reading through the enormous amount of material in the 'David Jones Papers' archive at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth. And one highly significant discovery of my research as far as an Anglo-American genetic criticism is concerned is that, when I came to read *Text as Process*, its typology of literary composition tallied with my own findings in relation to Jones. Bushell's typology is in my view a good

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 55-56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Each of these different types of intention involves (usually) distinct practical manifestations in the writing of a work, and so is identifiable. For a complete list, see *Ibid* 72-4.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid* 71-2. See also Biasi and Wassenaar (1996) 26-58.

framework for conducting research towards the study of poetic process. It is a valuable resource for any genetic critics beginning his or her research into poetic process.

In Bushell's seventh and final chapter, she proposes a philosophy of composition based largely on Heidegger's approach to process in *Being and Time* (1927). The final part of this chapter – 'A Very Brief Conclusion: The Hermeneutic Circle' – transposes the theorized function of the hermeneutic circle as the process towards knowledge onto the process of writing. This had already been approached by Bushell in her chapter on Wordsworth thus: "The hermeneutic circle can help us to understand textual process in terms of a doubled (or even trebled) model of interpretation for compositional material. That is, it concerns the reader seeking to understand both the text as work of art and in terms of the making of meaning, but it also concerns the writer-as-reader, reinterpreting his or her own acts to advance composition." The notion of the writer as reader is dependent on the experience of the same text in different ways by the same person:

The text as process does not have a stable authorial meaning; the whole of which it is a part does not exist in its entirety at the time of writing. As a result, the coming-into-being of the text holds three temporal interpretative dimensions: the writer at the time of active composition moving between part and whole; the reader (or the writer, later) responding to the entirety of process after it is complete; and the reader responding actively by engagement with process (as part of a process of self-enlargement).<sup>81</sup>

In the course of my research, I have continually been struck by the inescapable necessity of this reciprocal writer-reader-writer movement for the development of a long poem; and I have been likewise struck by the necessity of treating manuscript materials in a very different way to that accorded to published texts. The manuscript sheet is always a *present inscription*, one caught and sustained in a tension between past and future states. This tension rears up as the writer rereads his or her work. *Text as Process* is an important precursor to this thesis,

<sup>81</sup> Bushell (2009) 159.

and I refer to it throughout.

To summarise, in my view the biggest barrier to this emergence is a continued resistance in Anglo-American letters to focusing on process as an end of literary study – it seems not even to strike critics as a worthwhile object of inquiry. If we turn momentarily to the comments of Graham Falconer (writing in 1993), a selfprofessed 'genetic critic' of English language works, we see a complete absence of engagement with process: "[b]y Genetic Criticism...I mean any act of interpretation or commentary, any critical question or answer that is based directly on preparatory material or variant states of all or part of a given text, whether in manuscript or in print."82 Although Falconer's definition does not say that such acts of 'interpretation or commentary' will use those materials in order to elucidate the text as published, neither does it focus on process. The problem, as I see it, is that if the object of enquiry in using pre-publication material is not explicitly stated as being writerly process, a New Critical squeamishness takes hold of literary (though of course not textual) critics when they think about the possible uses of such material.<sup>83</sup> David Hayman, in his introduction to *Probes* (1995), defines 'genetic studies' as "the use of manuscript materials to prove minor points," which is both more vague and further removed from implicating process in the object of study.<sup>84</sup> It may be helpful, then, if I provide my own definition of genetic criticism: genetic criticism, as I see it, is the study of the process of writing through empirical investigation of the material remains of that process. This, as we have seen, might be an end in itself, but that type of genetic criticism which pursues further theoretical or contextual investigation is, in my view, the most interesting.

### (iii) Uses of this thesis

An important question to ask at this point is: Where does this thesis fit in with

<sup>82</sup> Falconer (1993) 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Bushell is well aware of this critical antipathy to process. One of her main aims is stated as follows: "I want to validate process as an object of analysis in its own right and to consider textual material in a state of process in a way that allows for its difference from the published or printed text." Bushell (2009) 32.

<sup>84</sup> Hayman and Slote (1995) 11.

the tangled history of genetic criticism outlined above? The thesis itself will provide the full answer to that question; but I should remark that I draw methodologically, and in terms of how I wish to present my findings, upon all of the precedent works I have mentioned. I attempt always to provide a comprehensive account of Jones's process of writing, and how the material evidence of the David Jones Papers lead us there – the approach used by the the contributors to How Joyce Wrote 'Finnegans Wake'. But I also seek to build on this view of Jones's method of writing (as do Deppman, Ferrer and Groden in Genetic Criticism, Lernout in Textual Awareness, and Bushell in Text as Process) by investigating how such a view informs the further consideration of a number of contextual and theoretical issues. These further considerations are, broadly speaking, the contemporary literary attitudes to fragmentary form (in chapter 1), the interstress of writing and reading in the conceptualization of the work as a whole (in chapter 2), the historical and philosophical impacts on the gradual construction of a poetics which meets the demands of that conceptualized whole (chapters 3 and 4), and notions of textuality (chapter 5).

There is also a literary-historical strain running through this thesis. Jones's belief that specific historical pressures shared by artists in an epoch led to similar forms being deployed by them in their work – "the common tongue of the Zeitgeist" (IN 23; VW 20) - implies that a discernibly modernist process of literary composition might be observed from a view of writers' manuscripts. Although this thesis seeks to discover how The Anathemata was made, I refer to accounts of other modernist makings - particularly The Waste Land (1922) and Finnegans Wake (1939), the two most important contemporary texts for Jones, whose makings are both well-documented. Finnegans Wake, as we have seen, has become probably the most written about work in English-language genetic criticism. Likewise, the making of The Waste Land, because its manuscript has been available in facsimile since 1971 and is of a manageable scale, has been The features of these three makings, although they vary addressed. considerably, exhibit a set of commonalities which I think is specific to that epoch, but by no means those artists. These commonalities centre upon intentionality, dialectical tension (which relates to Bushell's notion of the role of the hermeneutic circle in the act of writing), and the unendingness of the makerly task.

Throughout this thesis I propose that *The Anathemata* is constructed under a guiding principle of self-opposition. Jones wrote of his earliest experiments in 1938 that it was about "how everything is a balls-up and a kind of 'Praise' at the same time" (*DGC* 86). Thus, Jones's programmatic intention is of a curious kind: the poem's purpose is to illuminate *towards* rather than *away from* paradox. Jones's basic premise never changes, but he develops more and more sophisticated ways of implementing such oppositional co-presences. Earlier in the same year, Jones had written to his closest friend Harman Grisewood of his drawbacks as a writer:

My equipment as a writer is very severely limited by not being a scholar, and for the kind of writing I want to do you really do have to have so much *information* and know such a lot about *words* that I can't really believe I can do it except in a limited way.

(DGC 83)

The discovery by Jones of the amphibolic title 'The Anathemata' in 1945 signals an important moment at which he achieved 'the kind of writing' he was not capable of seven years before. 'Anathemata' are votive objects, but as Jones states in his Preface, it is intended that the reader also experience the word 'anathema' through the pun on the longer derivative, and thus experience a 'duality': 'anathema' originally signifying something blessed, but later coming to signify something cursed (*Ana* 28-9). Thus, this discovery was also the discovery of the potential for a performative poetics, one in which the smallest individual components of the poem are made to exhibit this self-opposed structure. Jones gradually amassed a whole complex of oppositions which were brought into dialectical tension with one another within the fabric of his poem, from the smallest to the largest scale: blessed/cursed, sacred/profane, high/low, gratuitous/utile. Such oppositions are of course a common feature of modernist writing, and indeed of pre-modernist writing. My proposition, though, is that these oppositions, in being felt for the first time to be irresolvable and felt

moreover as *the* dominant epochal force, led to certain characteristic writerly practices and forms. Thus we find the same amphibolic structure in Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*, in which the omission of the apostrophe forces us to read both Finnegan's Wake (the funerary wake of the drunken Finnegan from the Irish ballad) and Finnegans: Wake! (all Finnegans directed to wake from sleep): death and waking are thus wreathed together in a single form. I will argue that, in the act of writing, the demands of this modernist experience of reality required a certain profile to the relative amplitudes of the different kinds of intention (or non-intention) involved in that making.

What we will see in the course of this thesis is that Jones engaged with the aporia of his ideas by setting up dialectical oppositions in his poem which never attain to a closed and unproblematic synthesis. This places his system - and I believe it is not inappropriate to call The Anathemata a system, for it expresses a worldview - in contrast to the Thomist system which formed the basis of his approach. But also – and of greater import in this thesis, which looks at eventual form in terms of the process of the making of that form - those dialectical tensions were an integral part of the poem's genesis. So, in addition to addressing theoretical aspects from the springboard of a genetic critical method, each of the five chapters also addresses a different dialectical tension or movement which was a feature of the making of *The Anathemata* and places it in the context of modernism. These are (1) the fragment of writing as intrinsically 'whole', (2) the 'centre' of the writing continually shifting to undermine its 'schema', (3) an increasing focus on the material state of language as a means of greater universal (immaterial) signification, (4) the adequate expression of the inexpressible through a recognition of inadequacy, and (5) the tension between completion and incompletion at publication. These are all specific to Jones; but in each case I relate Jones's particular dialectical struggle to its cultural context and suggest, where possible, common features with other modernist makings. These five dialectical oppositions constitute, I believe, the primary difficulties or preoccupations for the modernist writer.

So, the many different directions in which this thesis travels will show at least in

part, I hope, the extent to which genetic critical engagement can lead us to discover new perspectives on broader theoretical and literary historical issues. However, as the main object of study of this thesis is Jones's method of making The Anathemata, and as the process of making is a process, and thus temporal, the structure of this thesis is predominantly mediated by the chronology of that making process. We begin in 1937 when, after publishing In Parenthesis, Jones began thinking about his next book; and we end in November 1952, when The Anathemata was published. However, I do dip into Jones's memories of his childhood and young adulthood where appropriate, and also look at Jones's treatment of his poem in the years following its publication. A chronological view of the making of the poem is of course a common-sense approach when what we are addressing is a process in time, but it also has a rigorous critical foundation: as Jones made his poem, different aspects of the making process became more or less important. As a result, this thesis is also structured thematically. Chapter divisions demarcate the ascendancy of different makerly functions. What I found in the course of this research is that whilst writerly method, overall intention, specific poetic, and attention to readerly effect were simultaneously and interdependently operative concerns for Jones in the making of The Anathemata, the relative dominance of each of these functions altered, in the order stated. So, the first chapter addresses the development (between 1937 and 1943) of Jones's method; the second, the development of the poem as a concept (1941-45); the third and fourth, the development of an adequate poetic (1945-50); and the fifth, the way that Jones worked to present the final form of his poem to the reader (1950-52).

# ♦ 1 ♦

# "Fragments of an attempted writing"

The development of a method, 1938-44

In his Preface to The Anathemata, written in the summer of 1951, David Jones tells us that his poem "had its beginnings in experiments made from time to time between 1938 and 1945" (Ana 14). Nearly twenty years later, he wrote that "by hindsight the stuff was perhaps a bit like 'sketches' or 'try-outs', that visual artists might make for a work they intended subsequently to make, but that's not true either, for I thought of it as a thing itself and moreover a continuous thing" (TL 19). Significantly, in Jones's analogy he is not among the visual artists to whom he refers: he never made preparatory sketches; and if he worked with previously made works close at hand, they were only converted into sketches or try-outs post factum by their co-option into acting as the basis for a new making.<sup>85</sup> Every piece of work Jones engaged upon, in writing or painting, was a thing in itself – it was never subordinate to a future 'beginning proper' at its point of making. This is one of the major reasons for Jones's use of the infantryman as an analogue for the artist: both are involved in direct manual engagement, without forward planning (the officers, whom Jones disdained (see E&A 183), are the planners), in an activity fraught with a risk consequent upon the vagaries of chance. In this chapter, I examine how the experiments of 1938-45 discovered for Jones a method of writing which, in the absence of a narrative form to motivate his continuing work, propelled the making onwards but also allowed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> See Blissett (1981) 11.

chance to gain a dominant role. This method, I argue, was a characteristically modernist method of the fragment.

# I. The Problem of Makerly Impetus

### (i) The challenge of the formal whole

In an unpublished fragment written in 1941, David Jones assembled an exemplary list of art objects which "show in this little what gradation / & tangle of being the school-doctors please to / call order" (DJP LR8/6.1). Under this formulation, the 'showing' of art comes closer to grasping being than the 'calling' of even the scholastics whom Jones revered.86 Art can 'show' forth the tangle of being; philosophy or theology, in systematizing it, must necessarily refine that tangle into a logical representation – they 'call it order'. This must necessarily create problems for the artist whose artistic project is also a philosophical one. The earliest mention Jones makes, in May 1938, of the first writing he was engaged upon after the publication of In Parenthesis makes it clear that such a combination is at play: "this effort is, I fear, about 'ideas', the one thing I have always disliked in poetry" (DGC 86). These ideas, as we have seen in the Introduction, though logical and internally coherent in themselves, are tangled in aporia because of Jones's place in and reaction to "the present technocracy" (E&A 181). One of Jones's major challenges was to present aporetic ideas within an aesthetic whole.

That unity was the aim of the artist was never in question for Jones. The work of art, he maintained in an essay written during the Second World War, "must gather in all things. All must be 'integrated', all are 'necessary to the completion of the whole' as the dictionary defines it". Jones then asks the question which must be fundamental for the artist at work: "but what *is* that whole?" Significantly, no answer to this question is given in the essay.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> There are several Thomists and neo-Thomists among the people Jones quotes or acknowledges as influential to the writing of *The Anathemata* in the Preface: Jacques Maritain, Martin D'Arcy, Fr Gilby, Duns Scotus and, of course, Thomas Aquinas (see *Ana* 36-39).

In the Preface to *The Anathemata*, Jones asserts that the poet's work is "bound up with the particular historic complex to which he, together with each other member of that complex, belongs" (Ana 19). The writers working in the midtwentieth century are therefore impelled by the shape of their historic complex to admit an absence of order. A requisite 'now-ness' would appear to present demands upon a making in opposition to the very core principle of the maker, who is "concerned with the proper integration and perfection of a shape" (Ana 30). The modernist concern with the creation of the total artwork, that which might 'gather in all things' - exemplified by Finnegans Wake, the Cantos, and The Anathemata – involves an aesthetic face-off between the desire for an aesthetic whole and the embodiment of a culture which is experienced as fragmentary. Jones's belief that the work of art should be a 'whole', but also that it should reflect the historic complex within which it is made, would appear, then, to be trapped in irresolvable opposition. The only conceivable solution would be to resolve the self-negation, and for a thing to be able to be both whole and fragmentary. The implication of this, though, was that a preconceived whole would be reductive and thus inadequate - hence the absence of any answer to Jones's question 'What is that whole?'

In this opening section, I examine how Jones – like many others of his time – sought to liberate himself from the accepted and outworn structuring principles of perspective and narrative which imposed a reductive whole upon the act of making. I then look at his attempts – working at the nexus of a muddle of ideas, a fragmented culture, and a tangle of being – to find a new and non-reductive 'whole' in his acts of making.

# (ii) Movements away from perspective and narrative

"It is one of my few convictions," wrote David Jones in the Preface to *The Anathemata*, "that what goes for one art goes for all of 'em, in some sense or other" (*Ana* 34). As both painter and poet, perspective and narrative order were increasingly regarded by Jones as foreclosing the adequate representation of

modernity – they were retreats from the demands of 'now-ness' in the arts. In a very practical sense, we will see that what went for one did indeed go for the other: the developments Jones made as a painter led his development as a writer, and vice versa. This was particularly so in the period 1928-32 when Jones wrote *In Parenthesis* and produced a vast number of watercolours.

On 14 April 1928, Jones travelled with the Gills to Paris and met Jim and Helen Ede. <sup>87</sup> During this rare visit abroad, Jones had almost certainly his first experience of Picasso's work. <sup>88</sup> Jones described this experience in a draft letter to *The Times* in 1945: "[Picasso] is the master of the Eclectic in a big[?] way & always creates *new form* from his juxtapositions ransacked from the old traditions & rythms [sic]...The last time I saw any big ones all together was in a house in Paris in 1928 – & I shall not forget it" (*DJP* CF2/19). This experience is as important as it is uncommented upon. <sup>89</sup>

Over the four years following this experience, Jones's painting became much more explicitly concerned with the exploration of abstract forms, though still within a representational mode. In the garden pictures Jones painted in 1926, looking from the window of his parents' house in Brockley, we see a number of terraced gardens stretch out in a line within the ordering scheme of Jones's single-point perspective; for example, in *The Suburban Order* (1926) (see Figure 1). Two years later, in *Landscape at the Coast* (1928), Jones's landscapes remain tied to the creation of an illusion of three-dimensional depth on the two-dimensional plain (see Figure 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> See Miles and Shiel (1995) 106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Jones probably knew at least some of Picasso's work in reproduction in view of his teacher at Camberwell College of Art, Bernard Meninsky, being an advocate of Post-Impressionism and its successive movements, amongst them, of course, Cubism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Jones's development during this period is described in Miles and Shiel (1995) 126-130. The authors are not aware of Jones having seen Picasso's work during his Paris visit.





Figure 1 – 'The Suburban Order' (1926)

Figure 2 – 'Landscape at the Coast' (1928)

After 1930, however, this perspectival rendering of his landscapes begins to break down. In *Trade Ship Passes Ynys Byr* (1931) (Figure 3), perspective as an ordering principle is still prevalent in the waves approaching the shoreline and in the sweep of the bay and the horizon above; and yet this ordering principle is subverted by the inchoate forms present in other parts of the painting: the continuation of the blue wash from sea to cliff-face to the right leads us to believe we are seeing through the rock; the depthless scrawl of the ocean in the right half contradicts the perspectival structure of the water in the left; and the ship in the top right emphasizes the difference between the two halves of the painting by appearing to be intent upon steaming from two-dimensional, post-impressionist space, into the illusionistic three-dimensional space (with the horizon beyond and waves before) in the left half of the painting.



Figure 3 – 'Trade Ship Passes Ynys Byr' (1931)

Made a year later, *Cattle in the Park* (1932) (Figure 4) contains even slighter gestures towards the illusion of depth of field. The fences at the left and right extremities of the painting are all that guides our experience of three-dimensional space. All else is in a riot of colour and line, and the cattle – profile and line – might have come straight out of the caves at Lascaux.



Figure 4 – 'Cattle in the Park' (1932)

In the same four year period we have covered above, Jones wrote almost all of *In Parenthesis*, in which a desire for order is continually expressed by the infantrymen, and particularly by Private John Ball, its central character. Moreover, the very title of the poem implies such an ordering: the taking place of action between two temporal limits:

This writing is called 'In Parenthesis' because I have written it in a kind of space between – I don't know between quite what – but as you turn aside to do something; and because for us amateur soldiers...the war itself was a parenthesis – how glad we thought we were to step outside its brackets at the end of '18 – and also because our curious type of existence here is altogether in parenthesis.

(IP xv)

As the soldiers of B company, nearing the frontline, stop for the night, the text has them attend to their surroundings in efforts at domestication: "The more contriving had already sought out nails and hooks on which to hang their gear for the night, and to arrange, as best they might, their allotted flooring. They would make order, for however brief a time, and in whatever wilderness" (*IP* 22). This desire for the orderly is portrayed as the shared experience of the infantry, whose normal habitat is profoundly alienated from domesticity, an alienation which the officers are able to avoid:

H.Q.-wallahs, Base-wallahs and all Staff-wallahs are canteen-wallahs, who snore-off with the lily-whites; but these [the infantrymen] sit in the wilderness, pent like lousy rodents all the day long; appointed scape-beasts come to the waste-lands, to grope; to stumble at the margin of familiar things – at the place of separation.

(IP 70)

The infantrymen of *In Parenthesis*, as they approach the front, come ever closer to knowing that 'place of separation'. John Ball's first experience of an enemy battery reveals how the chaos of war subverts all order: "Then the pent violence released and consummation of all burstings out; all sudden up-rendings and rivings-through – all taking-out of vents – all barrier-breaking – all unmaking" (*IP* 24). Here, the dashed disjunctive syntax registers a climactic 'unmaking', a term which in Jones's lexicon signifies that which is manifestly against man. At the 'place of separation', the infantryman is taken beyond his powers of endurance: here, syntax – and so, symbolically, reason; and so man – is unmade.

Such syntactic disjunction becomes more and more common in the poem as the infantrymen of B Company become engulfed in war. However, the narrative structure of *In Parenthesis* does what the memory of the experience of events in time does: it compartmentalizes, it controls – it orders. The 'unmaking' which John Ball experiences steps back into explicable time by being narrated, and is neatly put into the past experiences of the soldiers – as well as of the reader. Early on in the poem, in a description of the soldiers hurrying to ready themselves for moving off from camp in the morning, we are made aware that

this will *always* be the case in such a narrative poem: "The last few moments came, and became the past" (*IP* 16).

In making *In Parenthesis*, Jones built a chronological account of one man's experience of the First World War. The form of the poem gives predominance to time, which indifferently consumes and compartmentalises as *past* both the small ritualised and domesticating acts of the soldiers and the overwhelming chaos of the experiences they endure. If soldiers returning from the Great War felt unable to speak of their experiences – unable ever again to be storytellers, as Walter Benjamin has written – it was because the story necessarily reduces to paradigm. The story becomes a lie because it tells only what can be known – 'Narrative', 'narration', 'to narrate' derive from Latin *gnárus* ('knowing', 'acquianted with', 'expert', 'skilful') and *narró* ('relate', 'tell') from the Sanskrit root *gnâ* ('know'). Narration is bound up with the commensurable; to tell is to control.

In the above accounts of *In Parenthesis*, the poem's making, the experience it depicts, and the nature of life itself are combined in Jones's title. In all cases, time unfolds between limits. In view of Jones's take on the ideal relationship of form and content in a work – "There must be 'form' so wedded to 'content' that the twain are, in the greatest works, one, and in the lesser works, at least an intention of that oneness." (*DJP* LO1-4.131) – a temporally consistent narrative form is entirely appropriate to the content of the poem. <sup>92</sup> If we move from a consideration of the final form of the poem to a view of the process of its making, we find that the two are intimately connected: the narrative form of *In Parenthesis* made the writing of the poem possible, as Jones himself stated in a letter of 1938: "*IP* was chained to a sequence of events which made it always a straightforward affair" (*DGC* 86).

However, In Parenthesis does contain significant lacunae in its temporal narrative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> See Benjamin (1992) 83-107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> This etymology is taken from the second footnote to page 1 of Hayden White's 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> In 'Welsh Poetry' (1957), Jones praises James Joyce's "unflinching integrity" in his efforts to achieve a "total oneness of form and content." (*E&A* 63)

order, the most obvious and prolonged of these being Dai's Boast in Part IV (*IP* 79-84). In his Boast, Dai asserts his (impossible) presence and significance at a number of battles throughout history. He does so in a declamatory, repetitive form; nothing else happens over the course of these four pages. As such, the Boast acts outside the formal terms of the poem in resisting its temporal unfolding. If we explore the chronology of the writing of *In Parenthesis*, we find (I believe) that such a formal alternative to narrative, and indeed its necessity in the act of writing, was discovered in a single, pivotal moment in Jones's life.

Jones began writing In Parenthesis in 1927-8, and, as the commemorative note to the final page of his manuscript attests, he completed the poem in draft form "at Pigotts Aug 18 1932" (DJP LP2/8.281). Within just a few months of this, Jones experienced the first of two major nervous breakdowns, as a result of which his poem was not proofed and published until 1937. In a letter written in 1963, Jones describes having recently received the manuscript for *In Parenthesis* back from Denis Tegetmeier: "It tells me an interesting thing that I was very surprised about. At the conclusion of Part 7 it says 'finished at Pigotts Aug 18th 1932'. The notes and Preface were written mainly at Sidmouth in 1935 - that I knew, but I thought I did bits of the text between 1932 and 1935" (DGC 194). Writing nine years earlier to W. H. Auden in 1954, Jones similarly appears to recall a later stage of writing than that recorded in his colophon: "for a number of reasons the Preface and notes were not written till 1936 but the text was virtually finished by 1933" (DGC 161). The central part of In Parenthesis, Dai's Boast, was written as an insertion to the manuscript, numbered 149i-iii, and so goes between pages 149 and 150 of the manuscript draft (see DJP LP2/5.36-39). That the text was only virtually finished before his breakdown suggests that it was only with the inclusion of the central Boast that the poem became *fully* finished, and this after the summer of 1932. But when exactly might this have occurred?

The insertional code 149i-iii implies but does not certify a stage of writing after the 'completion' of the manuscript in the summer of 1932. However, if we look at the typescript, which was made in 1935, we see that, whilst the Boast is an integral part of the text (i.e. is not an insertion to the typescript) this part of the typescript has been altered more substantially than the rest. This would tend to indicate that this part of the writing had only recently entered the text, and so invited embellishments, alterations, and corrections to a greater degree than other parts of the text. On this evidence, I would suggest that the Boast was written after Jones's visit to Jerusalem in 1934, and that its form was suggested by a recognisably modernist epiphany. Jones recalled this visit in a letter written in 1971 to Saunders Lewis.

In 1934 I went, or was taken, to Cairo to stay a few weeks with Ralf and Marya Hagari, because the sea trip was considered good for my blasted breakdown, and from Egypt I went by air to Lydda and by car to Jerusalem... [F]rom my window which faced south, with the Mount of Olives on my left and east...suddenly I caught sight of a figure who carried me back a couple of decades or thereabouts, the very familiar stance of the figure, rather bored, indifferent glance toward a closely grouped fiercely gesticulating Palestinians.[...]

But occasionally I saw either from my window or in mouching around, a squad of these figures that seen singly evoked comparisons of twenty years back, in the Nord or the Pais de Calais or the Somme. But now in their full parade rig...evoked not the familiar things of less than two decades back, but rather of two millenia close on[...]

(TL 22)

Jones's convalescent visit to Jerusalem, I would argue, was the germinating event which allowed him, over the following ten years, to conceptualise a long non-narrative poem about man-the-maker. When he saw the Roman troops of the first century and the British troops of the twentieth century within a single time and place, Jones experienced a 'fitting together' – "the word art means a fitting together" (*E&A* 151) – of history and myth.

A comparison with Proust's narrator's tea and madeleine experience is useful here.

But when from a long-distant past nothing subsists, after the people are dead, after the things are broken and scattered, taste and smell alone, more

fragile but more enduring, more immaterial, more persistent, more faithful, remain poised a long time, like souls, remembering, waiting, hoping, amid the ruins of all the rest; and bear unflinchingly, in the tiny and almost impalpable drop of their essence, the vast structure of recollection. <sup>93</sup>

The significance of these experiences of 'evocation' and 'recollection' for Jones and Proust is rooted in the sublimation of history into a present momentary experience of the individual. After more than a year of nervous suffering, Jones's experience seems to have been a remaking of history through a remaking of the self. As with Proust, the components of a 'long-distant past' – its 'dead' people, its 'broken and scattered' elements – are brought for Jones into a 'vast structure' under the agency of one aspect of subjective experience (for Proust, taste and smell; for Jones, sight) which enacts that restoration 'amid the ruins' of everyday experience. If Jones's experience in Jerusalem was a psychological salve, it seems also to have been an aesthetic one: it offered him a paradigm for the fitting together in his arts which did not reduce the tangle of being to an unrepresentative narrative or perspectival order.

Jones is unequivocal when looking at the importance of this experience in Jerusalem:

What all this rigmarole amounts to is no more [i.e. less] than to say that not only *The Anathemata*, but [the] best part of all the various separate 'pieces', such as *The Wall*, *The Tribune's Visitation*, *The Fatigue*, and in an oblique way *The Dream of Pte Clitus* derive from my forced visit to Jerusalem in 1934.

(TL 23)

Jones's comment here reveals that the primary importance he attaches to the experience in Jerusalem is one of furnishing him with content: the 'pieces' he mentions – early versions of which were drafted between 1940 and '44 – owe their existence to this experience in that they are all concerned with Roman Judea at the time of the Passion, at which time and place another 'fitting together' had occurred: Christ's acts in the Cenacle and on the hill, in which all

<sup>93</sup> Proust (1996) 54.

time was located within a single moment.

However, I believe that the experience in Jerusalem was most important to Jones's arts in formal terms, and that its first effects emerged with the writing of Dai's Boast. Dai's Boast was unequivocally Jones's first foray into a new non-narrative form; despite its being written as part of *In Parenthesis*, it was his first experiment toward *The Anathemata*. Having said that, in spite of the Boast being an apparent solution to the writing of a non-narrative long poem, it was only so to a very limited extent. Its enclosure in the temporally consistent narrative of *In Parenthesis* folds it neatly into a stylish vignette when we leave it and return to the main narrative: it is a mere temporary atemporality for the reader; a non-narrative parenthesis within the narrative of *In Parenthesis*. More pertinently in view of the preoccupations of this thesis, I believe that the process of the writing of the Boast was only made possible because of the stable foundation from which it departed and then returned: being an insertion, it was written out of the solid, narrative framework of an established piece of text – that on page 149 of the manuscript.

In 'Art and Sacrament,' David Jones refers us to his preferred possible etymology for 'religion'.

I understand that more than one opinion has prevailed with regard to the etymology of the word *religio*, but a commonly accepted view is that, as with *obligatio*, a binding of some sort is indicated. The same root is in 'ligament', a binding which supports an organ and assures that organ its freedom of use as part of a body. And it is in this sense that I here use the word 'religious'. It refers to a binding, a securing. Like the ligament, it secures a freedom to function. The binding makes possible the freedom. Cut the ligament and there is atrophy – corpse rather than *corpus*.

 $(E\&A\ 158)$ 

This formulation might be applied to Jones's – or indeed any maker's – situation in an act of making. The representation of objects or events in an art work would tend to require a formal connection to a narrative or perspectival ordering

principle. Being 'bound' by the terms of perspective or narrative allows the artist a freedom to act within those terms, hence the 'straighforward'-ness of writing *In Parenthesis*. Without the necessary 'chain' or 'ligament', a making is threatened with creative atrophy. This is of fundamental importance in the consideration of the making of a long non-narrative poem like *The Anathemata*: without a pre-existent framework, where would one start? And how would one continue?

Jones, I would argue – as with his modernist contemporaries – translocated this 'ligament' from residing within a preconceived form of the work, to a place more immediately manifest in the present moments of the process of writing – to refer to Bushell's typology, a shift equivalent to a movement away from programmatic intention towards intention-in-action. Jones's discovered method provided a non-formally reductive binding which would propel his making, but the required conditions and mechanics of this method were only discovered through a long process of experimentation, to which we shall now turn.

#### (iii) Experimentation and the makerly ligament

William Blissett, a friend of David Jones from the late-1950s onwards, noted Jones's method of painting: "The pencil line and the colouring are laid on concurrently, not pencil first and then colour. This is not what one would expect, and I had the sense that he often has to overrule the contrary assumption." Such unconventional painterly practice was the corollary of a larger method, as Jones described in a note to his psychologists following his second breakdown in 1946-7:

Painting odd in that one is led partly by what evolves as the painting evolves, this form suggesting that form – happiness comes when the forms assume significance with regard to this juxtaposition to each other – even though the original 'idea' was somewhat different...The happiest ones seem to make themselves.

(DGC 137)

<sup>94</sup> William Blissett (1981) 9.

The process of painting, for Jones, involved being open to diversions of makerly purpose; the material form of the making at each stage 'led' him towards new ends. Note how Jones himself recedes into the background in the passive formulation 'happiness comes when the forms assume significance' – who, what or where is the agent by which 'forms *assume* significance'? The answer would seem to be completely at odds with the idea of the artist as shaper and controller of the work: the self-generational aspect of making Jones describes implicates chance as the dominant agent of a successful making.

If we turn now to Jones's process of writing, we can see why it was necessary for him to move away from narrative form: the presence of this extraneous structuring principle would ossify the programmatic intention of the making, removing the artist from his infantryman-like direct engagement, precluding the entry of chance into the process of making. The risk entailed in such a method – the artist might be 'led' nowhere in particular – was inescapable: the conditions for chance to enter into the making had to be prepared. When in May 1938 Jones described the writing of *In Parenthesis* as a 'straightforward affair', he was doing so in the context of the unstructured method of a new piece of writing he was then engaged upon. Here is the account in full, already mentioned above, which Jones gives of the problems associated with that new writing:

I don't know if any of it is any good. A very rambling affair – sometimes it all seems balls and sometimes I like it in places. But *I.P.* was chained to a sequence of events which made it always a straightforward affair, whereas this effort is, I fear, about 'ideas', the *one* thing I have always disliked in poetry – but now I see how chaps slip into it, because it seems that if you haven't got a kind of racial myth expressed in war to write about and don't know about our old friend 'love' and are not interested in 'making a story', it seems all you can do is to ramble on about the things you think about on the whole all the time, and that is what I think this is about.

I see now why chaps write about 'separate' things in short poems – to wit, odes to nightingales and what not – but it seems to me that if you just talk about a lot of things as one thing follows on another, in the end you *may* have

made a shape out of all of it. That is to say, that shape that all the mess makes in your mind.

(DGC 86)

Jones's concluding qualification makes it clear that if a 'shape' is to be achieved in the writing of this work which is not directed by definite preconceived form or purpose it is only because it is isomorphic with what is in one's mind. And how did that shape emerge in the mind? The answer is: mess.

As David Trotter has convincingly argued in Cooking With Mud: The Idea of Mess in Nineteenth-Century Art and Fiction (2000), to experience mess is to experience chance; and to interrogate mess (as Trotter does in critical readings of various novels) is to reveal cultural attitudes to the elusive nature of chance. 95 However, if it is true that only through the agency of mess or chance can literary forms adequate to modernity be made, it is again true that the risk of failure is augmented. Although the successful realization of a shape is far from certain, it is clear that Jones has no other choice available to him. Jones's method is presented defeatedly as a kind of absence of method: "it seems all you can do is to ramble on" (my emphasis); he was clearly courting chance through unintention, doubting both the subject of his poem ('what I think this is about') and the possibility of achieving a form (it only 'may have made a shape'). These expressions of doubt are, I believe, the result of Jones's feeling that there is no 'ligament' preventing his making from atrophy. If we take an overview of Jones's experiments between 1938 and 1944, we see, I think, that the discovery of the right kind of 'ligament' was the major challenge in the early writing towards *The* Anathemata.

In the first phase of his experimentation between 1937 and 1941 – work published as 'The Book of Balaam's Ass' (RQ 185-211) and 'The Old Quarry I and II' (RQ 113-131 and 155-184) by Rene Hague<sup>96</sup> – we witness Jones gravitate towards elements of the narrative form he has sought to avoid. The first section,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> See Trotter (2000) 10-15, where Trotter explores the difficulty of ascribing meaning and value to chance in a culture in which the dominant discourse is deterministic.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Jones's working title, 'The Book of Balaam's Ass', applied to much more of his work than Hague allows in *The Roman Quarry*. This is discussed in Chapter 2, and is represented in Appendix 5.

which Jones had typed in 1940, presents a chaotic mixture of impressions, voices, times, and places. However, towards the end of this sequence is a passage about the 'Zone', representative of a completely utile existence (RQ 207-9); and following this, the lamentation at modernity which Jones re-wrote three decades later as 'A, Domine Deus' (RQ 209-11; SL 9). Neither of these is explicitly a 'narrative', but the narrative elements of time, place, and character emerge for the first time in the work with a degree of definition. The latterly written (early 1939) part of this early experiment, continuing this gravitation, begins with the narrative presentation of a contemporary Mass as experienced by a member of the congregation (RQ 113-5), but soon digresses to the adaptation of the story of David and Absalom (from 2 Samuel 13-18), incorporating a number of dialogues. Jones then wrote the conversation between three Romans in Judea at the time of Christ's Passion (published as 'The Old Quarry II' in RQ 155-184). Late in life, Jones wrote of this work: "I abandoned the project as it would not come together" (DGC 250). It would not come together because throughout the process of its writing Jones was experimenting towards a method for a future work, even if he did not know it at the time.

Jones held a largely negative view of this work even at the time of writing. In a letter of 17 January 1939, he described it as "descriptive in a way that bores me – also rhetorical – my chief fear and danger" (*DGC* 89). I would have to agree – and yet the rhetoric continues to dominate the second phase of experimentation. After the collapse of 'Balaam' in 1942, Jones moved towards an almost exclusive use of the monologue and dialogue forms as a 'ligament' for the making process. The first version of 'The Roman Quarry' (*RQ* 3-12 and 39-58) is a monologue spoken by a soldier on the wall of Jerusalem, again at the time of the Passion. Jones also wrote a short piece in late-1941 about prehistoric making, the Mass, and the Cenacle. This piece was placed in 1944 as the opening fragment of a long poem comprising all these experiments, and shortly afterwards became the foundational fragment of *The Anathemata*. That this was one of the only pieces of non-monologue/-dialogue Jones wrote during his 1938-44 experimentation, and that it was the only one of his many experiments which became part of *The Anathemata*, is no coincidence (we will address this experiment in the following

chapter). Jones's unsuccessful struggle to piece together a long poem can be witnessed in the alterations, question marks, and deletions on a single sheet upon which he plans their structure out (reproduced *RQ* 283).

This second phase of experimentation was also abandoned, I would argue for two main reasons. First, after noting in 1939 that his work was too rhetorical, Jones wrote in ever more bluntly rhetorical terms, which the monologue seemed to encourage: the satire on utile propaganda in 'The Old Quarry I & II' and 'The Roman Quarry' obscure any nuanced treatment of questions of sacramentality. (The 'closure' which this rhetoric enforced on Jones's texts in their re-reading will be covered in detail in the following chapter.) Second, these experiments could not be made to achieve a whole after their writing because such an extrinsic *post facto* structuration was insensitive to the originary process of their making: "I never managed to forge the necessary connecting links," Jones wrote later; "it remained chunks of material that I worked on sometimes in considerable detail." (*TL* 19) 'Chunks' could be worked within, but never across – i.e. they could not be made to cease being 'chunks' and become a whole. An holistic form to a successful long poem, it would seem, would have to be generated within and by the making process.

In each of the second phase experiments, then, Jones used the device of an experiencing or speaking subject as a 'ligament' for the making process. When Jones is writing, he does not have to think, 'What do I write next?', but instead: 'What does this person, in this place, and in this time, say or witness or feel next?' Although the narratives are less obviously coherent and complete than in *In Parenthesis*, character and temporal sequence still act as the common features to the structure of the text and the structure of its making – the temporal unfolding of the narrative voice operates as the impetus for further writing; the writerly 'ligament' is the temporal progression of a rhetorical speech. Jones, as we have seen, felt the need to abandon narrative, but out of necessity had fallen into the use of a kind of narrative-by-stealth. The product of this was a heavy-handed satire on 'utile' man.

What, then, might replace temporal sequence as the making's 'ligament'? The answer was the very text which emerged from the writing. "[A]s far as I am consciously aware," Jones wrote to Desmond Chute shortly after the publication of the poem, "the form of *The Ana* was determined by the inner necessities of the thing itself' (*IN* 24). The motivating force behind its making – the poem's 'necessity' – was not some extrinsic structuring principle like a narrative scheme, but was emergent from within it. The 'inner necessities' of *The Anathemata* are those internal elements of the text which suggested to Jones their own development, extension, embellishment, or elucidation, and propelled the writing on. By 1945, his 'ligament' had become his own text, so far produced. We will examine the specific nature of what I will call Jones's method of the generative fragment in the third and final section of this chapter. In the intermediate section, though, I will explore the implications of the fragment as a notion and as a literary form, and then attempt to identify ways in which mess as the agent to form relates to the preparation of a method of the fragment.

# II. David Jones and the Dialectic of the Fragment

After the publication of In Parenthesis in 1937, Jones published The Anathemata in 1952, and The Sleeping Lord in 1974, the year of his death. Bearing in mind that Jones believed that in the artwork "all must be 'integrated", that the artist was oriented upon the making of a whole, the full titles of these two latter books - The Anathemata: fragments of an attempted writing and The Sleeping Lord and other fragments - would seem to be an admission of failure on the part of the artist. However, the versatility of the term 'fragment' for Jones leads us to the necessity of avoiding such judgements. He uses the word 'fragment' to denote whole cultural artefacts in relation to the condition of his cultural inheritance, portions of texts which he finds particularly significant, and both his unpublished and published writings. A clear and stable notion of the fragment is not discernible in David Jones's writings: if the fragment is valued, it appears to be valued for being the sign of a coherence or wholeness now lost; if it is something unfinished, it might succeed by drawing attention to its very unfinishable-ness; if it is a portion of something, it would appear that that something need not be in a fragmented condition.

This section places Jones's notion of the fragment in the context of the history of the idea of the fragment in order to attempt to account for the versatility of this term in his writings. As such, it prepares the ground for a view of the method Jones developed in response to the makerly conundrum explored in the preceding section.

#### (i) The Romantic inauguration of an aesthetic of the fragment

Camelia Elias notes at the opening of *The Fragment: Towards a History and Poetics of a Performative Genre* that critical studies of the literary fragment are

founded upon the assumption that value is lost in fragmentation:

The consequence of defining the fragment in terms of a part/whole relation is that the fragment is always seen as derived from and subordinate to an original whole text. This has marked the entire research tradition on the fragment which has tended to focus on the fragment's (ruined) form and (incomplete) content.<sup>97</sup>

Elias goes on to present an analysis of the fragment as a form which need not be defined by such absences. The rejection of such negative associations, as Elias recognises, began with Friedrich Schlegel's fragments, published in the *Athenaeum* between 1797 and 1800. The fragment did of course become one of the most recognisable formal properties of the poetry of the English Romantics. Marjorie Levinson's study *The Romantic Fragment Poem: A Critique of a Form* (1986), which undertakes to establish a typology of English fragment poems, finds a rich variety of fragmentary forms. <sup>98</sup> However, as Levinson remarks:

whereas the German fragments reflect *upon* contemporary life and thought, the English fragments reflect those realities...The quiddity of the German fragment is bestowed upon it by its author and from his knowledge that he can best express his individuality through and against a formal mode invented by his contemporaries. Whereas the German fragments structurally address an already formulated problem, the English fragments pose by their new form a new, unsuspected problem.<sup>99</sup>

I therefore focus on Schlegel because he theorized, at the same time as he wrote within, the form of the fragment.

For Schlegel, the fragment does not derive from but reaches towards a whole; the fragment is therefore not subordinate to a whole because it is its own whole: "A fragment, like a small work of art, has to be entirely isolated from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Elias (2004) 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Levinson categorises these into the 'true', the 'completed', the 'deliberate', and the 'dependent' fragment, as exemplified by Wordsworth's 'Nutting' and Coleridge's 'Christabel' (true fragments); Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' and Byron's 'The Giaour' (completed fragments); Byron's 'When, to their airy hall', and Shelley's 'The Daemon of the World', 'A Vision of the Sea' and 'Julian and Maddalo' ('deliberate' fragments); and finally Keats's 'Hyperion' and 'The Fall of Hyperion' ('dependent' fragments). See Levinson (1986) passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Levinson (1986) 11.

surrounding world and be complete in itself like a hedgehog." Schlegel's fragments formulate the romantic literary task as one founded on a whole which lies in the *future* of a work, not in its past: "The Romantic type of poetry is still becoming; indeed, its peculiar essence is that it is always becoming and that it can never be completed." Before Schlegel, the fragment derived from a prior and no longer extant whole; after Schlegel, the whole might be something approached through the fragment (even if its achievement be forever deferred): "Many works of the ancients have become fragmented. Many works of the moderns are fragments at the time of their origin." Why this might be so is the subject of the first chapter of *The Literary Absolute* by Phillipe Lacoue-Labarthe and Jean-Luc Nancy.

The authors of the *Literary Absolute* summarize the end to which the Jena romantics strove: to "perform...the 'synthesis' of the Ancient and the modern... to construct, to produce, to effectuate what even at the origin of history was already thought of as a lost and forever inaccessible 'Golden Age.'" From this, the authors identify the emergence of a concept of 'literature' in its ideal form, the eponymous 'literary absolute':

This is the reason romanticism implies something entirely new, the *production* of something entirely new. The romantics never really succeed in naming this something: they speak of poetry, of the work, of the novel, or...of romanticism. In the end, they decide to call it – all things considered – *literature*[...] Beyond divisions and all de-finition, this *genre* is thus programmed in romanticism as *the* genre of *literature*: the genericity, so to speak, and the generativity of literature, grasping and producing themselves in an entirely new, infinitely new Work. The *absolute*, therefore, of literature. But also its *ab-solute*, its isolation in its perfect

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid*. 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Quoted in Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy (c.1988) 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Excerpt from Aphorism [Fragment] 116, in Schlegel (1968) 141. The editors of Schlegel here, Ernst Behler and Roman Struc, translate 'fragmente' as 'aphorism'. Thus they subvert Schlegel's positive formulation of the fragment by stubbornly refusing its reformulation. Compare their translation of the 'hedgehog' fragment with that of Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy: "An aphorism ought to be entirely isolated from the surrounding world like a little work of art and complete in itself like a hedgehog." (Schlegel (1968) 35-36); "A fragment, like a small work of art, has to be entirely isolated from the surrounding world and be complete in itself like a hedgehog." (Schlegel, in Lacoue-Labarte and Nancy (*c*.1988) 43). Schlegel is quoted as differentiating the aphorism and the fragment in terms of coherence: "aphorisms are coherent fragments" (*ibid*). Coherence implies a no-longer-becoming, which, as we will see, goes against Schlegel's conception of a romantic poetry.

closure upon itself (upon its own organicity), as in the well-known image of the hedgehog in *Athenaeum* fragment 206. 103

The inauguration of the literary absolute, then, is the inauguration of the idea of the perfect work; and that perfect work is, astonishingly, exemplified by an image for a fragment (the hedgehog) as presented within a self-consciously fragmented piece of writing (Schlegel's *Athanaeumfragmente*).

By way of commentary on the 'hedgehog' fragment, Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy write: "Thus, the detachment or isolation of fragmentation is understood to correspond exactly to completion and totality." They elucidate thus:

Fragmentary totality, in keeping with what should be called the logic of the hedgehog, cannot be situated in any single point: it is simultaneously in the whole and in each part. Each fragment stands for itself and for that from which it is detached. Totality is the fragment itself in its completed individuality. It is thus identically the plural totality of fragments, which does not make up a whole (in, say, a mathematical mode) but replicates the whole, the fragmentary itself, in each fragment.<sup>105</sup>

Here, the fragment is presented as the locus for a dialectical tension between the whole and the non-whole, the fragment paradoxically succeeding in being most whole through exhibiting the same un-wholeness as the other fragments which comprise a work, and indeed their totality.

The movement between part and whole in the experience of the fragmentary form by a reader is a function which is also seen by the Romantics as central for the writer – a *process* of the fragment emerges. Such a generative aspect to the fragment is noted by Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy in response to Novalis's own assertion of fragmentary generativity in the last of his *Grains of Pollen*: "Fragments of this kind are literary seeds: certainly, there may be many sterile grains among them, but this is unimportant if only a few of them take

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy (c.1988) 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> *Ibid* 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> *Ibid* 44.

root!'...Fragmentation is not, then, a dissemination, but is rather the dispersal that leads to fertilization and future harvests. The genre of the fragment is the genre of generation."<sup>106</sup> The function of the generative fragment is, as we shall soon see, the central function in Jones's writerly process in the making of *The Anathemata*.

It is important for us to note that the Schlegelian fragment is entirely devoid of negative connotations – it is the new form which exults in its disseverance from the past by placing the whole in an approached future ideal rather than a fallenfrom past reality. In Schlegel, there is introduced a dialectical nature to the fragment: it is both fragment and whole, both unfinishable and finished; and it is each of these, moreover, only because it is the other. The shift in the tropological significance of the fragmentary form which occurred in the movement from romanticism to modernism introduced a historical (rather than a solely philosophical) element to the self-divided notion of the fragment. Also, the dialectical relationship between broken part and unified whole becomes resonant with a distinctively modernist sense of cultural decline in contrast to the positivity of romanticism. Thus the two dialectical poles of fragment and whole which had been co-represented in the exultant Schlegelian fragment become associated also with a cultural-historical fall and redemption. We shall now examine this development in detail.

#### (ii) The Modernist fragment

In T. S. Eliot's view, James Joyce's development of "the mythical method" in the writing of *Ulysses* (1922) was "a step toward making the modern world possible for art". The modern artist, working from within an unstable and formless civilization, must find "something stricter" than the forms available to his or her cultural forebears. For Eliot, the use of myth "is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and a significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history." The artist, then, will use myth, following Joyce's example, as the foundation for a work because all

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Lacoue-Labarthe, p.49.

precedent foundations have been swept away. Joyce's innovation is no accident or whim, but was an aesthetic requirement: "No one else has built a novel upon such a foundation before: it has never before been necessary". 107

The necessity of the development of new approaches in the arts in the early twentieth century stemmed from the rapid changes which were occurring in all areas of life at the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries. Erich Auerbach, in his essay 'The Brown Stocking', summarizes the origins and effects of these changes:

The widening of man's horizon, and the increase of his experiences, knowledge, ideas, and possible forms of existence, which began in the sixteenth century, continued through the nineteenth at an ever faster tempo - with such a tremendous acceleration since the beginning of the twentieth that synthetic and objective attempts at interpretation are produced and demolished every instant. The tremendous tempo of the changes proved the more confusing because they could not be surveyed as a whole. They occurred simultaneously in many separate departments of science, technology, and economics, with the result that no one - not even those who were leaders in the separate departments - could foresee or evaluate the resulting overall situations. Furthermore, the changes did not produce the same effects in all places, so that the differences of attainment between the various social strata of one and the same people and between different peoples came to be – if not greater – at least more noticeable. The spread of publicity and the crowding of mankind on a shrinking globe sharpened awareness of the differences in ways of life and attitudes, and mobilized the interests and forms of existence which the new changes either furthered or threatened. In all parts of the world crises of adjustment arose; they increased in number and coalesced. They led to the upheavals which we have not weathered yet. In Europe this violent clash of the most heterogeneous ways of life and kinds of endeavour undermined...those religious, philosophical, ethical, and economic principles which were part of the traditional heritage and which despite many earlier shocks, had maintained their position of authority through slow adaptation and transformation[...] 108

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Eliot (1963) 201-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Auerbach (1953) 549-50. Although Auerbach does not directly refer to fragmentation, he is clearly describing an increasing impression of disintegration in modernity. An alternative representation of the causes of this disintegration, or fragmentation, is presented by Marshall Berman in *All That Is Solid Melts* 

According to Auerbach, contemporary interpretations of the state of Western civilization in the early twentieth century are quickly nullified. The synthesized whole becomes a ruin of fragments because the scope of heterogeneity through, and constant flux within, every strata of the disciplines of human endeavour denies such a possibility. If Auerbach's description of 'synthetic and objective attempts at interpretation' might stand for the artist's *desire* in the early twentieth century, the reality of the experience of life – a 'violent clash of heterogeneous ways of life and kinds of endeavour' producing 'shocks' which 'undermined the accepted principles' of civilization – imposes a necessary new reality on the work. The fragmentary forms of modernism in art, literature and music are in a variety of complex ways reactions to the fragmentation of the principles of intellectual, religious, moral, political, social and economic life in the West.

In the literary works of the first quarter of the twentieth century, culture suffers a very sophisticated savaging: the literary artist gleefully deploys his or her fragments in ululating repudiation of a civilizational fragmentation which has made such a form both possible (a cause for exultation) and necessary (a cause for lamentation). Civilization – which exhibits the fragmentation Auerbach describes, and which is thereby experienced by writers like Jones, Eliot, Pound, Woolf and Joyce as ruined, bereft in its current form of meaning and value – is *redeemed* by the utilization of fragmentary forms in the very representation of that ruined state. It is here that we locate the major dialectical turn which underlies the literary modernist movement: the experience of a fragmented culture devoid of value leads to the creation of new cultural artefacts in its own fragmented image, and which *do* exhibit value.

Into Air: The Experience of Modernity (1982). Berman's title is taken from Marx, whom he places in a prophet-of-modernism role. In Berman's reading, the modern West is experienced as disintegrating because this is how, with capital at its centre, it dialectically sustains itself: "Our lives are controlled by a ruling class with vested interests not merely in change but in crisis and chaos. 'Uninterrupted disturbance, everlasting uncertainty and agitation' [to quote Marx,] instead of subverting this society, actually serve to strengthen it. Catastrophes are transformed into lucrative opportunities for redevelopment and renewal; disintegration works as a mobilizing and hence an integrating force. The one spectre that really haunts the modern ruling class, and that really endangers the world it has created in its image, is the one thing that traditional elites (and, for that matter, traditional masses) have always yearned for: prolonged solid stability. In this world, stability can only mean entropy, slow death, while our sense of progress and growth is our only way of knowing for sure that we are alive. To say that our society is falling apart is only to say that it is alive and well." Berman (1982) 95.

For Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, the consciously formulated engagement of the work with a culture-in-the-(un)making led to a new burden of responsibility. The document for Pound's attempted *Bel Espirit* movement reveals the disgust he felt for Western civilization, but its primary purpose is to secure financial support for T. S. Eliot, who has been marked out as the most probable source of a civilizational regeneration:

There is no organized or coordinated civilization left, only individual scattered survivors....'Bel Espirit' started in Paris. To release as many captives as possible. Darkness and confusion as in Middle Ages; no chance of general order or justice; we can only release an individual here or there. T. S. Eliot first name chosen...Eliot, in bank, makes £500. Too tired to write, broke down; during convalescence in Switzerland did *Waste Land*, a masterpiece; one of most important 19 pages in English...Must restart civilization; people who say they care, DON'T care unless they care to the extent of £5 in the spring and £5 in autumn...If not enough good will to release ONE proved writer, how do they expect to regenerate Europe?<sup>109</sup>

The 'masterpiece' which Pound identifies is the poem most explicitly concerned with identifying the 'darkness and confusion' at the heart of the modern West, and is also self-avowedly fragmented. In Pound's belief that the writer of the poem most closely engaged with and formally symptomatic of the ruin of civilization might be the source of that civilization's regeneration, we find an expression of the central dialectical working of the modernist literary fragment: the literary fragment is judged to be capable of redeeming a ruined (fragmentary) civilization.

Pound and Eliot shared the belief that formal fragmentation not only opened a new world of possibilities in literature, but that it was unavoidable and necessary if the poet wanted to write poems which met the demands of their time. Pound's development of the ideogrammic method in his poetry, made possible by his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> From the *Bel Espirit* document enclosed with a letter of 18 March 1922 to William Carlos Williams, reproduced in Pound (1950) 172-3. The *Bel Espirit* document was published in *New Age*; see Eliot (1971) xxv.

acquisition in November 1913 of Ernest Fenollosa's manuscript of *The Chinese Character as a Medium for Poetry*, is just one contemporary theorization of the literary fragment. Although Pound, the editor of Fenollosa's essay, did not publish it until 1936, its importance to him was clear by February 1915 when he wrote: "we have sought the force of Chinese ideographs *without knowing it.*" 110

Just over twenty years later, in *Guide to Kulchur* (1938), Pound expounded the utility of such a poetics:

At last a reviewer in a popular paper (or at least one with immense circulation) has had the decency to admit that I occasionally cause the reader 'suddenly to see' or that I snap out a remark...'that reveals the whole subject from a new angle'.

That being the point of the writing. That being the reason for presenting first one facet and then another – I mean to say the purpose of the writing is to reveal the subject. The ideogrammic method consists of presenting one facet and then another until at some point one gets off the dead and desensitized surface of the reader's mind, onto a part that will register.<sup>111</sup>

The ideogrammic method developed out of Pound's earlier conception of the Imagist method. Pound described the Image which the poet seeks to represent as being "the immediate reaction on the sensibility of a poet to an event which strikes him forcibly." Although T. S. Eliot, writing in the *Criterion* Commentary of 1937, over two decades after Pound made this statement, was reticent as to the effects of Imagism on English poetry, he acknowledged that it drew attention to the necessity of making a break with past forms: "What was needed was a critical activity to revivify creative writing, to introduce new material and new techniques from other countries and other times. The accomplishment of the Imagist movement in verse seems to be, in retrospect, to have been critical rather than creative, and as criticism very important." Imagism may have drawn attention to the need for a more linguistically unfamiliar approach to

Pound, 'Imagisme and England: A Vindication and an Anthology', *T. P. 's Weekly*, 25 (February 1915) 185; quoted by Gefin (1982) 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> Pound, Guide to Kulchur (1938); quoted by Gefin (1982) 38 – my emphases.

Pound quoted in Patterson (1971) 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Eliot, quoted in Patterson (1971) 27.

fragments of experience, but it was always a *single* fragment which the Imagists sought to represent; Pound's ideogrammic method, by contrast, presents 'first one facet and then another.' Eliot, in his own attempt to develop a poetics appropriate to modern experience between 1914 and 1922, drew upon the French Symbolists, who were concerned with crafting a structure which befitted the particular poem in hand rather than fitting a set of impressions or images to a conventional verse form.<sup>114</sup> Pound's and Eliot's influences and terminology were different, but the basis of their poetics shared in common a focus on the juxtaposition of fragments.

The part of the reader's mind which Pound's fragmentary method ("one facet and then another") seeks to get onto sounds very much like that which is responsible for decoding the Eliotic "logic of the imagination". In his preface to St John Perse's *Anabasis* (1930) – a poem David Jones describes as having "made a pretty big impression on me when it was published" (*DGC* 163) – Eliot advises the reader with regard to the discontinuous form of the text:

Any obscurity of the poem, on first readings, is due to the suppression of 'links in the chain', of explanatory and connecting matter, and not to incoherence, or to the love of cryptogram. The justification of such abbreviation of method is that the sequence of images co-incides and concentrates into one intense impression of barbaric civilization. The reader has to allow the images to fall into his memory successively without questioning the reasonableness of each at the moment; so that, at the end, a total effect is produced.<sup>115</sup>

What Eliot is describing is an ideogrammic poem: with the purposeful suppression of links in the chain, the author has enabled a 'sequence of images' presented in the temporal reading process to become experienced together in a more powerful whole ('one intense impression') than achievable within the terms of the old and outworn forms which dominated literary production in English poetry in the years up to the turn of the century, and which produced, in Pound's humorous description, "a horrible agglomerate compost,...a doughy mess of third-hand Keats, Wordsworth, heaven knows what, fourth-hand Elizabethan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> For the influence of the Symbolists on Eliot, see Patterson (1971) 40-49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Eliot, introduction to Perse's *Anabasis*, quoted by Patterson (1971) 44.

sonority blunted, half-melted, lumpy."<sup>116</sup> For Eliot, Perse's fragments come together to form a whole, though not in the way in which readers within the Western tradition might be accustomed.<sup>117</sup>

This fragmented approach to experience in literature, and in the arts in general, was widespread, as the following exemplary soundbites from four quintessentially modernist artists – William Carlos Williams, Gertrude Stein, Guillaume Apollinaire and Sergei Eisenstein – attest:

The virtue of strength lies not in the grossness of the fiber but in the fiber itself. Thus a poem is tough by no quality it borrows from a logical recital of events not from the events themselves but solely from the attentuated power which draws perhaps many broken things into a dance by giving them thus a full being. 118

I was doing, what the cinema was doing, I was making a continuous succession of the statement of what that person was until I had not many things but one thing.<sup>119</sup>

Psychologically it is of no importance that this visible image be composed of fragments of spoken language, for the bond between these fragments is no longer the logic of grammar but an ideographic logic culminating in an order of spatial disposition totally opposed to discursive juxtaposition...It is the opposite of narration. Narration is of all literary forms the one which most requires discursive logic.<sup>120</sup>

...by combining these monstrous incongruities, we newly collect the disintegrated event into one whole... $^{121}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Pound, *Literary Essays*, p.205; quoted by Gefin (1982) xiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Pound remarks that the unity of longer ideogrammic poems consists in the same function whereby all images contribute to the lineaments of a single image: "I am often asked", wrote Pound in 1916, "whether there can be a long imagiste or vorticist poem. The Japanese, who evolved the hokku, evolved also the Noh Plays. In the best 'Noh' the whole play may consist of one image. I mean it is gathered about one image. Its unity consists in one image, enforced by movement and music. I see nothing against a long vorticist poem." Ezra Pound, 'Vorticism', *Gaudier-Brzeska* (1916) 94; quoted in Gefin (1982) 11.

William Carlos Williams, Prologue to 'Kora in Hell' (DATE?); quoted in Patterson (1971) 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Gertrude Stein, quoted by Wylie Sypher in *Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature* (1960) 267; quoted in Patterson (1971) 96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Guillaume Apollinaire, *Soirees de Paris*, quoted by William Seitz, *The Art of Assemblage* (1961); quoted in Patterson (1971) 156-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Sergei Eisenstein, *Film Form* (1949), quoted in Wylie Sypher, *From Rococo to Cubism in Art and Literature* (1960) 283; quoted Patterson (1971) 157.

To return to Eliot's Preface to Anabasis, having made it clear that a logic of discourse familiar to the reader is being disrupted, and that such a disruption enables the effect of a barbaric civilization (one such as Auerbach describes in the passage quoted above) to be produced, Eliot is then keen to show that the selection and juxtaposition of these images is founded on a kind of logic with which we may be unfamiliar, but a kind of logic nevertheless: "Such selection of a sequence of images and ideas has nothing chaotic about it. There is a logic of the imagination as well as a logic of concepts. People who do not appreciate poetry always find it difficult to distinguish between order and chaos in the arrangement of images."122 In his essay 'The Metaphysical Poets', Eliot makes it quite clear that this logic of the imagination is the poet's logic: "the ordinary man's experience is chaotic, irregular, fragmentary"; "in the mind of the poet," by contrast, "experiences are always forming new wholes." <sup>123</sup> Eliot describes this process in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1919): "The poet's mind is in fact a receptacle for seizing and storing up numberless feelings, phrases, images, which remain there until all the particles which can unite to form a new compound are present together." If a reader is unable to see this new compound in Perse, or Pound, or Eliot, it would appear to be the fault of their insufficiently developed 'logic of the imagination'. Such an attitude explains why Eliot appended notes to The Waste Land, and indeed the necessity of Prefaces like the one he wrote to Perse's Anabasis: modern poetry must be fragmentary, but as a result only poets will be able to read it. If he wanted his and his fellow modernists to be read, Eliot had better make their works decode-able by a general readership through the use of a preface and notes to identify how the 'logic of the imagination' should treat the fragments it encounters.

Overall, then, the purely aesthetic and positive romantic dialectic of the fragment, which is exultantly unconcerned with anything outside of itself in either past, present or future, becomes split in its modernist manifestation by the crisis of nostalgia and anxiety for an inheritance more replete with value into a

124 Eliot (1950) 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Eliot, introduction to St. John Perse, *Anabasis* (1930) 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Eliot, 'The Metaphysical Poets', *Selected Essays*, quoted Patterson (1971) 30.

dialectic of exultation and lamentation which the fragment perfectly articulates. The relative weight given to these (positive and negative) poles of the dialectic depend on the position of the poet utilising the fragmentary form, or on the position of the critical reader of the fragmentary poem. When David Jones, the poet writing, is also the first critical reader of that writing – which of course every writer must be – the function and notion of the fragment become tangled up together. The dialectic which posits the co-presence of positive and negative connotations in the signifying structure of the fragment can be seen to be played out in the functional process of the writing and re-writing of the fragmentary text. Now we must turn to a consideration of David Jones's notion of the fragment.

#### (iii) The Jonesian fragment

The subtitle Jones gave *The Anathemata* – "*fragments of an attempted writing*" – appears as an ironic expression of the equivalence of the fragmentary and the unfinished writing. However, Jones's judgement of the relative value of his two major literary works introduces a caveat to this judgement:

I still believe in *The Anathemata*. I think that's O.K. and a lot better than *In Parenthesis*.

(DGC 191)

On a number of grounds *The Anathemata* (though it's difficult for an author to speak of his own work) I should have thought unquestionably excels *In Parenthesis*.

(TL 22)

...The Anathemata which I think a far better book...

(LF 72)

It would appear to be paradoxical in view of Jones's desire to achieve aesthetic 'wholeness' or 'unity' that he deemed a poem apparently broken ('fragments') and

unfinished ('of an attempted writing') to excel a poem which he describes in terms that suggest it attained wholeness and completion – of *In Parenthesis* Jones wrote: "by a series of accidents I think I just turned the corner – but O Mary! what a conjuring trick it was" (*DGC* 83-4). The fragment, we must surely conclude, meant more than simply ruined or unfinished to Jones. The exact nature of the 'fragments' of Jones's 'attempted writing' must therefore be assessed.

After an early approach to the subject, Jones returns to a description of what *The Anathemata* is later in his Preface:

To reinforce something already touched upon: I regard my book more as a series of fragments, fragmented bits, chance scraps really, of records of things, vestiges of sorts and kinds of *disciplinae*, that have come my way by this channel or that influence. Pieces of stuffs that happen to mean something to me and which I see as perhaps making a kind of coat of many colours, such as belonged to 'that dreamer' in the Hebrew myth. Things to which I would give a related form, just as one does in painting a picture.

(Ana 34)

Thus each of the fragments of *The Anathemata* would seem to be one textual manifestation or 're-calling' of a single cultural fragment, trace, vestige, record, piece – or, to identify another of Jones's archaeologically inflected terms, 'data' and 'deposit' (*Ana* 9 and 19). (Jones's use of Latin terms such as 'disciplinae' is addressed as part of my investigation into Jones's development of a macaronic poetics in the third chapter of this thesis.) Jones is quite clear in the Preface regarding the contingent formation of his sense of culture: "Part of my task has been to allow myself to be directed by motifs gathered together from such sources as have by accident been available to me and to make a work out of those mixed data" (*Ana* 9). Jones reflected on the relationship of the artist to his or her raw materials in general in the Preface: "You use the things that are yours to use because they happen to be lying about the place or site or lying within the orbit of your 'tradition'" (*Ana* 34). The question is, What is that 'tradition'?

A European cultural tradition has conditioned Jones, but it is not identical to Jones's 'tradition': an objective European tradition is not realisable in subjective experience.

What is this writing about? I answer that it is about one's own 'thing', which *res* is unavoidably part and parcel of the Western Christian *res*, as inherited by a person whose perceptions are totally conditioned and limited by and dependent upon his being indigenous to this island.

Jones therefore asks us to take into consideration "the further conditionings contingent upon his being a Londoner, of Welsh and English parentage, of Protestant upbringing, of Catholic subscription" (*Ana* 11). The list might have gone on forever, listing every sub-category of limited, dependent and contingent exposure to which Jones has been subject. Such a variety of conditioning influences inevitably sets up conflicting senses of culture and history – the Protestant/Catholic and English/Welsh conflicts being most obvious. As such, a coherent narrative is not inheritable by an inquisitive person like Jones: history itself refuses to be whole. As Jones stated in 'Wales and the Crown' (1953), using the language of Hopkins' 'Pied Beauty,' "[a] great confluity and dapple, pied, fragmented, twisted, lost: that is indeed the shape of things all over Britain." (*E&A* 46)

Moreover, this 'pied, fragmented, twisted, lost' shape to Jones's experience of culture is unstable. We can see the way that 'that shape that all the mess made' in Jones's mind was continually shifting dependent on the current stimulus by looking at the form of a letter he wrote to William Blissett (see Figure 5).

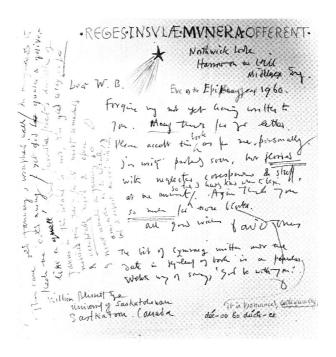


Figure 5 – Letter from David Jones to William Blissett, Eve of Epiphany, 1960<sup>125</sup>

The purpose of this note is for Jones to apologise for not having written, to say he will write properly soon, and to act as a cover note for the gift of a book. Jones is clearly writing in haste: he leaves out the word "book" by accident and must insert it later; and he states that he is "flooded" (underlined three times) "with neglected correspondence & stuff," and then emphasizes this with a further insertion: "So that I hardly know where to begin." He then thanks Blissett for a gift, and signs off.

A man flooded with correspondence might be expected to seal the package and move on to the next letter. Not David Jones: in whichever order, he makes an inscription and star to celebrate Epiphany at the head of the letter, cites the source of the song he has inscribed on the fly-leaf of the book for Blissett, glosses this post script with a note on Welsh pronunciation, and quotes Spenser on Janus in order to be able to link Blissett's love of Spenser with his own dread of the cold.

Thus we see that Jones is unable to write even a short note without the connections between everything and everybody in his mind urging him to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> Reproduced in Blissett (1981) opposite 52.

qualify, emphasize, supplement, elucidate, clarify, decorate, commemorate, and so on. But also, we see groups of his rag-bag of cultural data emerge into predominance, and thus form a shape through their interaction. The book he sends, Blissett's interest in Spenser, the liturgical day upon which Jones writes, and the time of the year lead Jones to make a number of connections between such deposits as occur to him as he writes. In even so functional a note as this, Jones feels a compulsion to make a shape out of the deposits which are suggested to him. A letter to Rene Hague, or Harman Grisewood, or Jim Ede; a letter written on a different day of the liturgical calendar, and in a different season; a letter acting as a covering note to a different book, one about seafaring, say, or geology, or Roman Britain – alteration to any of these numerous variables would have produced quite a different shape to the 'data' or 'deposits' in Jones's mind, and so as a result a completely different letter.

Louis Bonnerot rightly connects Jones's 'vestiges, deposits, strata' with his notion of the fragment. However, he does not comment on the chosen-ness of these vestiges from the morass of the deposits within Jones's 'tradition', nor on the precise relationship between the fragment and those 'vestiges, deposits, strata'. It would seem to me that fragments are *parts* of a deposit ("*records of* things...*pieces of* stuffs" – my emphasis) which through the contingency of cultural exposure ("chance scraps...that have come my way by this channel or that influence") has acquired a special significance for David Jones ("that happen to mean something to me").

We will remember from the Introduction to this thesis that Jones valued the short chapter 'Of Art' in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* because "it contains so much for those concerned with the kind of thing that art is," and that he went on to describe it as "a foundational fragment" (*E&A* 172). As we have seen, Aristotle's distinction of making from doing in this chapter established for Jones a structure within which all his ideas in relation to art – and indeed, to his conception of sacrament, and so of man – could function. It was 'foundational' for Jones's philosophy of art, as it was for Maritain's and Eric Gill's. But

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> See Bonnerot (1973-4) 78 and 81.

Aristotle's chapter is part of a systematic exposition; there is nothing 'ruined' about it; this chapter is not part of a broken whole. So in what sense is it a *fragment*?

My interpretation is that it is a fragment because, for Jones, it extracts itself through Jones's experience of its special potentiality from the textual whole from which it originates. The Nicomachean Ethics is one of Jones's deposits; chapter four of book VI is fragmented from the whole because of its value over and above the rest of that work in relation to all the other fragments which comprise his tradition – we thus identify the mechanics of the emergence of the shape-influx as represented in Jones's letter to Blissett. For Jones, this foundational fragment is generative of a whole structure of thought, and thus separates itself from the rest of Aristotle's text in being a kind of node to a system of value. 'Things which mean something' to Jones are 'fragments or fragmented bits' as a result of this 'lifting up' and 'separating out'. Thus we see that the very idea of 'anathemata' is connected with Jones's notion of the fragment: Jones summarized his definition of 'anathemata' as "[t]hings set up, lifted up, or in whatever manner made over to the gods" (Ana 29). For Jones, these inherited 'deposits' are, by their inclusion in The Anathemata, "things in some sense made separate, being 'laid up from other things." (Ana 29) That action of separation occurs in Jones's mind when a conception of the deposit as sign occurs ("the artist deals wholly in signs") (Ana 15). When Jones experienced a passage within a text of his inheritance as resonant with significance, that passage was made separate; it was instantly 'laid up from other things'. Such an action generated a fragment.

Here, the notion of the fragment has only positive connotations: no ruined whole is necessary to this fragment, which is a thing chosen for its value – a thing more resonant (and so perhaps more whole in Jones's experience of the shape of his contingent tradition) than the whole from which it is extracted. Indeed, fragmentation implies as a result a kind of order: a shape is organised around the central node of the fragment. As Jones experienced interactions and connections between his deposits – a shape – certain of their parts acquired

greater significance, and thus became 'fragments'. These fragments – Jones's 'anathemata' – form the raw material from which his poem is made. We must now turn to an examination of the process by which Jones wrote these fragments into his text.

## III. David Jones's Method of the Generative Fragment

In his Preface, Jones gives a description of the way his 'data' are liable to arrange themselves into a shape during his attendance at Mass:

In a sense the fragments that compose this book are about, or around and about, matters of all sorts which, by a kind of quasi-free association, are apt to stir in my mind at any time and as often as not 'in the time of the Mass'. The mental associations, liaisons, meanderings to and fro, 'ambivalences', asides, sprawl of the pattern, if pattern there is - these thought-trains (or, some might reasonably say, trains of distraction and inadvertence) have been as often as not initially set in motion, shunted or buffered into near sidings or off to far destinations, by some action or word, something seen or heard, during the liturgy...The mote of dust or small insect seen for an instant in a bend or pale of light, may remind us of the bird that winged swiftly throughted mote-hall, and that I suppose cannot but remind us of the northern Witan and that may recall the city of York and that again Canterbury and that the 'blisful briddes', and that Tabard Street, E.C.1, and that London Bridge, and that the South Bank and its present abstract artefacts, and that again Battersea, and that the forcing of the river at the Claudian invasion, and that the 'Battersea shield', and that that other abstract art of the La Tene Celts in the British Museum in Bloomsbury, W.C.1.

(Ana 31-32)

Every piece of 'data' which occurs to Jones has a precedent cause: the 'action' or 'word' in the liturgy triggers an association, a mote of dust does the same, and each of these associations develops into further associations in concatenation. In this final section to Chapter 1, I will reveal how Jones converted this 'quasi-free associational' daydreaming into a method for the writing of a long poem.

This method relied on the part/whole dialectic of the fragment. We will see how Jones's method of the fragment formed the mechanics of the poem's 'inner necessity,' and supplied the necessary 'ligament' for its making in the absence of

an extrinsic structuring principle. Jones's text was made to generate itself under the agency of fragments which were experienced as suffused with potential, as reaching toward an ideal whole in their future (as in Schlegel's fragment). Also, though, whilst being fraught with the risk of incoherence, Jones's method enabled the formation of a poetic with the requisite modern intensity (as in the modernist fragment). In order to obtain to such a view, the prevailing account of Jones's method needs to be dismantled, which is undertaken in the first part of this section. The second part gives an account of the genetic critical method used in the examination of Jones's manuscript. The third part presents the evidence for my argument that Jones developed a method of the generative fragment in the writing of 'The Roman Quarry' in 1943, which he then used as the method for the writing of the whole of *The Anathemata*.

### (i) Re-thinking Jones's insertional method

In two stages – in 1979, five years after David Jones's death, and then in 1984 – Jones's literary manuscripts, letters, personal documents and personal library were donated to the National Library of Wales (NLW) in Aberystwyth. The manuscript material produced by Jones in the 15 year period between the publication of *In Parenthesis* in 1937 and *The Anathemata* in 1952 occupies 2,440 sheets. Around three-fifths of these manuscripts relate directly to *The Anathemata* in its published state, and were written between 1944 and 1952. The other two-fifths is the manuscript material which Rene Hague edited for publication as *The Roman Quarry* (1981), the 'experiments' written between 1937 and 1944. In addition to this, many thousands of pages of *The Anathemata* in typescript, galley-proof and page-proof produced between 1949 and 1952 are also held at the NLW.

Although it is certainly the case that many manuscript sheets are missing, and that even an approximation to the volume of missing sheets is impossible to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> The typescripts, galley and page proofs to *The Anathemata* make a total of almost double this figure considered with the manuscripts. The David Jones Papers catalogue is available online at <a href="https://www.llgc.org.uk">www.llgc.org.uk</a> (enter 'David Jones Papers' as a title in the search box).

determine, there is a sufficient wealth of material to make a detailed investigation into Jones's method of writing viable. In order to understand how this thesis alters the existing understanding which Jones scholars have of the method by which he wrote *The Anathemata*, an overview of the relationship between Jones's paginational code and the structure of the archive is essential. First, though, it might be helpful to provide a brief comparison of the material remains of Joyce's and Jones's writing processes.

The genetic development of Finnegans Wake passed through three main pretypescript material stages. First of all, Joyce wrote very short notes in notebooks. Following this, he began drafting on loose sheets. After this, Joyce copied a provisional draft out from these drafts into bound copybooks, and then continued that drafting process within the same book. The three different material states of Joyce's manuscript allows the construction of a relatively stable chronological view of the documents for genetic criticism to interpret because the pages of the notebooks and of the copybooks have locked within their sequence the temporality of the making process. David Jones worked in a different way. He underlined and annotated the books in his personal library (a rough equivalent to Joyce's transcription of words and phrases from a multitude of sources into his notebooks, though of course, in Joyce's notebooks the words are decontextualised, and already beginning to mutate into Wake-ese). Jones then undertook all drafting stages – from rough to fine copy to final manuscript copy – on loose sheets of halved foolscap. There is no distinguishing material transition in the 15 years of Jones's writing of The Anathemata - all are handwritten on loose sheets - which makes establishing a chronology for his manuscripts far more difficult. However, the manuscript of *The Anathemata* does exhibit a unique page numbering system which allows us to place the drafting stages of each part of the poem in chronological order. This is precisely how Jones manuscripts have been ordered, both archivally and critically. problem, though, is that such a chronology established in reference to this pagination of draft sheets can be – and has been – misleading; the true nature of Jones's method of working has been foreclosed from view.

Philip Davies and Daniel Huws, the two archivists who catalogued Jones's manuscripts, inherited a set of papers whose order did not reflect the chronology of their writing. Jones's notorious inability to maintain any order to his work, either during or after the process of writing, no doubt interfered with the internal structure of the manuscript. Indeed, on at least one occasion Jones found himself accidentally writing a letter to a friend on the verso of one of his manuscript sheets (see IN 41); and some manuscript sheets have notes to friends scribbled on them which Jones pinned to his door (see for example LR4/1.62, on the verso of which Jones has written a note to Louis Bussell). Both these behaviours tend to indicate that at least some manuscript sheets were not deemed worthy of fastidious preservation. Moreover, Hague and Grisewood went through Jones's manuscripts in order to edit the material which Hague published as The Roman Quarry, and at the same time they seem to have sorted the manuscript sheets of *The Anathemata*. <sup>128</sup> So, Jones's papers were likely to have been in disarray, which meant that the archivists had to order them according to some principle or another.

The ordering principle they used was logical enough: Jones's pagination of his manuscript. Thus we find the manuscript divided by the archivists into five main files of draft material, and two main files of final manuscript material. The five different files of draft material exhibit clearly distinct paginational codes, which justifies their division into these five separate files. The first file comprises manuscript material paginated 1-8; the second file comprises material paginated 5A-5T; the third comprises 37A-37R; the fourth 62A-62O; the fifth 11A-11I. The cataloguing of the manuscripts into five separate files using Jones's paginational code appears to be the only possible system of organisation. 129

Problems quickly begin to emerge, though, when we zoom in on the internal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> Someone has written in pencil the page of *The Anathemata* as published to which many of the early manuscript sheets corresponds. This is not the kind of intrusion to be expected from the archivists at the NLW. There is a possibility that Jones himself went through these manuscripts later in life and indicated where the corresponding text was in the poem as published because he was looking for material which he had not used. Jones had also gone through the material which became *The Roman Quarry* through the 1950s and '60s as he sought parts of his experiments to rewrite as individual poems, published in *Agenda*, and then collected in *The Sleeping Lord* (1974).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> The alternative (which was not possible at the time but now is) would be the construction of a digital archive which does not assign such a fixed structure to groups of manuscript sheets, but treats them on a sheet-by-sheet basis, and enables the user to manipulate the overall structure.

characteristics of each of the five files. In each file, the manuscript pages are arranged in accordance with their eventual form in the final manuscript – that is to say, teleologically. This sets up a structural opposition within the archive: while the files are divided from one another according to their having a separate genetic status (pages 1-8 form an apparently genetically cohesive unit distinct from that of pages 5A-5T) they are not internally genetically cohesive. One inconsistency which arises from this is that (by way of specific example) the file which contains pages 5A-5T also incorporates 5F1-5F33, which was inserted into the foundational text paginated 5A-5T. And yet pages 1-8 – and into which 5A-5T, and so also 5F1-5F33, were inserted – is given a completely separate file. More importantly, the sequence of pages which each file follows is determined by Jones's pagination rather than by the textual content of each sheet. This would not be a problem if Jones's text developed in a linear direction, or even if it developed in a number of large-scale insertions (such as 5A-T, and 5F1-33, and so on). However, it is a problem because different draft sheets with the same page number in the manuscript contain widely separated parts of the text of *The Anathemata* – and we are talking in terms of five or ten or a dozen *pages* rather than lines. 130

The lack of correlation between the text and the pagination of the manuscript is a problem which Davies and Huws undoubtedly knew existed, but they did not know how or why it had occurred, and so had to present the materials in a kind of self-divided genetic-teleological hybrid, with file division reflecting the genetic history of the poem, and the interior of each file straining impossibly to reflect the structure of the text as represented in the two files of the final manuscript and as published. A fully genetically structured archive would only be possible in hypertext because many sheets occupied more than one place in the manuscript as it grew (as evidenced by the alterations Jones made to the page numbers on individual sheets). The observation that the manuscript of *The Anathemata* exhibits a self-divided structure leads us to a recognition that there

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Furthermore, some individual manuscript sheets have been renumbered sometimes five or six times, such as sheet LA1/5.155, which is paginated first 37P5H, then I, J, K, L, and finally N. And, even more confusingly, many manuscript sheets are numbered using three different classifications; for example, sheet LA1/9.64 is paginated 5F23, but also 39 and 92. These are important points, but I want to pass over them for now so as not to distract attention from the major problem, which is the lack of correlation between the manuscript text and pagination.

is a major flaw with existing accounts of the way in which Jones wrote his poem, to which we will now turn.

Following my first visit to Aberystwyth to look at the David Jones Papers in December 2007, and the resolution that I would undertake a genetic critical study of *The Anathemata*, I knew that I would need to work on the manuscript in great detail. I therefore ordered a photocopy of all of the pages of the seven major files of the manuscript of The Anathemata so I could work on it from I had already been in contact with Thomas Dilworth, the leading authority on Jones's work and life, and I decided that I would inform him of my altered intentions and see what he thought. Professor Dilworth was, as ever, very encouraging, but he warned me that trying to work out how the pagination of the manuscript could possibly be consistent with the development of the text it contained would, to use his words, drive me mad. At this time I assumed with Dilworth that this problem was just one of those mysteries which have to be accepted – not, admittedly, a very rigorous genetic-critical way of thinking. In any case, it seemed to be of only minor importance because Dilworth's account of the genesis of *The Anathemata*, which he had been refining for some twenty years, appeared to me to be utterly irrefutable.

Dilworth's account of the form, and of the genesis, of *The Anathemata* back one another up. Thomas Goldpaugh, the only other Jones scholar who refers to the manuscript of the poem, agrees with Dilworth that the making of the poem was directed by Jones's conception of a spatial form for his poem. The difference between these two scholars' takes on the form of *The Anathemata* are, genetically speaking, slight: although Dilworth describes *The Anathemata* as a series of concentric rings, and Goldpaugh describes it as a unicursal labyrinth, in both cases formal intention is seen to have directed an idiosyncratic method.<sup>131</sup>

In Dilworth's account, the reader of *The Anathemata* moves through the separate actions of the poem to its centre, and thereafter retraces his or her steps,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> The form of the poem is also said to resemble celtic art by Gwyn Williams, and a labyrinth by Jeremy Hooker, though neither of these critics engages with the manuscripts, which were not in the public domain at the time they wrote their studies. See Dilworth (1988) 154-56, and Goldpaugh (1999) 269.

revisiting each of those actions in reverse order. Thus, at the end, we are back where we began: at the Mass. Dilworth describes this form as being 'parenthetical': the outermost parenthesis is the Mass, whilst within this is another which concerns itself with dating the Last Supper and Crucifixion in relation to historic and prehistoric events, whilst within this is another in which we read of the sailing into port of an ancient ship, and so on. Dilworth identifies eight parentheses grouped around the poem's centre (on pages 157-8 of the text as published), a lyrical celebration of Christ. This parenthetical form is identified through a reading of the poem's content, which is by necessity thematically simplified by Dilworth. Dilworth's reading is convincing enough, but the reference he makes to the manuscripts is his killer blow: "the manuscript evidence is indisputable", he writes.<sup>132</sup>

The evidence to which Dilworth refers is Jones's scheme of pagination. The movement from one thematic 'parenthesis' to the next one enclosed within it (or which encloses it, depending on whether we read toward or away from the poem's centre) is, in Dilworth's account, precisely equal to a move from one genetic stage to another. The outer parenthesis of the poem is formed by the passage paginated 1-8, which explores the Mass, and which Davies and Huws catalogued as the first file of the manuscript of *The Anathemata* (LA1/3; LA1/1 and 2 contain the manuscript to the Preface). Dilworth believes that Jones split this foundational passage at page 5, and wrote a 20-page passage in which the Passion and Crucifixion are dated in relation to historic and prehistoric events, which he then inserted into that space. Jones paginated this long passage 5A-5T to indicate that it was to be inserted into the 'split' at page five of the foundational passage. Dilworth describes how, after doing this, Jones split his text again, within that 5A-5T insertion, at page 5F, and made another insertion. This second insertion was 33 pages long, and Jones numbered it 5F1-5F33. The following diagram gives a representation of the manuscript at this stage of its writing (see Figure 6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Dilworth (1997) 44-45.

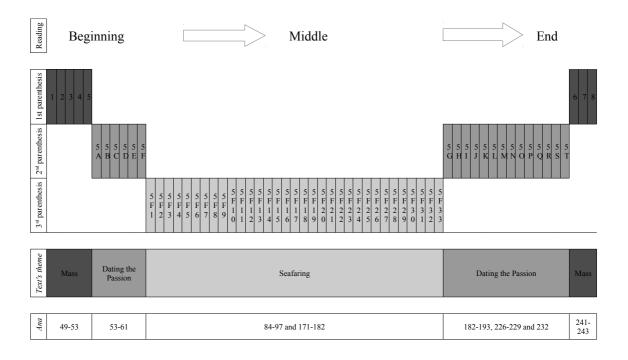


Figure 6 - The form of the manuscript of The Anathemata following two 'insertions'

For whatever reason – and we shall look into this in Chapter 4 – Jones then repaginated his manuscript, which was 74 pages long. Following this (as Dilworth describes it), Jones went on to make another five insertions to his manuscript, starting with a 37A-37Q insertion, each of them being inserted into its predecessor. The last insertion Dilworth identifies is paginated 37.P.5.O.B.1–9. <sup>133</sup> Sure enough, the lyrical celebration of Christ on page 157-8 of *The Anathemata* as published – the spatial 'centre' of Jones's poem in Dilworth's analysis – is contained within this insertion, on pages 37.P.5.O.B.6-7. This 'centre' of the poem in manuscript is eight insertional stages from the outer parenthesis, which exactly corresponds with Dilworth's thematic reading of the text. Dilworth represents this structure thus: <sup>134</sup>

The first splitting of the text performed by Jones is presented by Dilworth as Jones's greatest discovery, one which he seized upon as the method by which he could give form to his emerging poem: "in its creative potential and imaginative

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> The eight foliation stages (in simple terms) are: (i) 1-8, (ii) 5A-T, (iii) 5F1-33, (iv) 37A-R, (v) 37P1-9, (vi) 37P5A-R, (vii) 37P5O.A-C, and (viii) 37P5O.B1-9. We will see in due course why this is only 'in simple terms'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> Dilworth (2008) 177.

results, it was, for David Jones, an act as momentous as splitting the atom." <sup>135</sup> For Dilworth, *The Anathemata* is an intentionally created formal sign for David Jones's paradigmatic sign, the Eucharist: "in its paradoxical equation of centre and circumference, the poem's structure symbolically corresponds to the sacrament with which it is coextensive." <sup>136</sup>

If we look at the evidence Dilworth provides – the published text and the manuscript pagination – his reading does indeed appear unassailable. If we trace the chronology of the making of *The Anathemata*, the different 'insertions' clearly do correspond with the makerly progress of the poem. The chronology I established is based predominantly on an analysis of the paper which Jones used. By matching paper types within the manuscript of *The Anathemata* to those Jones used in writing letters – which he almost always dated – we can see a definite pattern to the chronology of Jones's paper use, and one which matches the complex paginational structure of the manuscript. The data for these paper types is presented in Appendix 1.

An early version of the base of the poem (the first three pages of the eight page base) was almost certainly written in 1941 (as will be discussed in detail in the following chapter). Jones returned to this in early-1944 and developed it into the eight page 'base' of *The Anathemata*. We can see that the first 'insertion' into this (paginated 5A-T) was written around the middle of 1945, which is corroborated by Jones having made a written request for information on the pronunciation of Lucius Aelius Sejanus (who appears on sheet 5G) in July 1945. The second insertion (paginated 5F1-5F33) must have been made at the end of 1945 or the beginning of 1946, because the 37A-R 'insertion' was begun at the end of November 1945 (at the very earliest) and was completed before February 1947, though more probably prior to Jones's nervous breakdown in September 1946. After this, Jones did no further writing until late August or early September 1947, when he started writing again at the direction of his therapists. He was directed to paint women, and so it seems likely that he was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> Dilworth (1988) 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> *Ibid* 172

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> See *DGC* 130, and LA1/4.158-161.

directed to 'write' women also: the 37P1-9 'insertion', and those inserted into it, is the large fifth section of *The Anathemata*, 'The Lady of the Pool', written in the voice of a woman; and the 62A-O 'insertion' dwells on the Virgin and Guinevere, and much of it is written in the voice of the three witches from *Macbeth*. The latter of these was written prior to May 1948. The 'insertions' which constitute 'The Lady of the Pool' seem to have been made between Seuptember 1947 and January 1949 (37P1-9), around mid-1949 (37P5M1-5), and in December 1949 (37P5OB1-9). At the very end of 1949, Jones sent his manuscript to two typists, and, receiving it back in the first months of 1950, reworked two substantial passages, some of it written earlier, though not included in the typescript. 139

Dilworth's account of Jones's method of writing *The Anathemata* is, then, supported by the paper-type data. However, Dilworth does not draw attention to the fact that any attempt to reassemble the earlier manuscript drafts according to the insertional pagination of the final manuscript results in the text contained on those earlier manuscript sheets being jumbled up into a chaotic mess – alternately repetitious and discontinuous. The fact of the matter is that whichever organisational principle we use – whether the paginational code, or the text on the manuscript sheets – the other breaks down into incoherence and disorder. Dilworth's error has been to view the paginational code of the final manuscript as the key to decoding an otherwise overly intricate drafting process, even though the evidence for that drafting process on the manuscripts explicitly contradicts such a view – hence Dilworth's advice to me not to try to work out Jones's paginational code for early draft material. The manuscripts appropriately contain their own textual aporia.

Thomas Goldpaugh, in looking at Jones's experimental manuscripts, found that the formal discovery Jones had made, and which Dilworth had earlier described, had in fact been made in 1943 in the writing of 'The Roman Quarry'.

<sup>138</sup> Paper type data for the other 'insertions' which make up 'The Lady of the Pool' is lacking.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> Jones dated the front page of his manuscript '1949', though he may not have finished drafting new material for it until December. The 9A-V 'insertion' to the typescript was rewritten (some time after Spring 1950) from the earlier 11A-I 'insertion' (probably originally written around mid-1948). The 25A-J 'insertion' to the typescript was rewritten from material contained within the 37A-R 'insertion'.

As the manuscripts to *The Anathemata* show, the compositional method in both Jones's pre-*Anathemata* experiment ['The Roman Quarry'] and *The Anathemata* is identical. In both cases, Jones began with a unified narrative which he then split, and into which he placed another section which was subsequently split, followed by a third insertion, and a fourth and so on.<sup>140</sup>

It is again the paginational code to the manuscript of 'The Roman Quarry' which reveals this method.

All three insertions occur between MS 66 and MS 67 of the original conversation taking place in Jerusalem...All three [insertions] follow the same pattern, spiraling into a central point and then retracing themselves outward so that we meet the same textual markers going out from the centre that we meet on the way in.<sup>141</sup>

The paginational structure is as follows: the base text in manuscript is numbered 58-143 (it had been separated from another sequence, numbered 1-57 by Jones) and the insertions are (i) 66A-66O, (ii) 66H1-66H14, and (iii) 66H12A-66H12N. This 'Russian doll' form to the paginational code – one within another within another – is clearly exactly the same as that of *The Anathemata*. I agree with Goldpaugh that, without a doubt, both the method of making and the structure to the pagination of *The Anathemata* and 'The Roman Quarry' are identical. However, the method of their making is not identifiable simply under the terms of the pagination exhibited in the manuscripts, which Goldpaugh takes as proof of the insertions being embedded in the Roman Quarry manuscript in "three separate stages." <sup>142</sup>

Dilworth's and Goldpaugh's shared error is to have extrapolated a method of making from the *final* manuscript paginational code, and to have suppressed the conflicting evidence of the earlier draft sheets. It is of course axiomatic that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> Goldpaugh (publication pending). Dilworth has subsequently asserted that this 'discovery' had already been made by Jones in the making of the engravings for *The Chester Play of the Deluge* in 1927. See Dilworth (1997) 47-51.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Goldpaugh (publication pending).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Goldpaugh (1999) 261.

draft sheets should assume priority over final manuscript sheets in an analysis of the making process. A true account of the insertional stages of *The Anathemata* and the abandoned experiment which preceded it reveals that both Dilworth's and Goldpaugh's attractive formal interpretations of these poems as symbolically Eucharistic (Dilworth), or as "metasigns" which enact the preservation of culture (Goldpaugh), are mistaken. Goldpaugh's assertion that "[Jones's] insertional method...is inseparable from the force that engendered it: his desire to preserve the signa of the culture within a verbal *temenos*" is untenable if we look more closely at the manuscript evidence. Indeed, the account Jones himself gave in 1958 of the making of *The Anathemata* and its resultant form – which Goldpaugh argues against – is with further consideration of the manuscript clearly the true account:

It is a disadvantage of my method (or lack of it!) that the reader is faced with rather sudden & unwarned of changes of occasion, and that causes confusion...It is a weakness of my technique that these changes are *insufficiently marked*.

(WH 38)

From Jones's account, it appears that his method in writing gave rise to the form of the text, not (as Dilworth and Goldpaugh assert) that a preconceived form dictated the development of a method of textual production.

Goldpaugh concludes that "Jones's notational system offers a history of his compositional process. More than that, though, his system provides a blueprint to the way the *temenos* was constructed and a map for the reader to the labyrinth." The problem with this map, though, is that it is one which transforms the landscape rather than representing it. In this section, I will seek to draw up a new, more accurate map of the making of 'The Roman Quarry' and *The Anathemata*. This is necessary because Dilworth and Goldpaugh are not aware that Jones's paginal code, as we shall soon see, was a *reaction* to his way of working, not that way of working itself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> *Ibid* 255.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> *Ibid* 275.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid* 276

In order to reassess the method of the making of 'The Roman Quarry' and The Anathemata, we must establish, or reclaim, a number of terms for this specific use. The code which Jones used to organise the manuscript sheets towards *The* Anathemata I will call a 'foliational code'. Within this code, several stages of writing are implied, as evidenced by Dilworth's and Goldpaugh's interpretations: they refer to these 'stages' as 'insertions'. As we shall see, though, such 'stages' are illusory; to guard against such implications, the ostensible 'stages' of the foliational code shall be called 'foliational strata'. The use of these terms liberates the term 'insertion' from its current misleading use in Jones criticism. An 'insertion' has been seen as coextensive with one foliational stratum by all critics working on Jones's manuscripts. The term 'insertion' carries with it clear textual-genetic connotations, but is also shrouded in vagueness. The 'insertions' identified by Dilworth and Goldpaugh are enormous - of hundreds, sometimes thousands, of words. These words were not written in an instant; neither are they necessarily written in the order in which they are read; neither could they have been preconceived in their entirety from the commencement of the writing of such an 'insertion'. What is it, then, that constitutes an 'insertion' in the actual The notion of the insertion, thus liberated, will be process of making? reconfigured in the course of this section.

Another important consideration is that, as Jones's manuscripts grew, or when he decided on a new starting point for a sequence, he renumbered his sheets (as commented upon above). Many of Jones's manuscript sheets therefore contain several different foliational codes. In 'The Roman Quarry', for example (which is the text we will be examining in this section) there are up to four different numbers on any single sheet. I use the term 'foliational order' to designate each of these changes to the pagination of the manuscript as a whole.

We will soon be in a position to reveal how the manuscript evidence brings to light Jones's far more chance-orientated method of writing than either Dilworth or Goldpaugh allow. However, I will first provide an account of my genetic-critical method.

#### (ii) The genetic-critical analysis: method and results

Roland Barthes, in his 'Textual Analysis of a Tale by Edgar Allan Poe' and in *S/Z*, divides 'The Facts in the Case of Mr Valdemar' and *Sarrasine* up into 'lexias', or "units of reading." These units of reading are not established in accordance with any theoretical principle; indeed, the guiding principle "is purely empirical, dictated by a concern for convenience: the lexia is an arbitrary product." <sup>146</sup> I have done the same with the second foliational stratum (foliated 66H1-14) of Jones's manuscript of 'The Roman Quarry', though my rationale for dividing the text resides in speculating on what might constitute a 'unit of writing.' <sup>147</sup> I therefore call these units 'scriptias.'

At an average of 7.5 words, the scriptias into which I have divided Jones's text are a great deal shorter than the lexias into which Barthes has divided Poe's text, which average nearly 15.5 words. 148 Barthes seeks to observe meanings in his investigation, and so "the useful lexia is the one in which only one, two, or three meanings occur."<sup>149</sup> I seek to observe the process of writing in my investigation, and have thus divided Jones's text according to its grammar, clause by clause. There underlies this division the assumption that the smallest act of new writing (i.e. not altering existing work) will seek to represent a single object, image or event in a clausally discrete form. A list of, say, seven objects was therefore deemed equivalent to seven scriptias, whilst the use of seven words to describe a single event or relationship might well be deemed to be equivalent to one scriptia. If there was any doubt as to whether to establish a smaller or a larger scriptia at a particular point of the text, the smaller was generally opted for. If these scriptias are not equivalent to discrete writerly moments – and I am certain that many are not - these divisions are usually the smallest divisions of text obtainable under any motivating system other than by each single word, which would make an analysis of the genesis of the text impossible: clauses, even as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Barthes (1994) 263.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> I chose this stratum for the simple reason that it contains more extant draft sheets within the manuscript than either the first or the third strata.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> This calculation is made on the basis of the first 17 lexias/scriptias of each analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> Barthes (1994) 263.

they are altered in subsequent drafts, still exhibit syntactic identity which words, taken individually, are divested of. Like Barthes' lexias, my scriptias are not the product of rigorous analysis, but are a convenient starting point for the analysis of otherwise unwieldy materials. Each of the scriptias is big enough to be recognizable in earlier draft form, but small enough not to oversimplify the view of the writing process.

After dividing the text into scriptias, I placed each scriptia in one cell of a table in sequence so that the poem is reconstructed in a quasi-verse form dictated by its grammar. I then numbered each of these cells. The 'final' manuscript for the second foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry' (66H1-14) generated a total of 329 scriptias (see the far-right column of the table in Appendix 2).

In addition to the 15 sheets which constitute this 'final' manuscript, the 'Roman Quarry' manuscript also contains 37 earlier draft sheets towards this foliational stratum. I went through these earlier drafts and identified which of the scriptias of the final manuscript appeared on which draft sheets. Each of these draft sheets is represented by a column in the table in Appendix 2, from the earliest draft (far left) onwards (moving to the right). It will give us a foretaste of what this analysis will later explore more comprehensively if we bear in mind that the matching of the earliest draft scriptias with what they became in the final manuscript was almost without exception easily done. It therefore already became clear during the analysis that Jones's method was to add more and more material (syntagmatic addition), and to alter existing text (paradigmatic alteration) within the terms of its syntactic organisation. He only rarely deleted material or altered the linear order of his text through re-organisation.

Before looking at the overall pattern to Jones's method, as revealed by the tabular scriptia analysis, we can begin to get an idea of how Jones worked if we take a close-up view of the development of one part of this stratum. The first draft in which the line 'or do they kennel the she-hounds' appears, and which subsequently became the beginning of the 66H1-14 insertional stratum, includes only three further lines.

or do they kennell the she-hounds
 of Arthur [illeg.] are they sacred
 to the lords of Susa, or does the bitch
 that nourish the brood

(LR8/6.168)

The latter two questions of this draft (are they sacred to the lords of Susa, or does the bitch nourish the brood?) are subsequently discarded in the second draft stage as Jones pursues the image of Arthur's hunting of the boar in the *Culwch und Olwen*, which had been suggested by the first question:

or does it kennel the bitch-hounds? are these the name-bearing stones of the named hounds of the Arya of Britain? are they <the> night-yards of the dogs of the Island? that quested the hog from Port Cleis to Pebidiog down < round > to Aber of the two waters up to the stone enclosure & <the> leaning stones by the enclosure, back to the stone of the children of Arthur, on to the White Fort hollow where the <first> slaughter <was> over Preselly Top down to Nevern dount-head where the Arya waited with the boar spears when the the innate hunters of Britain <del>defeated</del> < assaulted > < deployed > at the stream source <water course> & the second slaughter was & the wounding of the quarry when the chief architect of the Island fell to the boar thrust & at dawn the third slaughter was. on to Teily town where the wounded tusker thrust again to sorrow the Queen of France[...]

(LR8/6.172)

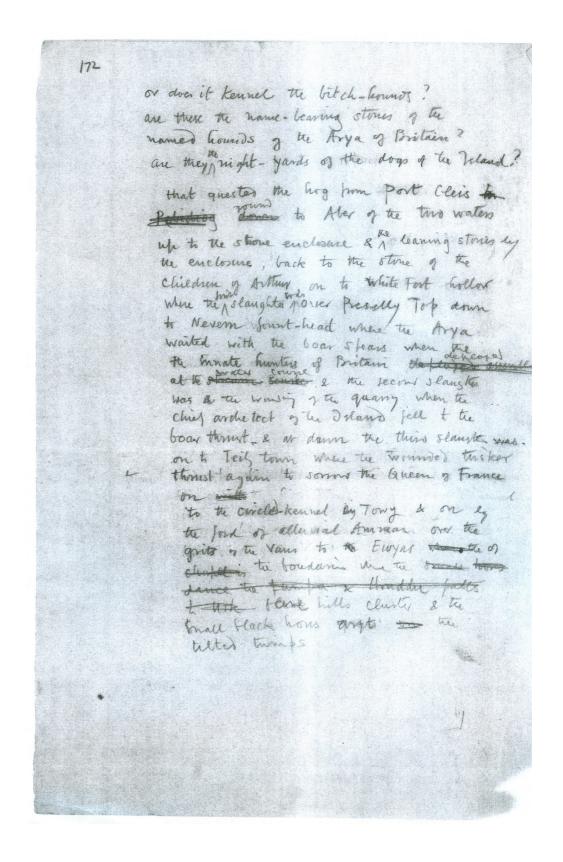
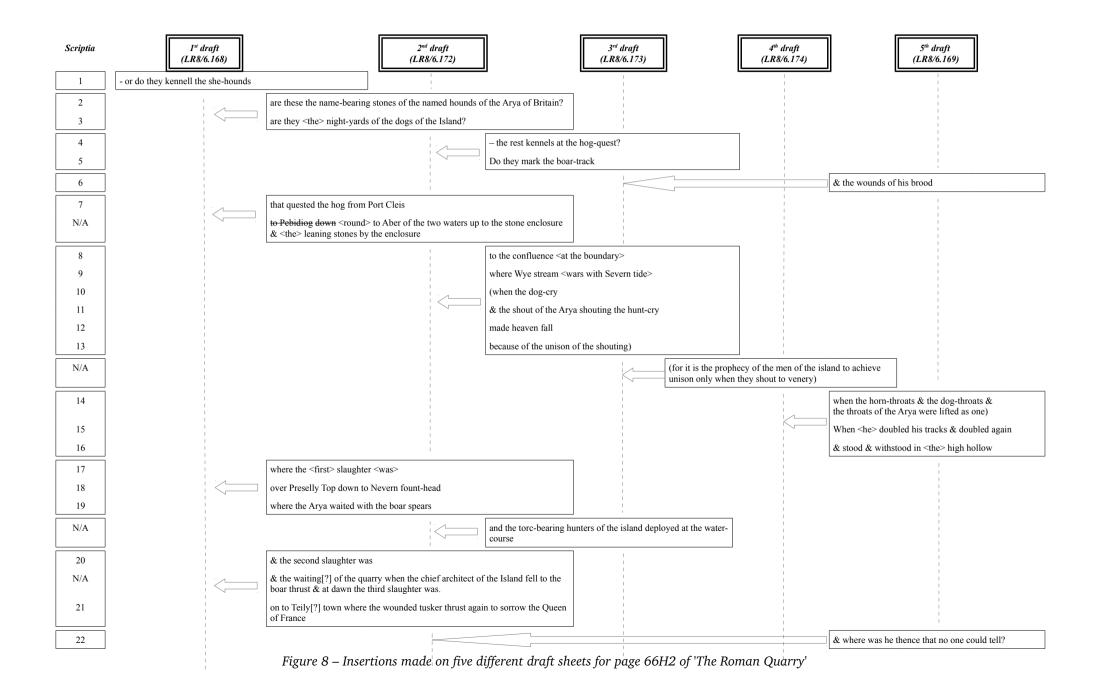


Figure 7 – Development of part of 'The Roman Quarry' from 'does it kennel the bitch-hounds?' (LR8/6.172)

This draft is written in pencil, and there is evidence of some rubbing out (see Figure 7, above). Whilst the notion of this being a singular 'draft' is therefore

problematic, we will for now treat of each draft sheet as the locus of a single drafting stage. Accordingly, we can describe the further development of this passage thus: Jones inserted three passages of text at a third draft stage (on LR8/6.173), one short passage at a fourth stage (LA8/6.174), and three passages at a fifth stage (LR8/6.169 and 169.v). After doing so, he made no further insertions to this part of the text (though he did delete several lines). The process of the growth of this part of Jones's text is best represented diagrammatically (see Figure 8, below). (Images of the manuscript sheets upon which these insertions are made are included as Appendix 3)



The diagram above includes only the first 18 lines of the text which was inserted at the second draft stage. If we had sought to examine *all* of the text contained on the second draft sheet (28 lines in total), we would see just how much of the final manuscript text, formed by insertions made to it in 30 subsequent drafting stages, was genetically dependent on the material contained on that single sheet. The text of this single draft sheet grew until it occupied 12 manuscript sheets, an expansion from 28 to 231 lines. Jones's text, then, can already be seen to be like an index card system, which gathers more and more entries within its already established A to Z structure. It is not built *upon*, but *within* – and at a far smaller scale than that described by Thomas Dilworth and Thomas Goldpaugh.

Figure 9, below, is a compressed representation of the scriptia analysis for the whole of the 66H1-14 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'. (A version in which the scriptias can be read and the individual draft sheets identified is presented as Appendix 2). Each row of the table corresponds to a single scriptia. The top row represents the first scriptia of the first page of the final manuscript of this foliational stratum; the bottom row represents the final scriptia of the final manuscript. Each column of the table corresponds with a draft sheet towards the final manuscript. The left-most column represents the earliest surviving draft, while the right-most column represents the latest draft prior to the production of the final manuscript. 150 Individual cells within the table which are shaded grey denote the presence of an early version of a particular scriptia on a particular draft sheet. This method of representing the process by which Jones worked enables us to penetrate the confusion which the conflict between the paginational code and the growth of the text presents us with. concentrating on the text rather than the paginational code, we can see that the 'stages' in which Jones made his 'insertions' were miniscule and multitudinous. We can therefore see that the method which Jones used - 'catch-as-catch-can' (or, with characteristically self-deprecating humour, 'C.A.C.C.') is the way he described it (IN 39 and 49) – could not have been oriented upon a final form.

To place the preceding close-up analysis in context, the small dotted rectangle in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> The order of Jones's drafts cannot always be established with certainty, so the order is not absolute. This, however, does not affect the current analysis.

Figure 9 (below) marks the extent of the text covered by the analysis represented by Figure 8 (above). This, in turn, can be compared with the extent of the insertions made to the text contained on the second draft sheet in subsequent drafts (see the large rectangle drawn over the diagram), and to the 66H1-14 insertional stratum of 'The Roman Quarry' as a whole (the limits of the diagram).

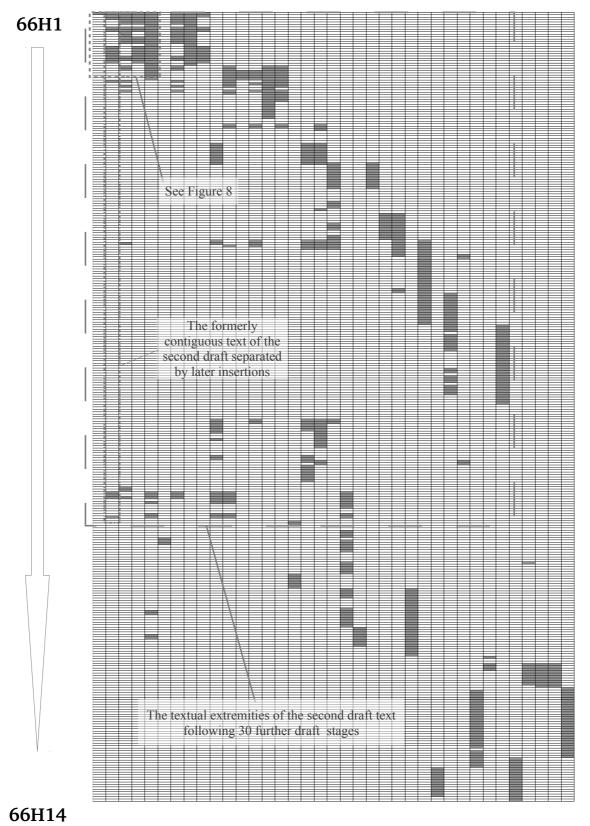


Figure 9 – Full overview of scriptia analysis of the third foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

Using Figure 9, we can see that on almost every single draft sheet (column) scriptias which were formerly contiguous are separated by later drafts (in columns to the right). This is denoted by the gaps between shaded cells in any

given column: material entering the text in later draft stages has pushed the text apart. We can therefore see from the analysis of Jones's text using the scriptias that the division and insertion of his text took place *within* the foliational stratum rather than being the mechanism which constituted its limits. This process of division and insertion – a process of division *by* insertion – was taking place at a very small scale: Jones's insertions were often equivalent to only one, two, or three scriptias at a time (see the 'isolated' cells shaded in grey in Figure 9), which meant that the building of the text by continued insertion involved a huge number of micro-insertions.<sup>151</sup>

It is clear, then, that within this foliational stratum, which Thomas Goldpaugh would have us believe is equivalent to a single insertion, there are numerous points within the traceable genesis of the text at which we might point toward a far smaller insertion – and then, again, numerous insertional points within these, and so on. Tracing the insertional development of the stratum back through these numerous localized micro-insertional instances has revealed that almost the whole of this foliational stratum was inserted between scriptias which in an early draft had occupied a single sheet. The Jonesian insertion was not a wholesale grafting, but an organic cellular growth which did not take place in distinct stages.

If we turn from 'The Roman Quarry' to *The Anathemata*, we can see that Jones's method was precisely the same, and that Dilworth's account, like Goldpaugh's, is also untenable. As mentioned above, the foliational structure of the manuscript has led Dilworth to the conclusion that Jones divided an initial eight page draft on its fifth page, and inserted within it a twenty page passage, paginated 5A to 5T; and that Jones repeated this process eight times, making large insertions at the centre of the emerging text on each occasion. If we look at the foliational strata of the manuscript alone, we can already call Dilworth's analysis into question. The 'insertions' which Dilworth describes were not made at the 'centre'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> For example, 66H5 (LR8/6.183), in order to become the same as the 'final' manuscript, must have scriptias 208-9, 212-216, 220, 226-9, 235-240, and 245-8 inserted into its text; which is to say that the text receives insertions of groups of only 2, 5, 1, 4, 6 and 4 scriptias. See Appendix 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> *DJP* LR8/6.169 (66H2). Jones uses both sides of the sheet. The text corresponds to scriptias 1-29, 201-3, 205, 210-1, 250-1, and 260-1.

of the emerging text at all; neither were they as orderly – supposedly occurring in eight distinct stages – as Dilworth makes out. The following diagram (Figure 10), representing the location of the various insertions to the manuscript of *The Anathemata*, reveals that, whilst the first three foliational strata (those within the first foliational order), do appear to conform to Dilworth's interpretation, those constituting the second foliational order are much more haphazard; three large 'insertions' were made to the 74 page base stratum: 11A-I (9 pages), 37A-R (18 pages) and 62A-O (15 pages). Whilst the centre of the manuscript was indeed at page 37 after Jones repaginated it (from 1 to 74), the other two insertions (the first of which developed into a passage of some 23 pages) do not conform to Dilworth's parenthetical formal model. Likewise, the largest of the four foliational strata which developed out of the 37A-R stratum, and the one which was susequently bred numerous foliational strata, is paginated 37P1-9. Clearly 37P is not at the 'centre' of the 37A-R 'insertion', but right at its end.

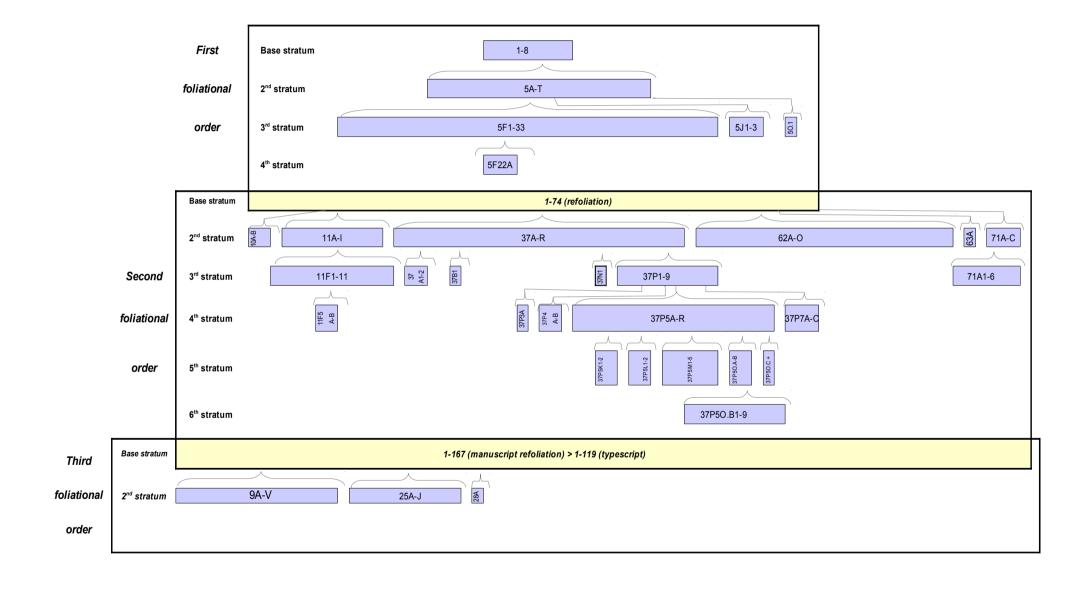


Figure 10 – The three foliational orders of the manuscript of The Anathemata showing the non-parenthetical form of the 'insertions'

The preceding observations refute Dilworth's claim that Jones was inserting material at the centre of his manuscript. If we undertake an analysis of the base foliational stratum for the whole poem, paginated 1-8, using the scriptias to track the emergence of the text, we can see that the 'insertion' 5A-T which Dilworth identifies was actually neither a single insertion, nor does the pagination of that stratum denote that this supposed 'insertion' was genetically discrete from the text it was supposedly inserted into. A brief account of the text of this foundational passage will help us place the scriptia analysis in its proper context. (I reproduce images of the base stratum of the final manuscript, as far as it can be re-constituted, in Appendix 4.)

The eight page base stratum for the whole of *The Anathemata* begins by stating the aporia of the origins of man-the-maker: 'We already & first of all discern him making this thing other'. When a sacramental act first took place some 35,000 years ago, man was both 'already' man, and 'first of all' man: man is here impossibly self-creating. This act is then immediately placed in analogical similarity with the Latin Mass through the use of the words of the preconsecration epiclesis in the Eucharist: "his groping syntax, if we attend, already shapes: *adscriptam*, *ratam*, *rationabilem*" (p.1; LA1/8.3). After this, the text hones in on the anachronistic position of priests in the modern West, who are not aware of the "utile infiltration" which "creeps vestibule / is already at the closed lattices, is coming / through each door" (p.2; LA1/8.4). On the third page of this base text, the description of the modern priest transmutes into a description of the Cenacle, where the Eucharist was instituted:

Within the railed tumulus

he sings high & he sings low

in a low voice

as one who speaks

where a few are, gathered in

high-room

and one gone out.

There's conspiracy here:

Here is birthday & anniversary

if there's continuity here, there's a new beginning.

(p.3; LA1/8.5)

There follows a description of the adjustment of the calendar so that the night of the Last Supper can be described as "appointed", and then of the disciples gathered in the Upper Room. The disciples are preparing the room for the Supper, described in the terms of a ship (the ship as the Church and as Christ later becomes a central image throughout *The Anathemata*):

They besom here and arrange this conveniently <handy>tidy here, & furbish with the green of the year the cross-beams & the gleaming board.

They make all shipshape: For she must be trim

(p.5; LA1/8.7)

There then follows the description of Christ's institution of the Eucharist, an act which brings eternity into human time:

In the prepared high-room
he implements, inside time & late in time
under forms indelibly marked by locale
and incidence, deliberations made out
of time, before all <oreogenesis>
on this hill

at a time's turn under Magian constellations

<or> before any genesis of creatures

Not on any hill

but on this hill.

(p.5; LA1/8.7)<sup>153</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> I have suppressed the crossings out on this sheet because these crossings out were only made after Jones transferred these lines to sheet 5A (i.e. they always remained part of the text).

The text then focuses on the specificity of the place and time of Christ's act "<On Ariel Hill, on Sion tumulus,> / on Uru mound, in Salem cenecle / in the white Beth-El". It is then made clear that Christ's institution of the Eucharist partook of a sign-world familiar to the culture which was his: "according to the *disciplina* / of this peculiar people;" but, in spite of the particulars of the act, that it was a universal act (Jones uses Latin, Welsh and German for 'people' or 'folk' in order to formally represent such a universality): "In accord with the intentions / of all peoples / and kindreds / *et gentium, cenhedloedd, und volker*" (p.6; LA1/9.140). The particular act and its universal significance is meditated upon for a further two pages until the text concludes on the same note:

He does what is done in many places
What he does other
he does after the mode
of what has always been done.

What did he do
at the garnished supper, seated?

What did he do other

Riding the flowering tree?

(pp.[7]-8; LA1/23.5 and LA1/3.20)<sup>154</sup>

Christ's act in the Cenacle is placed in sacramental correspondence with the act out of which man emerged: Christ's 'making' is part of a continuous tradition of 'makings other' which began 35,000 years ago, and which was described at the opening of this base stratum.

If we now turn to the scriptia analysis of this eight page draft, we can see that this passage was not 'split' by Jones at the fifth page: the text was always already splitting to take in insertions from the earliest moment at which Jones began redrafting. There were, however, two main loci for this insertional work. The material treating of the modern day mass and the preparation of the Cenacle

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> The two concluding pages of the final manuscript do not survive. These sheets are the latest extant versions, and the final four lines here correspond to the version published.

was developed within the text contained on the earliest extant draft. The diagram below (Figure 11) is much like the previous table of scriptias for 'The Roman Quarry' (Figure 9 and Appendix 2): the text of the final manuscript has been divided into scriptias, and each of these identified on earlier draft sheets. The two boxes (A and B) marked with dotted lines signify the two main groups of insertional work. The two long columns marked with a thick border are those draft sheets which contain the earliest extant drafts into which these two groups of insertions were made. Although early drafts which became the first three sheets of the final manuscript contain continuous pieces of writing, and are clearly not rough drafts – the text is only very rarely split by later insertion (see the first eight columns from the left in Figure 12 below) – material which later formed the end of page five of the final manuscript (relating to the specificity of place and time at the time of the institution of the Eucharist) was already emerging on the earliest version of the first page (see the left-most column, boxed in bold).

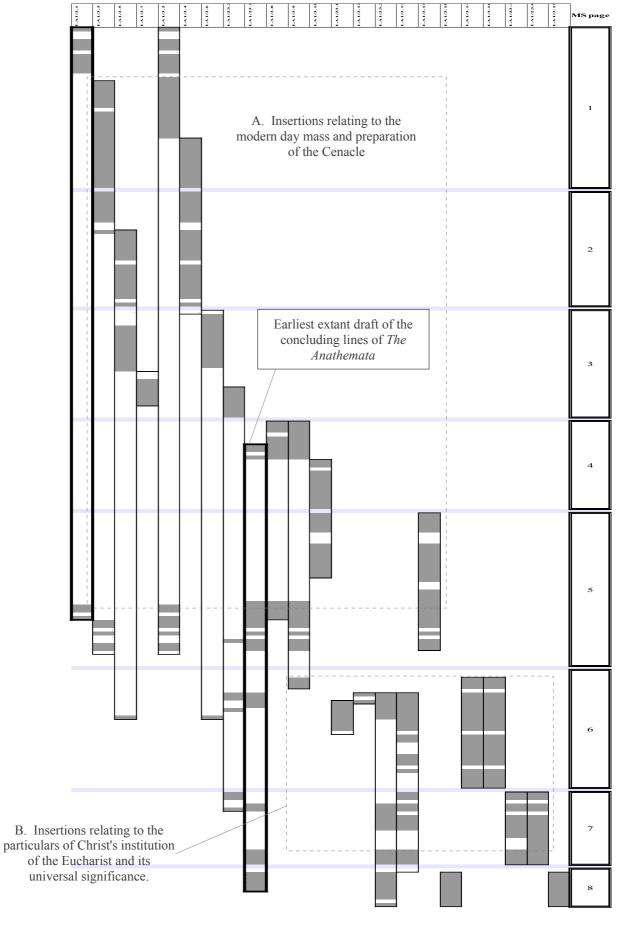


Figure 11 – Scriptia analysis of drafts toward the base stratum of The Anathemata

After page three, the drafting process is much more fully represented by the archival materials. The column boxed in bold towards the middle of Figure 11 (above) represents the scriptias contained on page four of an early, shorter version of the text. What is significant about this sheet is that it contains the earliest version of the final lines of *The Anathemata* – rubbed out, and barely visible – complete with the interrogative mode with which the poem ends as published (see transcription, and Figure 12, below).

[...]What he does other

times will tell, in all places.
What does he do in the high-room?
what was done on the hill-site?
What! is this no times turn?
Yes, for he has this kynedyf
that what he does other he
does once for all.

Yet what he does will be done as often as they did.

 $(LA1/23.1)^{155}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> Unfortunately, the rubbed-out lines are only visible as indentations on the original sheet – they are therefore absent (see the area marked below) from the reproduction overleaf.

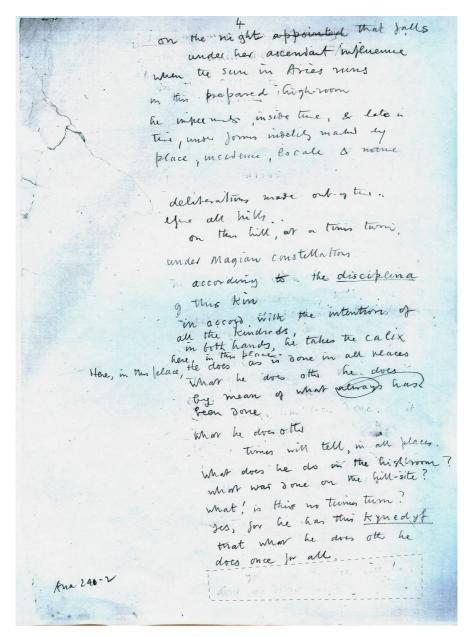


Figure 12 – The end of The Anathemata on a draft sheet paginated '4'

It is incontestably the case that, at the moment at which this draft sheet was written, the text as a whole ended (at a mere four pages long) – and that this ending was the same when the draft was eight pages long, and when it was 74 pages long, and again when it was published at 243 pages long. Dilworth's description of Jones's momentous discovery – that he could split the text at its centre when it was eight pages long – is therefore disproved: in order for the text to grow beyond the four pages it occupied at the time the above-quoted sheet was written, it had to be divided and inserted into. The truth is, it was always being divided and inserted into on every single draft sheet on a minute scale.

Look, for example, at the way the scriptias gradually approach the state of continuity in the final manuscript within box B of Figure 11, above. The gradual filling of blank space with grey in each successive column reveals that Jones made many localised insertions to his text, not wholesale 'insertions' of numerous pages long. It is for this reason that these final lines of *The Anathemata* appear on early draft sheets paginated 4, 5, 6 and 8: the final lines of the text were being shunted down and off each page as the text grew behind them.<sup>156</sup>

And so we see again that Jones's text was being inserted into on a minute scale: as he read over what he had drafted, he inserted further material, usually of one, two or three lines, between lines. There was no inserting at the 'centre' of his poem. There was no overarching formal intention.

So far in this chapter we have established that Jones developed a new method of writing which provided a 'ligament' for that writing – which secured its freedom to function. This method, as the analysis of the text's 'units of writing' has shown, was to make small scale insertions into the text and allow that text to grow organically, cell by cell. But if we look once more at the tables of scriptias for pages 66H1-14 of 'The Roman Quarry' and the base stratum of The Anathemata (in Figures 9 and 11, above), we see that some parts of the text appear on many more draft sheets than the others, and that in many cases, this is as the commencing lines to a new draft sheet. In the case of *The Anathemata*, we see in Figure 11 that the different drafts of the text seem to pivot in some way upon the latter part of page five of the final manuscript: the two loci of insertional activity (boxes A and B) are divided from one another by the 'stable' text at the end of the fifth page (six draft sheets end at this point, and another six begin with scriptias which come directly after this material in the final manuscript). The sheet containing the earliest extant draft of the concluding lines of *The Anathemata* (boxed in bold) also appears to be the draft in which Jones moved from one insertional locus to the other: it seems to be the sheet upon which some kind of transition occurred. If we look at the drafts for the

 $<sup>^{156}</sup>$  This can be seen on LA1/23.1 (MS page 4); LA1/3.13 and LA1/23.3 (MS page 5); LA1/3.18 (MS page 6); LA1/3.19 (MS page 8).

second foliational stratum, which have been catalogued as part of a separate file within the 'David Jones Papers' at the National Library of Wales, we find that the lines from the end of page five of the final manuscript were transferred across to the beginning of a new page, and that Jones began producing new material on a sheet he paginated 5A. So, the manuscripts to 'The Roman Quarry' and *The Anathemata* exhibit precisely the same phenomenon: some parts of the text were transferred by Jones to the top of a new sheet for further drafting. <sup>157</sup> It would seem that certain parts of Jones's emerging text became nodal points of textual generation. In the final part of this chapter, I present an analysis of what it was that made some parts of Jones's text more generative than others.

#### (iii) David Jones's method of the generative fragment

A description Jones made of his writing process in 1938 provides valuable context for understanding the method he came to develop five years later in the writing of the 'Roman Quarry': "[w]riting is odder than painting in some ways one seems to stodge on and scratch out for hours and days and then sometimes, quite out of the blue, something breaks through that gives the thing a tolerable shape – but it seems jolly accidental" (DGC 89). In this account, the 'accidental' appearance of the 'breakthrough' gives a pre-existent text a 'shape'. I would suggest that Jones developed his fragmentary method in 1943 by pursuing these breakthroughs to their full potential. A 'breakthrough' followed by a 'stodging on' followed by a 'breakthrough', and so on, would appear to characterize Jones's insertional method of writing. Moreover, this modulation seems to be mediated by the relative generative potential of different fragments. Those sheets of the 66H1-14 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry' and of the eight-page base stratum of The Anathemata containing formerly contiguous scriptias which are widely separated in following draft versions are the loci of a writerly 'breakthrough.' With a more detailed analysis of 'The Roman Quarry' stratum, we will see how they are subsequently widely separated because the scriptias on those sheets generate the material which pushes them apart. Multiple sheets

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> See, for example, scriptias 1-21, 97 and 201-211 in 'The Roman Quarry' manuscript, in Appendix 2.

which contain – or, most emphatically, which begin with – the same scriptia(s) indicate that this breakthrough is being pursued: the generative potential released by the breakthrough is being exploited, and a new page prepared for that act of writerly exploitation. Those sheets which exhibit only localised insertions indicate the parts of the text produced in a 'stodging on'. Why and how this is so is explained if we take a more detailed look at the content of the text.

## (a) Breakthrough: the generative fragment

The text of the second foliational stratum of the 'Roman Quarry' (66H1-14), which Jones eventually developed through the 1950s and '60s into two separate poems 'The Hunt' (an adaptation of the hog hunt narrative in *Culwch und Olwen*) and 'The Sleeping Lord', grew out of two small fragments. The origin of the former is first discernible in a fragment of text four lines long; the second emerges out of a single image which itself emerged during an early stage in the development of the first. In both cases, the originary lines develop from the chance suggestion of an image in Jones's already existent text, and establish the thematic basis of the whole text of the 66H1-14 foliational stratum. This whole text is itself reliant upon the chance suggestions made by the fragments of the text as it grows – every fragment both contains and is contained by others – but these suggestions occur within the terms of the breakthrough fragment.

### ♦ Case study 1: The 'hog hunt' breakthrough fragment

The four lines which are the genetic foundation of the hog hunt fragment – and so of 'The Hunt' – have their source in the suggestions made by already existent material, in particular the first foliational stratum passage on 66H:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> These versions were first published in *Agenda* in 1965 and 1967 respectively. At the foot of 'The Hunt' as published in *The Sleeping Lord* (1974), Jones writes: "c.1964 incorporating passages written c.1950 or earlier" (*SL* 69); at the foot of 'The Sleeping Lord', he writes: "November 1966 to March 1967" (*SL* 96).

The exception here is the sequence on pages 66H12-14, which were written as part of the first foliational stratum and then tacked on the end of the second foliational stratum. Here is another example of Jones's foliational order not indicating the genetic chronology of the text.

and does the stone mastaba cairn the negotiator?
does the false entry guard the mercator?
does the holed-slab within the darkened passage keep the dark promoter?

(DJP LR1/1.681)

Each of these questions is a fragment participating in the function of an overarching theme (which itself no doubt only initially arose as a small and self-enclosed fragment in the making of the text) whose focus is the remains (fragments) found in Wales of monuments commemorating or guarding the dead (sacraments). Preceding this and abutting it is a passage whose theme is the geology of Wales, and a meditation on its creation and development (see *RQ* 19-20).

The state of the text before Jones began inserting material at this point can be reconstructed with reference to the notes on the verso of 66G, which apply to the text on 66H (DJP LR1/1.680 and 681). Of the three numbered notes, the first two tally with the numbers given in the text of 66H. At the foot of 66H, a five-line passage has been rubbed out, but we can still make out that, at one point at least, the passage began: "or does it kennel the bitch-hounds?" There are signs beneath much of the writing on this sheet of rubbings- and crossingsout, and the text as it stands has been written in ink over the top (ending as above, with the 'dark promoter'). The third note to this sheet (which glosses one of the rubbed-out lines) refers to Jones's use of the phrase 'narrow-skulled prospector' (not present on 66H). This long note refers also to the presence of ritual 'cup-marks' on megaliths. So, we can see that the text's preoccupation with commemoration either continued within four lines of the line 'or does it kennel the bitch-hounds?', or that the 'bitch hounds' fragment shunted an earlier passage of the text, which continued this preoccupation, overleaf. I believe that the latter is more likely because of a marginal note Jones made to an earlier version of the text, in which he writes: 'keep' (see Figure 13, below).

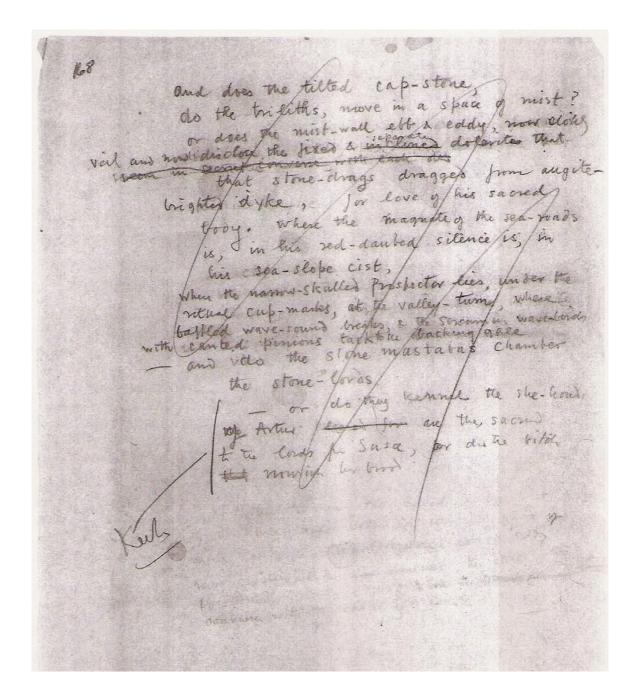


Figure 13 – The 'she-/bitch-hounds' breakthrough fragment (DJP LA8/6.168)

The four lines follow directly on from the 'stone mastaba' line thus:

and do the stone mastabas chamber
 the stone-lords

 or do they kennell the she-hounds
 of Arthur [illeg.] are they sacred
 to the lords of Susa, or does the bitch
 that nourish the brood

(DJP LR8/6.168)

These four lines – the only lines Jones 'keeps' – differ from every other version in the manuscript in referring to 'she-hounds' rather than 'bitch-hounds', and this is the only version to treat of 'stone mastabas', plural. This would tend to indicate that it is the earliest version of this fragment. Jones's 'keep' then, would appear to be an assertion of worth, a feeling for the potential of these four lines at their earliest emergence. In my view, he wrote 'keep' in the margin against these four lines because he was still developing the 'commemorative monument' fragment but felt that this emerging image – Arthur's dogs being buried beneath the mastabas – might constitute a breakthrough. Here, Jones was preventing himself from being distracted, and left his nascent work aside – resonating with the potential of this fragment – while he continued developing his commemorative material. In practice, it was only the opening line – an instance of the coextension of (my) scriptia and (Jones's) fragment – which was carried over, through every 66H2 draft, to the 'final' manuscript version. This line, I suggest, is an eminently generative fragment.

Jones's return to his 'kept' lines is signalled by his transferral of them, from forming part of the 66H draft material, to a fresh sheet of paper, numbered '66H2'. However, the first line was already generating completely new material, and displaced the three lines which had originally followed it:

or does it kennel the bitch-hounds?are these the name-bearing stones of the named hounds of the Arya of Britain?when they quested the hog from Port Cleis[...]

(DJP LR8/6.171)

The movement from the first to the second version reveals the first line-fragment to be the stable node in the production of text. As we move on from this second version, the first three lines are fixed in position in every subsequent draft: the first fragment-line has generated a trope for this thematic digression, and in whose terms the following two lines are structurally repetitive of the first:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> This is clear if we notice that on this sheet Jones has altered 'mastaba' to 'mastabas', which is an experiment he does not adopt in later sheets (all the 66H2 sheets begin 'or does it...', not 'or do they...'

fragments of myth (Arthurian legend with its source in the *Culhwch ac Olwen*, which features the boar hunt)<sup>161</sup> are imagined into co-presence with fragments of history (the stone mastabas at Pebidiog) by the poem. This, I believe, is the reason for Jones's assertion of value, as evidenced by his writing 'keep' in the margin beside these lines: they mark a breakthrough point at which an interpenetration of history and myth is conceived.

# Case study 2: The 'anthropomorphism of the land' breakthrough fragment

While developing the hog hunt material which had been suggested by a single imaginative turn upon a pre-existent line of text, Jones experienced another breakthrough. This breakthrough involved exactly the same interaction of Jones's imaginative free-association with a pre-existent text, but this time in the generation of text concerned with a 'sleeping lord'. The breakthrough which allowed this text to come into being was mediated by alterations made to early draft text, which gradually – but unpremeditatedly – brought that text close enough to a moment at which Jones imagined the land as this 'sleeping lord'.

The first appearance in the second foliational stratum of a tump by the river Honddu occurs on an early, and very messily written unpaginated draft sheet. These lines follow on from an early draft which develops the text immediately following the bitch-hounds fragment.

the boundaries where the small [illeg.] dance the Tumpa & Honddu falls to note bare[?] hills cluster & the small black hous[?] [illeg.] on the tilted tumps

 $(DJP LR8/6.172)^{162}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> See Goldpaugh (1999) 264.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> The close genetic relationship between the two breakthrough fragments in this foliational stratum (i.e. their early development on a single sheet, even though they end up being separated by ten pages of text) can be seen on two early draft sheets, one unnumbered, and the other numbered 66H2 (*DJP* LR8/6.172 and LR1/1.682 respectively).

I believe that Jones read this draft and imagined the tump as a pillow, and that this moment marks the breakthrough conception of the anthropomorphism of the Welsh landscape which eventually became 'The Sleeping Lord' in *SL* 70-96. The next extant draft shows Jones developing such a connection between the land and the myth for which it might stand; but then, after just five lines, move on to an interrogation on the name of that mythic figure. This brevity reveals that the emergence of such a trope is in its infancy.

[...]on the limestone beds of the Vans
& is his bed from Beult to Gower
is his pillow <the> tumpa are his feet
in [illeg.] is his lorica'd back
on Dyffryu Towy – is he the hills or
are the hills his? is Cronus his holy name <nomen>
<or had he another> font-name or will he be <is his font-name> Arthur
or will they call him Yvain of<de> Gaul
Galles

(66H2[v]; *DJP* LR8/6.169.v)

The very presence of this draft on the verso of this sheet (it runs on from a draft on the recto) implies that Jones was caught up in the excitement of the possibilities such a formulation proposed – he hardly ever drafted on the versos of his manuscript sheets as a continuation from recto drafting. The messy writing and the non-indentation of any of the lines implies the same (see Figure 14, below).

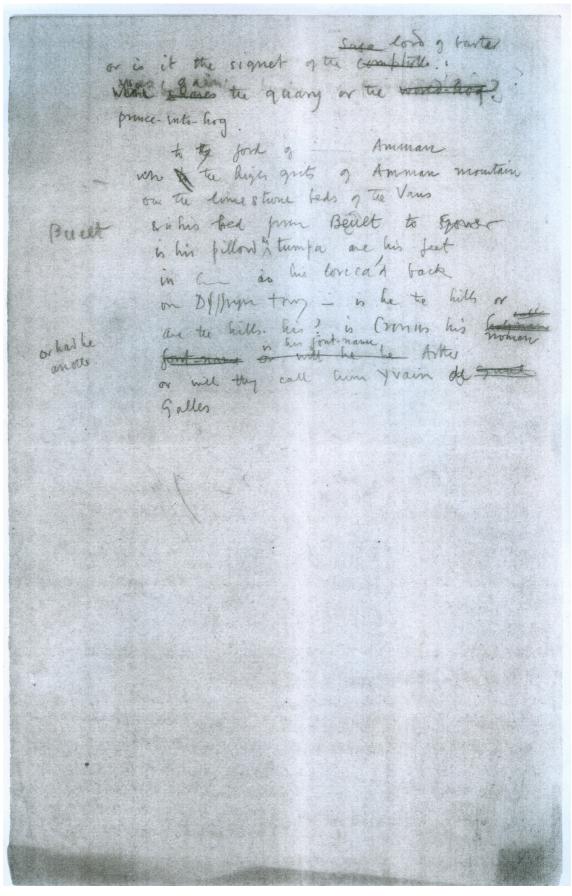


Figure 14 – Early draft in which the anthropomorphism of the land first emerges (LR8/6.169.v)

Following this, the unspecified tump of the second version is, in the third extant

version, made specific:

is the tump by Honddu his tilted pillow.

(66H3; *DJP* LR8/6.175)

At this point, a requisitely specific anthropomorphism of the land fragment-trope has been developed, and the writing of the text which follows becomes possible (just as in the example of the emerging 'hog hunt' fragment) because its terms have been laid out by that fragment-trope. This discovered image, following innumerable tiny insertions, eventually became a 26-page poem, 'The Sleeping Lord' (*SL* 70-96).

## (b) Double actuality: The nature of the breakthrough fragment

In the examples above of breakthrough fragments, we see how Jones's text was generated by itself. Reading over his work, a fragment suggested a free-associational chain of other fragments. This process, repeated many times over, generated the eventual text. The question is, though, How was it that these line-fragments in particular – the 'kennel the bitch-hounds' and the 'Beullt-Gower-Honddu' fragments – presented Jones with such breakthroughs? What is it that distinguishes them from the multitude of other line-fragments which enter the text at a multitude of times? The answer to these questions can be found if we consider Jones's notion of 'double actuality', outlined in a letter of 1947 to W. F. Jackson Knight.

I noticed in that Virgil Society literature that was sent to me: about the seven planets & the seven-branched candlestick – how its [sic] 'good poetry' only when there are only seven planets – that's the bed-rock difference I'm sure, between good & bad stuff, the correspondence with a double actuality. When one actuality changes – then the 'magic' ceases to work...No skill or 'sensitivity' of sorts can save it when this rule is violated. It's the eternal 'Thou shalt not' of poetry – 'Thou shalt not bear false witness.' – Just the same in painting, you

Jones's breakthrough line-fragments are textual manifestations of the sudden conception of a double actuality. The example from Virgil to which Jones refers combines astronomy and religious rite. Jones finds this attractive because it gives rise to an interpenetration of the two classes of fact and myth, which Jones equated with the utile and gratuitous (see in particular *RQ* 4-5). When Jones imagines Arthur's hounds beneath the prehistoric stone mastabas in Ceredigion, a 'double actuality' is experienced across these two classes, this time under the guise of history (the stones) and myth (Arthur's hog hunt). It is their combination which gives that line-fragment its potential: its doubleness works in exactly the same way as a metaphor. In the case of the 'anthropomorphism of the land' fragment-trope, the double actuality is again of fact (the specific geology of Wales) and myth (the mythic figure for the wellbeing of a nation). 'Double actuality' is, then, a specific name for the structure of a specific kind of poetic idea.

The writing of these experiments enabled Jones to discover the means by which he might successfully undertake the making of a long poem about ideas. Going through the manuscript of *The Anathemata*, we find that the breakthrough fragment was the driving force behind the making of the poem – and the family resemblance between them is that they indicate the moment of a discovered double actuality. If we return to the pivotal lines at the end of page five of the base stratum of *The Anathemata* – the ones which Jones transferred to the top of a new sheet which he labelled 5A, thus instituting the second foliational stratum – we find a reason for their genetic importance: they suggest a combination of geology, theology and history. When Christ "implements, under forms indelibly marked / by locale and incidence, / deliberations made out of time / before all mountains / on this hill / at a time's turn" (page 5; *DJP* LA1/3.11), the specificity of time and place emerges as a genetic trope. Out of this fragment, which as we have seen had lead to a meditation on the institution of the Eucharist and that act's dependence on local traditions (see pages 5-6; *DJP* 

LA1/8.7-LA1/9.140), is generated the text which links late-nineteenth-century geological and archaeological data, Aristotle's theory of the Great Summer and the Great Winter, and Greek myth (see LA1/23.190v, and LA1/4.1-15 and *passim*). Jones, of course, transferred his breakthrough lines across to a fresh sheet, foliated '5A': "[on this unstable on this impermanent rock / (for one Great Summer / lifted up, / by next Great Winter / with Taurus, down" (*DJP* LA1/4.3; cf. *Ana* 55). <sup>163</sup>

Jones was not aware of how much material these generative fragments would produce; he seems to have proceeded only on a hunch. So, whilst Jones may appear to be doing what Dilworth says he did by transferring lines of his text from page 5 to a sheet he paginates 5A - he is preparing, as Dilworth would have it, to write the huge insertion (or insert the already written insertion) paginated 5A-T – we can see very clearly, if we look across the series of drafts from this foliational stratum, that Jones keeps returning to the part of the base stratum from where he set off. In the draft sheets which comprise the first foliational stratum (MS pp.5A-T) of the first foliational order (MS pp.1-8) (which equates to the beginning of what Dilworth and Goldpaugh call the 'first insertion'), Jones reconnects with the text of the original fragment on pages '5A', '5B' (in one case, Jones alters '5B' to '5C' as the draft is shunted down by further insertions), '5D', '5J', '5K' (becoming, first, '5M', then '5N'), '5O' and finally '5T'. 164 At its shortest, the insertion is only ten lines long; in the final version, the insertion is of hundreds of lines. Jones clearly did not know in advance how generative this fragment would end up being.

The numerous breakthrough fragments which acted as genetic nodes for Jones's making of *The Anathemata* can therefore be reliably identified simply by finding

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> As this network of insertions grew, so it led in turn to the construction of another breakthrough fragment in the form of the dating of the Passion in relation to history (see 5F; *DJP* LA1/4.23), which generated the refrain under which the network of insertions which make up at least 5F-J and 5F1-12 could be produced: [number of] [millennia / centuries / decades / olympiads / years] since [historical event]. The recurrence of this device in the published text brings us closer and closer in time to the Passion, from the moment of the first gratuitous making – "Twenty millenia (and what millenia more?) / Since he became / man master-of-plastic" – to the moment of Christ's own birth: "Thirty-three Janus-nights gone / since...three dukes *venerunt*: / halted Arya-van / at Star-halt." (*Ana* 59-61, 84-94, 185-9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> These are found on the following manuscript sheets in the NLW folios: LA1/23.190.v, LA1/4.1, LA1/4.3, LA1/4.4, LA1/4.8, LA1/4.10, LA1/8.11, LA1/4.180-183, LA1/4.208, LA1/4.218-219 and LA1/9.139.

different draft sheets which begin with the same part of the text: Jones is making space – a sheet of blank paper – for a network of insertions to be generated between it and the page which, in view of it being an insertion, always already follows it. And these instances of the breakthrough fragment can be found in vast numbers: every foliational stratum begins with one, but also contains numerous others which emerge by chance as Jones is engaged in the process of writing himself back to where he left off.

The conception of the generative breakthrough fragment, then, was the moment of excitement in Jones's act of making. 166 It stands in the makerly present between the fragmentary sense of the cultural past and the whole or ideal text which it promises to bring to fruition in the future. This 'inbetweenness' is the material sign of the true inbetweenness in Jones's method: that of the dialectic of the fragment. The fragment and the whole are engaged in a complex interdependence. The fragment is more whole than the professedly whole because of its generative potentiality, and thus its promised approach to the production of the romantic ideal work. The fragment promises the perfectible work:

Let us say that what the fragment continually portends – to speak romantically, and not without irony – while never ceasing to annul it, is – in Blanchot's words – 'the search for a new form of fulfillment that mobilizes – renders mobile – the whole, even while interrupting it in various ways.' <sup>167</sup>

There cannot be a more accurate and succinct description of Jones's fragmentary method of making: each insertion strives towards a new whole whilst fragmenting an old one. Following a breakthrough, Jones rummaged (whether manually or mentally; and in this latter category, whether consciously or unconsciously) through the things that "happen to be lying around the place" (*Ana* 34) – his deposits – and, a fragment of his deposits suggesting a particular

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> I explore the role which the space of the page played in Jones's drafting process in Chapter 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> In specific reference to the hog-hunt breakthrough, the flurry of textual activity which appears on the many sheets foliated 62 and 66H2 and beginning 'And does it kennel the bitch-hounds?' (which indeed is the cause of so many sheets being written and foliated with those numbers) gives a clear indication of the creative excitement immediately following the conception of a new tropological digression by Jones.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy (*c*.1988) 57.

significance to him at that particular time, he fitted it together with his text within the terms laid out by the breakthrough fragment.

## (c) Stodgeing-on: following the furrow of the generative fragment

Jones undertook this 'fitting together' through the insertion of small amounts of text between already existent lines. The fragment-trope acted as the guiding principle for his quasi free-associational method, and so we can see just how 'empirical' the 'fitting together' of his text became.

The text which follows the 'bitch-hounds' line-fragment in the 'final' manuscript version was generated at different times, and in different sets of insertions. In the following analysis, I will look at three draft versions in order to assess the generation of text which corresponds with scriptias 48-99. This passage lists the riders (along with their own, as well as their horses' and dogs', attributes) who served Arthur in the hog hunt. Once again, Jones is mixing myth and fact: the thematic focus is from *Culhwch ac Olwen*, a mythical source; Jones's insertions, which become this part of his text, are predominantly drawn from historical sources.

On sheet 66H3 (*DJP* LR8/6.176), the earliest draft of which I treat here, Jones lists the riders who serve Arthur in the hog hunt. In total, there are four kinds of rider, differentiated one from another by being "innate high-men", "torquewearing high-men", "mayors of the trefs" or "oath-taking". These four groups of riders "close-guard, to rear & before, the lord with who <directs the toil>" – which is of course Arthur (see Figure 15, below).

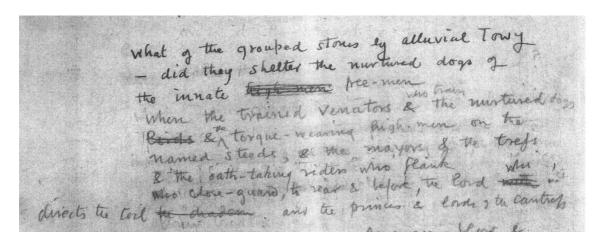


Figure 15 – Detail of an early draft describing the riders serving Arthur in the hog hunt (66H3; LR8/6.176)

A later draft of the same part of the text – now on a sheet foliated both 66H4 and 66H5 (*DJP* LR8/6.181) in consequence of the text's continual interior self-generation – adds a further nine groups of riders to the text immediately preceding the reference to Arthur who are classified by their being "of proud spirit", "of humility", "named", "unnamed", "silent", "shout[ing]", "laughing", "adjuvant", and "wand-bearing". They are then grouped together as "all the bright Arya of equal worth", though they are subordinate to Arthur, who has now become "the superlatively diademed Director of Toil" (see Figure 16).

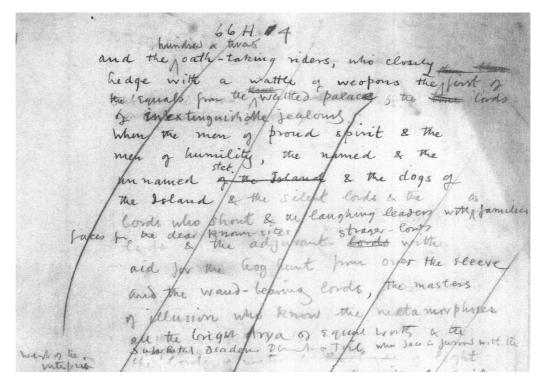


Figure 16 – Detail of a second draft describing the riders serving Arthur in the hog hunt (66H4; LR8/6.181)

A further draft for 66H5 (on sheet *DJP* LR8/6.182) adds a further eight groups of riders and includes three types of horses ("<the> free and the bond and the high-stepping horses") and a group of dogs ("the princed hounds with the <ruby> collar"). The eight groups of riders have become, at this draft stage, of greater specificity in comparison with previous versions: they are grouped in reference to their attitude towards that riding: "after deep consideration", "inveterate habit" and "interior compulsion"; or in terms of highly specific social behaviours: "who fear the narrow glances of the kindred", "who would stay for the dung-bailiff's daughter", "who would ride should the shining Matres three by three seek to stay them", "who would mount though the green wound unstitched", "who would leave their mounts in stall if the bite of a gad-fly could excuse them" (see Figure 17).

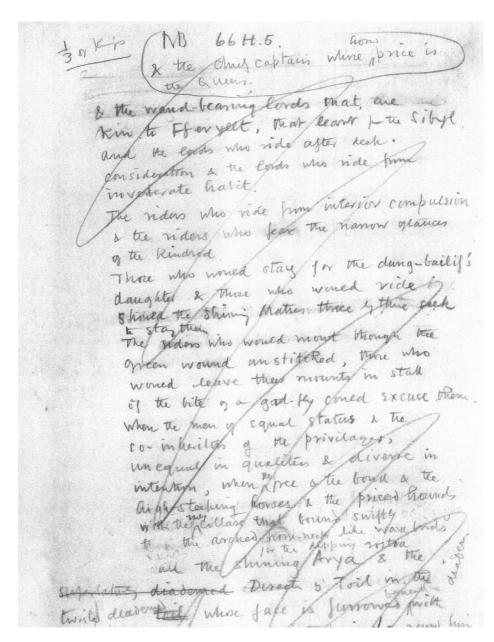


Figure 17 – Detail of a third sample draft describing the riders serving Arthur in the hog hunt (66H5; LR8/6.182)

The division of the "<hundred & twenty> oath-taking riders" into separate classes only occurs in Jones's text because, first, such social divisions occurred in Welsh society in the middle ages; and second, the awareness of these divisions has reached Jones through a tradition of knowledge which relies on the survival of the texts which carry that tradition. All of these classes of rider have a source in David Jones's deposits. In a footnote to the manuscript, Jones writes in general reference to this passage that "Here we meet some ideas and terms

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> The function of this late insertion ("<hundred & twenty>") in increasing the specificity of the reference is ample example of Jones's use of his deposts. In his note to this passage, Jones writes that "[t]he *teulu* (house-host), the warband of the leaders and petty kings, traditionally consisted of 120 horsemen vowed to protect their lord" (*RQ* 22).

derived from the Welsh Laws of the early Middle Ages" (RQ 21, note 46). In subsequent footnotes referring to this passage, Jones refers to the two Triads of 'The Three Fettered Warbands' and of 'The Three Faithless Warbands', and T. P. Ellis's Welsh Tribal Law and Custom (RQ 22, note 49 and 23, note 51). In also referring to Hughes's 'Cash Chemist' (whatever that might be), the Taliesin myth and the Welsh philological work of a Professor Lloyd (RQ 21-23, notes), it is abundantly clear that the sources for this passage have been found just 'lying about the place'. But also, and in specific reference to Jones's method of writing, it is clear that the text's growth here depends upon, first, an established trope that of the hog hunt - within which further making can occur; second, a thematic device within whose terms new fragments can be fitted together to form the text – the numerous different kinds of rider (40 in the end) – and third, the provision of raw material for that making (the 'data' or 'deposits'). comparing the manuscript drafts of 'The Roman Quarry' we can see that the process of 'stodgeing on' required Jones to take specific images or events or attributes – and thus fragments – from his deposits, and gradually insert them into his work as text-fragments within the terms laid out by the breakthrough fragment(s). The initial breakthrough fragment thus forms a kind of receptacle into which Jones is able to place more fragments, and thus we see the interdependence and interconnectedness of his textual-genetic fragments, each containing, and contained by, many others.

#### Conclusion

As we have seen, in developing a method of the fragment in the writing of 'The Roman Quarry', where a fragment of each deposit is juxtaposed with others through the action of the generative fragment, Jones developed the method he would use throughout the writing of The Anathemata. All Jones's experiments, except for the second and third foliational strata of 'The Roman Quarry' and the earliest experiment towards 'Balaam', operate within the terms of a narrative device, or are confined within the voice of a character or characters. When Jones began making his insertions into the base stratum of 'The Roman Quarry', the controlling devices of narrative voice, place, and action were completely abandoned in favour of the juxtaposition of fragments through 'quasi freeassociation' to produce a text suitably pied, dappled, and tangled. The trigger for these associations was the already-incorporated fragments in the textual interior of Jones's writing as he re-read them. The locus of the 'ligament' necessary to sustain his making was therefore transferred from orientation upon final form – as with narrative – to a place interior to the process of making itself. I believe that Jones's development of a fragmentary method allowed him to produce a text which he felt exhibited both shape and tangle in non-negational coexistence – which in effect provided a means for the formal representation of the shape of piedness. The fact that this method, of all those he attempted in his experiments, is the one which Jones used to write The Anathemata indicates that he felt that the fragment was the means by which he could re-call the shape that all the mess made in his mind.

The difference between Jones's process for the first experiments and for this latter one is profound. Jones's 'rambling on' originally took place at the temporal and textual extremity of an emerging text, and involved writing shapelessly into a void of blank paper, hoping something would come of it. The development of a method of the generative fragment meant that Jones was always forming only small writerly loops within the protective enclosure of his text: his method turned his text into a 'dug-out', the military term he used to describe the single-

roomed bed-sit he lived in for almost all of his adult life – and an image to which we will return. 169

At this point it would be useful to begin thinking about how Jones's method compares to those of other modernist writers. A. Walton Litz describes Joyce's method in the writing of *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* as "continual embroidery upon a fixed pattern."170 But there is an obvious difference between the approaches Joyce used in the writing of these works. Luca Crispi and Sam Slote point out in the introduction to *How Joyce Wrote Finnegans Wake* that Joyce's overall working method swung from the structural certainty of *Ulysses*, where the narrative order of The Odyssey and the events of 16 June 1904 dictated the structure of the novel Joyce was writing, to a writing which had an internally emerging structure, as with Finnegans Wake. 171 In the same way, Jones replaced the temporal sequence of events which inhered to the narrative form of In Parenthesis with the non-narrative form of The Anathemata, and in the writing of which its form simply had to emerge.

If we look a little closer, we find very strong similarities between Jones's method of writing The Anathemata and Joyce's method of writing Finnegans Wake. Patrick McCarthy's description of the making of the 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' chapter of Finnegans Wake reveals this very clearly. At each draft stage, Joyce added more and more short passages of material at a huge number of locations throughout the text. He used the versions of this chapter published in *Navire* d'Argent (1925), transition (1927), and then as a separate Crosby Gaige edition (1928) and then Faber edition (1930), as working copies of the chapter, and only stopped adding to it when it was published as the concluding chapter of the first section of Finnegans Wake (1939). Syntagmatic internal expansion continued throughout the writing and editing of the chapter, though in the later

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> One such example of Jones's use of this image can be found in Blissett (1981) 87. The priests at the opening of The Anathemata are described as "rear-guard details" singing "Within the railed tumulus" (Ana 50-1). Enclosures feature throughout Jones's work. For example, in the 'Absalom Mass' – published as the opening of 'The Roman Quarry' (RQ 113-5) - the priest is described as a "maker", whose performance of the rite produces "demarcation...white wattles...dykes", which are likened to a "magician's wall of wove brume or a portable hedge [or a] mazy barrier" (RQ 115). For an interesting exploration of Jones's reliance upon enclosures for protection, see Goldpaugh (1999) 253. <sup>170</sup> Quoted in McCarthy (2007) 164.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> Crispi and Slote (2007) 15.

phases, paradigmatic alteration occurs more frequently as Joyce began to alter his text so that it would pun on hundreds of river names.<sup>172</sup> In the end, Joyce's chapter was ten times longer than it had been in its initial complete draft form.<sup>173</sup> Such an internal, cellular expansion is, as we have seen, exactly the way in which *The Anathemata* developed.

David Hayman's account of the writing of Finnegans Wake reveals that each addition to the text of Finnegans Wake focused on textual 'nodes' or 'epiphanoids' which engendered such addition. The 'prime nodes' of the Wake – the Tristan and Isolde story, the letter from HCE to ALP, HCE himself, the ballad of Finnegan, and so on – were returned to by Joyce throughout his writing of the text, setting up secondary nodes, which formed the foundations of the text's production in the early stages. A tertiary level of allusion is broadly scattered from these nodes, and a fourth level is built out of this third level. 174 Whilst I agree with Geert Lernout that Hayman's account describes an overly logical method, and is motivated by an overly deterministic conception of Joyce's writing method, this account, in uncovering the insertional method Joyce used, does make it clear that his approach was remarkably similar to Jones's. <sup>175</sup> In both Jones and Joyce, we see how very small developments, sprouting everywhere from within the already-written text, lead to the text's gradual expansion toward an ever more complex and enmeshed encyclopaedic form. In both, finding a method in which a balance between determinism and chance could be reached was essential; Hayman's summary of Joyce's method applies equally to Jones's method, as we have discovered it in the preceding analysis: "In composing Finnegans Wake, Joyce was neither filling in the blanks of a prefabricated structural plan nor indulging in free association."176

The internal growth of *Finnegans Wake* and *The Anathemata* contrasts starkly with the method Eliot used in the writing of *The Waste Land*. Laurence Rainey's study of the manuscript of *The Waste Land* provides us with evidence of Eliot's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> See Patrick A. McCarthy, "Making Herself Tidal": Chapter I.8' in Crispi and Slote (2007) 163-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> It is worth noting that Daniel Ferrer and Jean-Michel Rabaté, in a brilliant essay on Joyce's paragraphs in *Ulysses*, characterize Joyce's process of writing his earlier novel as operating in the same way, the text's growth occurring through "textual inflation from the inside." Ferrer and Rabaté (2004) 139.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> See Hayman (1990) 37-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> See Lernout (1995) 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> Hayman (1990) 55.

very different way of working. This way of working is not comprehensively visible because hardly any draft versions (rather than fine autograph or typescript copies) of *The Waste Land* exist. However, from the seven or eight prefinal manuscript drafts that do survive, Rainey notes that Eliot's method in the writing of *The Waste Land* was to write short, isolated drafts (at an average of 12 lines long each) and piece them together. The available evidence leads Rainey to estimate that the writing of *The Waste Land* as a whole involved the piecing together of between 48 and 55 separate drafts – and we should bear in mind that Rainey is here talking about the version cut by Pound to almost half its length. As Rainey remarks, "The trick in writing such a long poem, then, was how to stitch together between 48 and 55 separate drafts." Jones and Joyce worked in a completely different way, the text growing out of itself, and almost never having its constituent parts re-organised into new orders.

What is interesting here is that, in Jones's shift from the method of his experiments – writing separate passages and later attempting to piece them together – to the fragment-insertional method he used in the writing of *The Anathemata* – in which the text grew out of itself as if a single, if highly diverse (dappled), organism – Jones's makerly method shifts from the Eliotic to the Joycean. The implications of this are enormous, and cannot be explored in this thesis. However, this kind of comparative genetics will, I hope, become more commonly practiced as the raw data which genetic criticism produces becomes more readily available for more and more modernist writers.

One question we might ask, though, is this: If Jones discovered the method of *The Anathemata* in the writing of 'The Roman Quarry', why is 'The Roman Quarry' not part of *The Anathemata*? Or more to the point, why did Jones not continue to pursue this method within the emerging 'Roman Quarry' towards the completion of a different long poem? The answer to this question is simple: the conceptual centre of Jones's long poem shifted. The discovery of this new centre is the subject of the following chapter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Rainey (2005) 40. It is worth remarking that Proust's method of writing, although in prose, was far closer to that of Eliot than to that of Joyce or Jones. As Dirk Van Hulle describes it, Proust moved his text around in blocks, something which Jones and Joyce only very rarely did. See Van Hulle (2004) 65-8.

### **⋄2** ⋄

# "That shape that all the mess makes in your mind"

The emergence of the poem-concept, 1944-45

Nearly a quarter-century after the event, T. S. Eliot recalled in an article for *Poetry Chicago* the role Ezra Pound played in the completion of the poem which secured his renown: "It was in 1922 that I placed before him in Paris the manuscript of a sprawling chaotic poem called *The Waste Land* which left his hands reduced to about half its size, in the form in which it appears in print." <sup>178</sup> After 1971, when the manuscript and typescript sheets to the poem were edited and published in facsimile by his widow Valerie Eliot, the genesis of Eliot's poem, and particularly the nature of Pound's involvement, has provided – indeed continues to provide – fertile ground for criticism. A comparison of two suggested and more complex chronologies of the writing of *The Waste Land* than that outlined by Eliot – those of Hugh Kenner and Helen Gardner – will, I believe, prepare us for a view of the conceptual shift in 1945 which Jones's long poem underwent.

Hugh Kenner, in his essay 'The Urban Apocalypse' (1973), traces a chronology of the writing of *The Waste Land* which is based on an examination of the facsimile edition of the manuscript and typescripts, Valerie Eliot's notes in the introduction, and Eliot's references to his writing in contemporary letters. The earliest written sheets in the manuscript are dated, with reference to the handwriting, to 1914 or earlier; <sup>179</sup> and other passages, Kenner notes, were

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> T. S. Eliot, 'Ezra Pound', *Poetry Chicago* (September 1946); quoted by Gardner (1973) 69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> See Eliot (1971) 109, 113 and 130; as directed by Kenner (1973) 42.

adapted from work produced at least two years before the poem was even begun as a project in May 1921.<sup>180</sup> That is not to say that the poem was not already being made before pen was put to paper: Kenner, after Valerie Eliot, provides evidence from letters that Eliot mentioned "a poem I have in mind" on 5 November 1919, a little over two years before its completion. Following this first trace, we see from a reference in a letter to his mother that Eliot's poem was still only "in mind" nearly a year later in September 1920. By 9 May 1921, the poem was "partly on paper"; in mid-November, Eliot travelled to Lausanne, continuing a three month convalescent break from work at Lloyds; and on 13 Dec 1921, still in Lausanne, he was once again "working on a poem". 181

On his way back to London in early 1922, Eliot stopped off in Paris and showed Pound his set of manuscript and typescript sheets. According to Kenner (and this is where Helen Gardner presents a divergent course of events) after his return to London, Eliot went through his materials, complete with Pound's annotations and crossings out, and experienced a crisis: he no longer knew what his poem was about. Kenner, interpreting Eliot's questions to Pound in letters following his return to London as a sign of anxiety, suggests that "[w]hat seems to have bothered him was the loss of a schema." As a result of this loss, Eliot had no idea what to include in and what to excise from his poem.

Kenner traces the origin of *The Waste Land* to 'The Fire Sermon', which, before Pound had got his pen to it, had incorporated long passages imitating Augustan poetry, particularly of Dryden and Pope. The working title of the poem, at least for a time – 'He Do the Police in Different Voices' – gives weight to the interpretation that the original schema for the poem had been the imitation of other voices: Eliot's removal of these imitative passages following Pound's suggestion removed also the poem's unifying schema.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> For example, the Phlebas section was "Englished from a French poem ('Dans le Restaurant') that had been published in the *Little Review* three years before." Kenner (1973) 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> *Ibid.* 25. Kenner refers to the letters from which Valerie quotes in Eliot (1971) xviii-xxii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Kenner (1973) 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> See Eliot's questions to Pound in an undated letter of, probably, late-January 1922 in Pound (1950) 170-1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> See Kenner (1973) 34-37.

Helen Gardner, in her analysis of the genesis of the poem, agrees with Kenner that it had an "original ventriloquial base," 185 and that the poem lost an old and gained a new centre. However, Gardner suggests that Pound's annotations and alterations to Eliot's work took place before he reached Lausanne. possibilities Gardner suggests are (1) that Eliot posted his material from Margate to Pound in Paris, and picked it up on the way to Lausanne; (2) that he left it with Pound on the way to Lausanne, and Pound posted it on to him; and (3) that through 1920 and 1921, Pound looked at Eliot's emerging work during a number of visits to London. 186 All three of these suggestions, in dating Pound's involvement to a time preceding his arrival in Lausanne, suggest also, therefore, that Pound's involvement preceded the writing of any part of the fifth section of the poem. 187 Thus, in Gardner's interpretation, Pound's alterations to Eliot's work re-centred it prior to the writing of the fifth and final section, which might explain why this section was produced so quickly and effortlessly by Eliot. 188

Hugh Kenner remarks in reference to Eliot's introduction to his notes that "it is difficult to believe that anyone who saw only the first four parts in their original form would believe that 'the plan and a good deal of the incidental symbolism' were suggested by Jessie Weston's book on the Grail Legend, or that *The Golden* Bough...had much pertinence."189 However, if we consider that Pound's alterations knocked the ventriloquial centre from the poem, to the effect that "[i]ts centre had become the urban apocalypse, the great City dissolved into a desert", we can see how these themes from Frazer and Weston may have suddenly suggested themselves to Eliot. 190 With the old centre removed, Eliot was free to see a new centre to his poem emerge, and in a fit of excitement write its final part. 191

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> Gardner (1973) 80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup>*Ibid* 73-74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> Gardner makes a convincing case for Pound's comments having been made on a number of separate occasions: first, both ink and pencil are used by Pound; second, his comments are different in orientation: some are explanatory, "as if they were communicated by post", whilst others single out words without comment, which Gardner interprets as "the kinds of marks one makes on a piece of work one is going to hand back to the author in person." Ibid 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> See Kenner (1973) 42 and Gardner (1973) 73.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> Kenner (1973) 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> *Ibid* 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> Laurence Rainey's Revisiting 'The Waste Land' (2005) undertakes a comprehensive analysis of the manuscript of The Waste Land using paper data in the same way as I have in this thesis. The results of this analysis conflict with Kenner's and Gardner's theses to a certain extent, but do not invalidate the main thrust of their arguments, that a conceptual shift from 'He Do the Police in Different Voices' to 'The Waste

Helen Gardner quotes Eliot on Pound thus: "He was a marvellous critic because he didn't try to turn you into an imitation of himself. He tried to see what you were trying to do." I would supplement Gardner's argument by suggesting that the value of Pound for Eliot in specific relation to the writing of *The Waste Land* lay in his ability to see what Eliot was trying to do *when Eliot himself could not*. At play in the reorientation of Eliot's poem – from 'He Do the Police in Different Voices' to 'The Waste Land' – is, in my view, the negotiation between 'schema' and 'centre' in a writing. If Eliot's schema was the imitation of various voices, the removal of the great majority of the imitative passages because, as Pound implies, the originals did it better, created a different text with a different effect – with a different centre – though the writer's schema for how that writing should proceed remained as yet unchanged. The tension between centre and schema – between the effect of the text in reading, and the programmatic intention of its author – is, I would argue, an integral part of any making, and one which played an important role in the making of *The Anathemata*.

The tortuous coming into being of *The Anathemata* revolved entirely around the shifting centre of the poem, which forced Jones into adapting his intentioned schema accordingly. Jones, working alone without a catalytic Pound to see what it was he was trying to do and usher him in the right direction, struggled with the morass of experimental material he had produced between 1937 and 1944. The process in which the experiments came to be seen as just that – as experiments – was very slow; Jones's half-grasped schema was constantly restructuring itself in a chase after that shifting centre as he tentatively added or excised material. Whilst in the previous chapter I traced the development of a method of writing a poem about ideas, in this chapter I will examine the

Land' occurred. Rainey's discovery that part III of *The Waste Land* was not the first to be drafted is not incompatible with the idea that the poem had a 'ventriloquial' form in its earliest conception because it still appears to have been written prior to parts IV and V; and parts I and II, before Pound edited them, contained such multiple voices already, but none of the Grail myth material. For a tabular summary of the chronology of the manuscript material of *The Waste Land*, see Rainey (2005) 34-5. Although the meticulous care Rainey has taken in analysing the extant materials from the manuscript has produced some valuable data, there is simply not enough extant material for a comprehensive genetic critical investigation to be undertaken. I will return to Rainey's book at the end of this chapter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Eliot, *Paris Review Interviews*, reprinted in *Writers at Work* (1963) 79-84; quoted Gardner (1973) 76. <sup>193</sup> On one draft sheet, in the margin next to a long passage in rhyming couplets, Pound has written: "Too loose / rhyme drags it out to diffuseness / Trick of Pope etc. not to let couple[t] diffuse 'em." Eliot (1971)

development of the guiding principle to the writing of *The Anathemata*. Method and concept are interlinked, each informing the other, with innovations in the one leading to modifications in the other. As Jones's writing and editing progressed, the interstress of textual centre and writerly schema eventually reached a position of coincidence – or as near as possible coincidence – to the effect that a long poem became writeable. Overall, if the preceding chapter looked at the steadfastness of the textual fragment, entering the text and remaining obstinately the same whilst around it innumerable other insertions were made, this chapter looks at the mutability of the conceived whole.

In the first section I look at how the alterations Jones made to one of his fragments reveal the gradual conceptual reorientation of his poem about ideas toward a new schema focusing on man-the-maker. I will suggest that the alterations made to this fragment were integral to the conception of the foundational fragment of *The Anathemata*. In the second section I assess the importance of Jones's title in the making of the poem. Why is it that Jones's decision to stick with 'anathemata', in spite of his doubts, coincided exactly with the moment at which his long poem underwent its conceptual shift? I will suggest that title, concept and text were involved in a complex reciprocal interaction where each aspect was dependent on the others for its adequate completion, and that the discovery by Jones of his title marked the point at which the interstress of centre and schema became sufficiently stable in order for the writing to be undertaken.

Throughout this chapter, I propose that the recognition of the interstress of centre and schema in the making of *The Anathemata* necessarily involves differentiating between Jones as writer and as reader. I suggest that it was as a reader that old centres were inadvertently abandoned and new centres inadvertently found by Jones, and that as a writer building upon his text he had to adapt his intentions – his schema – accordingly.

### I. Finding Man-the-Maker as Conceptual Centre

In this section I examine the genesis of the fragment which acted as the receptacle for the multiple insertions which form *The Anathemata*. The foundational fragment of the poem, which explores the equivalence of the Mass, the institution of the Eucharist, and the Crucifixion as sign-makings<sup>194</sup> – and thus in Jones's thought as signs for man – is eight manuscript pages long. This fragment (reproduced as Appendix 4), which became the base stratum of the poem, and which we examined in the previous chapter, began its life as a single page draft which lists a number of artworks or artefacts. My purpose in this section will be to describe the process by which Jones moved from one to the other.

The initial one-page draft, written in 1941, was markedly different from most of Jones's other experimental writings. I would argue that this difference enabled Jones to enact this development. I will suggest that this one-page fragment allowed such a conceptual development because it could be read as an 'open' text whereas the other experiments were 'closed' to such re-orientative readings.

### (i) From made object to act of making: a first draft

[5]

Toward the end of 1941, David Jones wrote the following important single-page draft.

no bow or laced, finger-of-man, parti-coloured nor *opus anglicum* case-stitch free to run star chequed tree-of-life for small fowles to sing gilt-pointed for a faire cloth hemmed cris-wire for a holy shirt or hawk glove

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup>For Jones's reliance on Maurice de la Taille in this respect, see *E&A* 163, and note.

- for a legate *a latere* or the Queen of the out Isles's belly band to clothe in variety each inch to inch make a whole nor this pearl for that plain to show in this little what gradation
- [10] & tangle of being the school-doctors please to call order. Nor tip-of finger-worked or palm smoothed granulated by the rills of man's hand who works as the great waters very slow to make a fine polish when they
- [15] grind or smooth the caskets filligree or chased plate-of-proof. Or set this in paste carefully or (the <to> leaf the centuries) his coaxing stroke on stroke to turn the escaping contour |\*|195 in the blue *St Victoire* or (to
- [20] double-back on time) his free incision to run flank & hoof for a fore-shortened bison in the caves of ice<,> or<,> to come home (you know him in the tram) who cripples his eye at lense under the small pool of light<,>
- [25] crabbed<,> bent<,> with a coblers' hunch on him<,> in small hours<,> with steel point manuevering the bright copper-disc under gas-flame or candle flame in the small urban upper-room where he makes the image, beats into the material the word.

(DJP LR8/6.1)

In this passage, Jones presents a number of made objects, and then makers, collocated through his use of either 'nor' or 'or' into a rag-bag of made things straining at the limits of our sense of grammatical composure. This piece of writing might not appear to offer much genetically for Jones, except perhaps the continued attraction of further items to the list with the continued deployment of more 'or's and 'nor's. However, he commemorates this draft by writing "copied out & / corrected Nov 5 '41" at the foot of the page in pink pencil, and seals this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> Throughout this thesis, Jones's references to notes are indicated in my transcriptions by placing the symbol or number he uses between two upright lines: |\*| or more usually |1|, |2|, etc.

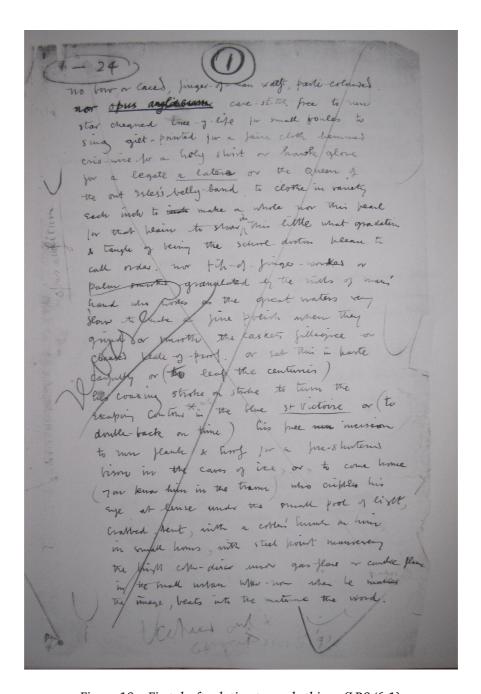


Figure 18 – First draft relating to made things (LR8/6.1)

As far as I have discovered, the only other occasions on which Jones commemorated a writing in this way were when he finished the draft of *In* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> Jones's continued use of these pages can be inferred from the different uses to which he tried to put them. The earliest draft (*DJP* LR8/6.1) has '1-24' written in pencil and circled to the top left of the page, though the sequence to which this refers is unclear. Jones has also circled the '1' on this sheet twice in red. If we look at the first page of 'final' manuscript for *The Anathemata* (LA1/3.3 – 'final' because it contains instructions to the typist) we see that Jones circles all three '1's (referring to the three different foliations the manuscript went through), but only circles one of the three '2's on LA1/3.4. Circling the '1' on the 'made/making' fragment seems, then, to be an emphatic, Yes, I shall begin my poem here. Also, on the second, two-page, version of the fragment, Jones has written on LR8/6.2: "contd. from 35 of Typescript". This refers to 'The Book of Balaam's Ass' as published by Hague in *RQ* 187-211.

Parenthesis at Pigotts (as mentioned in the previous chapter), and when he finished his manuscript version of The Anathemata in 1949 (this date is written at the top of his opening page; see *DJP* LA1/8.3). These two gestures mark the completion of large-scale makings: 281 pages over three years in the case of In Parenthesis, and 197 pages over five years in the case of The Anathemata. When he sealed the commemoration of this 'made things' fragment with a tick, he had produced just 29 lines of writing, probably (judging by its chaotic syntax) in a matter of minutes. This passage is unrhythmical, agrammatical, and never resolves itself into an argument. The reason why Jones commemorated this single page as he had his previous whole poem, and would his future whole poem also, is, I believe, that it was in this single page fragment that Jones first felt (if vaguely) the possibility of the centre of that latter poem. As we have seen in the previous chapter, 'The Roman Quarry' lies at the heart of the development of the method for *The Anathemata*. By contrast, though of no lesser importance, the draft quoted above, one which has never been published or assessed in Jones criticism, is, I would argue, the genetic conceptual root of the whole of The Anathemata. In view of what we have discovered in the first chapter, Jones's poem, no matter how large it became, would always have its origin in a single fragment because of his insertional method.

One reason why Jones may have felt this way about this fragment was that it marked the first instance of 'anathemata' in his poetry – things lifted up to God, devoted things, venerated trinkets, sacred and profane – though he was not aware of it yet (the passage, written in 1941, pre-dates Jones's 'discovery' of his title-concept by three years). The commemoration of the fragment is hugely significant: a piece of writing of manifestly rudimentary development is being marked out, separated from the rest. Jones seems here to have found, in embryonic form, the orientation of his 'poem about ideas' – to celebrate man through the elevation, in his own making, of the objects produced by others' makings. In the writing of *The Anathemata*, Jones will make separate, lift up through the act of art the already separated and lifted up – and in memorialising this chance discovery, he separated it from, and thus lifted it above, the rest of his work to date. And yet, although these objects are 'anathemata', the writing

which incorporates them is not yet *The Anathemata* because their meaning (i.e. their status as 'anathemata') is absent; they need to become signs of themselves, performative as anathemata in the text, in order for the poem to become *The Anathemata*. In other words, whilst this offers a potential new centre to the writing as Jones read it back, the schema directing his continued writing – the framework of his intention – needed to follow the lead of that reading. The first draft 'made things' fragment, I would argue, is valued – and thus dated – because Jones instinctively felt that it contained the germ of the conceptual shift toward a successful long poem within its 29 lines. In order to assess that shift – the interstress of centre and schema, toward a new conception of the current making – we need to look carefully at this draft and compare it with its 'copied & corrected' (i.e. next draft) state.

### (ii) Writerly and readerly conceptual shifts

In this thesis we are looking at a temporal process: making occurs through time. In order to be able to look at the two drafts which lead into the opening of *The* Anathemata – that which treats of a number of made things, and that which explores a number of pre-historic makings – we need to be clear about what kind of genetic time Jones's manuscripts might signify. There is only one makerly time, yet there can be different material signs of this time which denote different makerly acts in time. The conceptual makerly movement which occurs between passages written in the same drafting stage (i.e. words, phrases or sentences written within seconds or minutes of each other and present on the same sheet) and between passages written in a different drafting stage (e.g. the same passage re-drafted however many minutes, hours, days, months or years later) might be precisely the same, but we need to distinguish between the two types of traces of these conceptual shifts in order to be able to discern the moment and thus explore the origin of such shifts. So, conceptual shifts which occur during a single draft stage of the writing of a continuous piece of text I shall call 'writerly conceptual shifts' (we might say that this is a kind of 'intrinsic makerly development', occurring during the manual engagement in that making).

Conceptual shifts which occur between draft stages, which we discern by comparing two or more draft stages of the same passage I shall call 'readerly conceptual shifts' (and we might describe this as 'extrinsic makerly development', occurring while the eye but not the pen or pencil is moving across the page). <sup>197</sup> A conceptual shift is distinguished from other shifts – stylistic, narrative, formal – in that such a shift alters the radical preoccupations of the drafts, within which stylistic, narrative and formal elements take shape.

The reason for distinguishing between the two is that Jones experienced reconceptualisations of his work both during the process of writing a particular passage (intrinsic to the making of that passage) and in reading it back in full (extrinsic to that initial making). Being aware of the difference between these two possibilities enables us to see them in operation. The temptation in looking at a set of draft materials is to compare 'earlier' versions with 'later' ones – to read in search of readerly conceptual shifts – because the changes made to a text most obviously signal its progression. However, such textual alterations, as we shall see in the following analysis, do not necessarily identify the locus of conceptual alteration. Reconceptualisations occurring during a writing, rather than between writings (which occur in re-readings), can inform the alterations made to a text in the next draft. In this study – though particularly in this chapter – we seek the moments at which Jones overcame problems, and then to reveal the nature of this overcoming. If we only read in one way, and the two makerly 'times' are not made distinct, each will interfere with the other, and the only possible view of the actual lineaments of the making process will be vague; we will see change occurring in the text, but we will not be able to arrive at an analysis of the motivation for such change. A short fragment which only survives in two states like the one we are now examining enables us to perform such a dual-faceted reading. Equally, though, as the core of the reconceptualisation of Jones's long poem, this fragment absolutely requires such a dual-faceted reading.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> Lines manifestly inserted into a draft generate two different draft versions, and provide evidence of a readerly engagement, or of extrinsic makerly development – for it is clear that in such cases Jones has read over his writing and inserted new material.

## (iii) Writerly reconceptualisation from made to making to maker: a first draft

If the list of art objects in the opening 11 lines of the first draft 'made things' fragment never find full justification, this, I would suggest, is because such early drafts of small, independent fragments were workings-out: they were embarkations without destinations. Their entire purpose was to find their destinations. 198 The presence of such a haphazard list is justified by what it led to in the process of its writing. Jones allows himself to be carried away in a linguistic delirium, paying scant attention to syntax and grammar. This freedom, I would suggest, is a makerly conceit toward the discovery of what it is he is saying. The first seven lines of this draft really are shooting in the dark: the 'no' or 'nor' with which Jones introduces each work of art has absolutely no necessity nor connection with the resolution of these objects in the line: "to clothe in variety / each inch to inch make a whole."199 Jones's beginning is merely the bringing together of a number of made things; the act of doing this, he hopes, will yield some new shape, and it is perhaps only in undertaking a half-formed making that a 'fully-formed' making can be worked towards. In such actions, the Thomist adage 'we proceed from the known to the unknown' which Jones quoted in 'James Joyce's Dublin' (E&A 303-7) is implemented as a guiding principle to makerly process.<sup>200</sup>

As Jones's text tells us, the made objects in this fragment share a common orientation toward the showing forth of reality: they "show in this little what gradation / & tangle of being the school-doctors please to / call order" (LR8/6.1). So, at this moment in time, the central concept to Jones's writing is: art objects show forth a complex reality – the 'tangle of being'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> Jones quotes Picasso's dictum "I do not seek, I find" with approval in the Preface (*Ana* 35).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> The continued refrain – 'no', 'nor' – may perhaps be part of Jones's lament at the increasingly utile world in which he lives: these hand-crafted objects are *no longer* being made in the way Jones believed they should. But no-where in the fragment is such a conceptual realisation made explicit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Compare this observation of Jones's experimental listing of art objects with Henrich von Kleist's description of the discovery of thought in speaking: "because I do have some dim conception at the outset, one distantly related to what I am looking for, if I boldly make a start with that, my mind, even as my speech proceeds, under the necessity of finding an end for that beginning, will shape my first confused idea into complete clarity so that, to my amazement, understanding is arrived at as the sentence ends." Kleist (1997) 406.

Following this resolution, Jones returns to the syntactic conceit where 'nor' and 'or' are used to drive the writing onward, linking together the fragments which enter his text. However, a transition occurs which takes the text away from the art object and relocates its focus on the maker of the object. In the beginning, the object takes precedence:

no bow or laced, finger-of-man, parti-coloured nor *opus anglicum* case-stitch free to run star chequed tree-of-life for small fowles to sing gilt-pointed for a faire cloth hemmed

[5] cris-wire for a holy shirt or hawk glove for a legate *a latere* or the Queen of the out Isles's belly band[...]

After the 'showing the tangle of being' resolution, the text continues:

[...]Nor tip-of finger-worked or palm smoothed granulated by the rills of man's hand who works as the great waters very slow to make a fine polish when they grind or smooth the caskets filligree

Here, the action of the hand which makes the object enters the predication of the object in a passive adjectival form ('finger-worked' and 'palm[-]smoothed'). The text becomes increasingly explicit in its engagement with the making process, describing first Cezanne's "coaxing stroke on stroke", and then a pre-historic artist's "free incision". Following this, the text shifts to an image of the maker, specifically an engraver in contemporary London (probably Jones himself):<sup>201</sup>

or<,> to come home

[15]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Jones would have travelled between his parents' home in Brockley and Westminster (to attend art school in 1919-21) on the tram he mentions in this draft. Also, it was engraving work which damaged Jones's eyes.

(you know him in the tram) who cripples his eye at lense under the small pool of light<,>
[25] crabbed<,> bent<,> with a coblers' hunch on him<,> in small hours<,> with steel point manuevering the bright copper-disc under gas-flame or candle flame in the small urban upper-room where he makes the image, beats into the material the word.

We can deduce from the commemorative dating of this sheet that this portion of text was at the moment of its production discrete from all the other experiments which Jones was working on. As a result, we can assuredly say that the end of the sheet is the end of the fragment, and therefore that there are a total of two resolutions within this single fragment (the showing of the 'tangle of being', and the analogy of the making of art works to the incarnation). In both cases, the particulars being recalled in the text are gathered together and a conceptual significance is drawn out from them during the writing. In the first we reach the scholastic philosophical order of being; in the second we reach the scholastic order of sacramental theology. And so we see two points of resolution reached by Jones, in both of which the made object, then its making, and then its maker are positioned in relation to Thomism. These resolutions would appear to be the reason Jones assigns such importance to this passage: a number of objects and acts are presented, but it is only in these two resolutions that their meaning is recovered.

Small textual alterations can indicate large conceptual steps in the process of writing. The writerly conceptual shifts occurring as Jones drafted this passage show that he was exploring the meaning of these objects – and that that meaning was centred on *making*. The next stage is to explore what making and the maker might mean. As we have seen, in writing this passage, Jones moved from the *made* to the *making* to the *maker*, but he went no further; the text has still not reached a conceptual resolution which states the meaning of these. Such a movement occurs in the next drafting stage, and so reveals the importance of the act of re-reading in the generation of conceptual shifts through the emergence of a before unfelt centre to the writing – one which

might direct the construction of a new, re-oriented schema of writing.

### (iv) Readerly reconceptualisation toward man-the-maker: a second draft

Jones made a number of insertions to the first fragment, which listed a number of made things, in the second draft version (see Figures 19 and 20, below). All but the last, though of disparate size, provide evidence for my assertion that Jones's concept of his poem was already changing during the writing of the first draft.

In the opening section which lists a number of artefacts, two short insertions modulate the passage toward the act of making. Where before we had:

no bow or laced, finger-of-man, parti-coloured[...] (DJP LR8/6.1)

- in the second draft version, Jones altered this to:

No bow or laced, <u>by</u> finger-of-man <u>weft</u> Parti-coloured[...]

(DJP LR8/6.2 – my emphasis)

Jones then inserted three more words into the text which immediately follows this, and to the same effect: the passage is being reoriented toward the act of making. In the first draft we read:

[...]nor *opus anglicum* case-stitch free to run star chequed tree-of-life for small fowles to sing[...]

(DJP LR8/6.1)

In the second draft, by contrast, we read:

[...]nor *opus anglicanum* case-stitch
Free to run star-chequed, <u>or floriate a</u>
Tree-of-life for small foules to sing[...]

(DJP LR8/6.2 – my emphasis)

These small insertions reveal that the shift in emphasis from the made to the act of making which occurred whilst Jones wrote the first draft is reinforced by his later work on the earlier part of the text (see Figure 19, below).

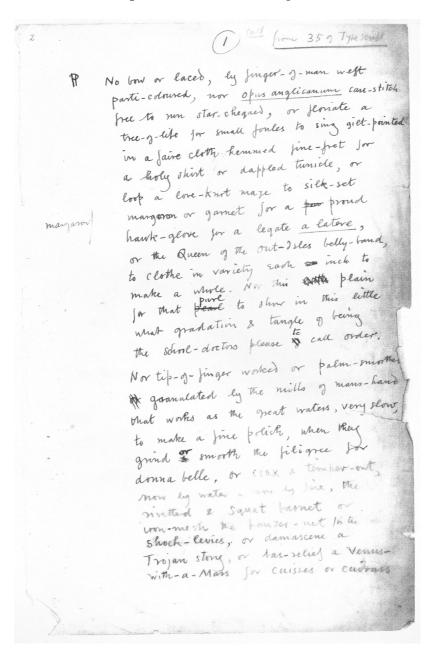


Figure 19 – First page of second draft version showing a conceptual shift from made things to making (LR8/6.2)

In the second half of the draft passage, following the passage in the first draft where Jones had moved silently over to the act rather than the object of making, a long insertion redoubles this change of emphasis to the maker: here (and this use of substantives for verbs is characteristic of Jones; see IN 45) we witness a person or a number of people "iron-mesh the hanzer-net...damascene a / Trojan story, or bas-relief a Venus- / With-a-Mass" (DJP LR8/6.2 – my emphases). Thus the alterations Jones made to his first draft follow the example of this transition, making the whole more consistently descriptive of act rather than object. The evidence of his alterations to the first half of the draft would tend to indicate that Jones, in experiencing as reader the shift from made thing to the act of making which arose in the writing, reoriented his view of what this passage is concerned with: the act of making. But all these alterations take place within the terms of the writerly conceptual shift which occurred as Jones drafted the first version. In making these alterations, Jones is bringing his fragment into conceptual concert: schema, having caught up with a shifting centre, directs the new writerly choices Jones makes. However, one further shift occurred - from making to maker - which introduced another new conceptual centre and forced another reassessment of the schema of the writing as a result.

The root of this new conceptual centre is the development of an image of a prehistoric making, which occurs between the images of Cezanne and the engraver working:

[...]or (to

double-back on time) his free incision to run flank & hoof for a fore-shortened bison in the caves of ice<,> or<,>[...]

(DJP LR8/6.1)

In the second draft, this short prehistoric reference has been developed into an 18-line passage, and in doing so moves a step closer to establishing the orientation of Jones's thought which lies behind the opening sentence of *The Anathemata*. The making of these "foreshortened bison" (the only words carried over from the initial draft) was developed by Jones into the following passage

(the first line is written in ink; the rest in pencil; see the reproduction in Figure 20, below).

or (to double back on time)
and reconnoitre palaeoplast of
dawn-men (the Hearn-heads girondole
branched-shadows for a cavern-vault.)
Stalagmite calls to stalactite, or in the
Caves of dolomite, or where, west-wind
Graved, the toggled dolmens lean.

<or> where the master of the faunoglyph handles the instruments: his bone palette his scalpriform flints, his stone maul, & and employs the consubstantiating formulas. They cry their placets from their lean haunches when they see his foreshortened bison, bulk & linear, splay the mural space. The totem-master decoys without stalking, His view is a capture by reason of of the daubed ochre & the considered incisions, & the form-transference, & the cult-intention.

(DJP LR8/6.3 and LA1/3.1)

for siegnivial italianates to have much-death & faufare. or, to shan The culture muse his coaxing strike on strike to turn the escaping contours in his. blue St. Victoire, or ( to double back on time) and recommittee palacoplast of dann-men (the Hearn-Reads girondole branched-shadows for a cavern-vault) Stalagmite calls to stalactite, or in the Caves of dolomite, or where, west-wind graved, the toggled dolmens lean. or where the master of the fairnaglyph humales is The mestument: his stone palette his scalpriform flints, his stone mand, & and employs the consubstantiating formulas. They cry Their placets from the dean haunches when they see his foreshortened besom bulk a linear stray the minut shape. The totens marker decoys without stalkening. his view is a calture by reason

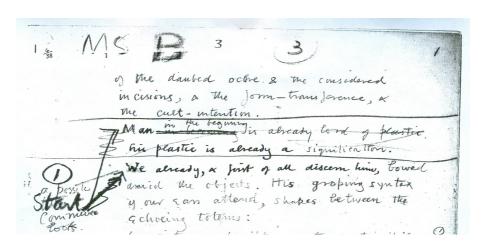


Figure 20 – Conceptual reorientation from making to maker in the latter part of the second draft (LR8/6.3 and LA1/3.1)

After copying the short passage about Cezanne from his first draft in ink, indicating the provisional textual fixity of this fragment, Jones 'doubled-back on time' and began working up the single pre-historic makings image of his first draft into a more comprehensive view in pencil (from the second line quoted above). Again, a sequence of images is pieced together with a conjunction (this time 'or' rather than the 'no' and 'nor' which Jones used in the first draft). However, unlike the first draft, in this draft the individual images are organised within a coherent and complexly patterned grammar, which is both necessitated by and expressive of the emergence of narrative elements in the fragment: the general scene-setting ('caves of ice') and time-setting ('palaeoplast of dawn-men') paragraph is followed up with a specific instance of palaeoplastic making by the 'master', which is observed and greeted with pleasure by his community. For their contemporaries (in Jones's presentation of this proto-exhibition), these paintings signify a kind of pre-killing of the animals which these early humans rely on for their sustenance ("The totem-master decoys without stalking"). 202 But more importantly, for Jones as an artist living in late modernity, they signify the very origins of signification. The final four lines quoted above –

His view is a capture by reason of[...]
[...]the daubed ochre & the considered incisions, & the form-transference, & the cult-intention.

– present a further conceptual summation of the relevance of prehistoric making by associating it with Aristotle's theory of making as an activity of the practical intellect ("capture by reason"), with the activity of that making ("the considered incisions"), with the transposition of one reality into another ("the form transference") and with the core value of these makings ("the cult-intention"). Here, as Jones's schema comes into co-operation with the centre of the first draft

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> Jones links this kind of signification to the co-signification which occurs in the Eucharist and the Crucifixion, where the first is an unbloody and the second a bloody sign for the same thing (see *DGC* 231-2). Jones continues by stating the following: "As for the Lascaux caves – well, there (if the specialists are right), the superb forms of great horned creatures with a dart or two depicted in flank or neck, is about the nearest thing to the acts and words of the inutile Oblation of the Coena Domini, while outside on the bitter tundra the great beasts fall before the highly utile spears of the tribe." (*DGC* 232-3)

passage as experienced in the reading – both focusing on making, community, and ritual – he is able to develop the syntax, imagery and narrative interdependencies suggested by that first draft when he writes this second draft interpretive resolution. The conceptual reorientation which occurred in Jones's movement from the first to the second draft is best demonstrated diagrammatically (see Figure 21).

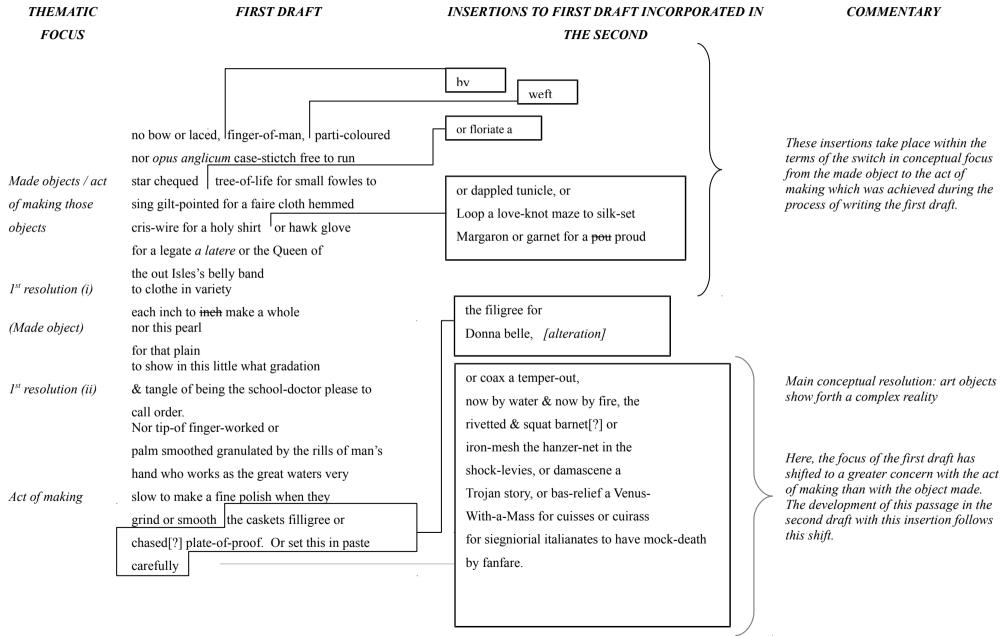


Figure 21 – Second draft insertions reorienting the text from made things, to making, to maker (1st of 2 pages)

Cezanne's making or (the <to> leaf the centuries)
his coaxing stroke on stroke to turn the
escaping contour <\* note> in the blue St Victoire or (to
double-back on time)

Pre-historic making his free incision
to run flank & hoof for a fore-shortened
bison in the caves of ice<.>

or<,> to come home

(you know him in the tram) who cripples his eye at lense under the small pool of light<,>

The contemporary engraver

eye at lense under the small pool of light<,>
crabbed<,> bent<,> with a coblers' hunch on him<,>
in small hours<,> with steel point manuevering
the bright copper-disc under gas-flame or candle flame
in the small urban upper-room where he makes
the image, beats into the material the word.

and reconnoitre palaeoplast of dawn-men (the Hearn-heads girondole branched-shadows for a cavern-vault.) Stalagmite calls to stalactite, or in the Caves of dolomite, or where, west-wind Graved, the toggled dolmens lean.

<or> where the master of the faunoglyph handles the instruments: his bone palette his scalpriform flints, his stone maul, & and employs the consubstantiating formulas.

They cry

their placets from their lean haunches when they see his foreshortened bison, bulk & linear, splay the mural space.

The totem-master decoys without stalking, His view is a capture by reason of[...] the daubed ochre & the considered incisions, & the form-transference, & the cult-intention.

Man in becoming <in the beginning> is already lord of plastic.

his plastic is already a signification.
We already, & first of all discern him, bowed amid the objects. His groping syntax if our ears attend, shapes between the echoing totems:

benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem... & by pre-application, & for them, under modes & patterns altogether theirs, the holy and venerable hands lift up an efficacious sign.

Figure 21 – Second draft insertions reorienting the text from made things, to making, to maker ( $2^{nd}$  of 2 pages)

If we turn to the passage which immediately follows, we find that this description of a particular prehistoric making leads into another summational line orientated toward a greater, more universal conceptual significance; one which places making, community and ritual within the framework of the origin of man in making signs:

Man in becoming <in the beginning> is already lord of plastic. his plastic is already a signification.

Immediately following this, Jones goes on to make another conceptual resolution – the most succinct so far – with lines we have already encountered in the previous chapter:

We already, & first of all discern him, bowed amid the objects.

(DJP LA1/3.1)

Where Jones had struggled to present the co-dependence of the origin of man and his first making in the first of these final two resolutions – he crosses out 'in becoming' and replaces it with 'in the beginning' – the second amply satisfies this need with the phrase "already, & first of all".

So, in reading over the first draft fragment whose conceptual centre was 'made things', Jones feels compelled to exploit a short passage (three out of 29 lines) about prehistoric man to the extent that, in the second version, it becomes the dominant image, or set of images (18 out of 51 lines). And because of the way Jones worked, these new images generate a new conceptual framework: the coorigination of man and his sacramentality. This in turn leads Jones to use the terms of the Mass metaphorically to describe the first act of making by a primate-become-man – and then the text returns, from these most recently inserted fragments, back to the image of the engraver which concluded the first draft (see transcription and Figure 22, below):

We already, & first of all discern him, bowed amid the objects. His groping syntax if our ears attend, shapes between the echoing totems:

benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem...
& by pre-application, & for them, under modes
& patterns altogether theirs, the holy
and venerable hands lift up an
efficacious sign.

Or, to come home (you know him in the tram) who cripples his eye at lense under small pool of light,

(DJP LA1/3.1)

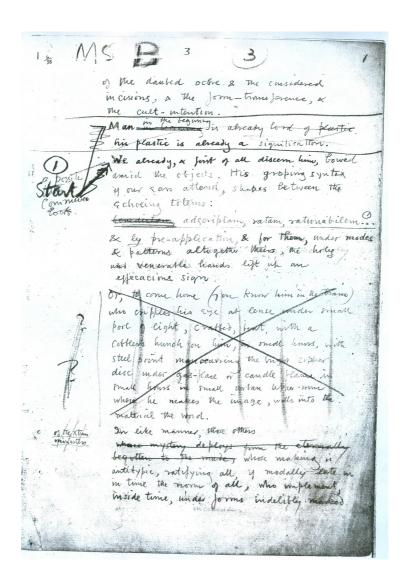


Figure 22 – Third page of early draft, showing conceptual re-orientation, and then return to the modern engraver (LA1/3.1)

This detailed analysis reveals how consecutive drafting stages of the same fragment are actually generative of fragments with entirely new conceptual centres: from art works showing forth the tangle of being, to the act of making being the means by which that same tangle is discovered, to the prehistoric maker as the inventor of signification, to that maker as the inventor of himself as man, to the equivalence of that man's actions with the actions and words of the priest in consecrating the Eucharist. Jones's reading of his own work, like Pound's of Eliot's, discovered in that work a new centre, and then another, and so on in incremental progressions. As these new centres informed the construction of new schemas, the text as a whole became modified, moving gradually from 'made things' to 'prehistoric makings' to 'man-the-maker' as it evolved. Thus, the initial fragment concerned with made things was valued and so commemorated because it was 'open' and allowed such reorientation. The uncontrolled nature of this incremental conceptual shift is amply demonstrated, I feel, by Jones's inclusion and then deletion of his old engraver fragment at the end of the second draft: Jones was manifestly a kind of spectator of the shifts occurring to his poem-concept, and could only proceed with uncertainty as he manually engaged with his text's production; he returned to the engraver fragment, but then realised that his text's development had outstripped its necessity, making it redundant. That this process of conceptual shifting was almost endlessly at play – that the concept of the future whole was forever developing – is suggested by the fact that, in spite of Jones's assertion of value in relation to the first draft, all of the material we have looked at here is cut off from the growing text in late-1944, so that it begins (with the opening words of The Anathemata) with a consideration of the moment man, by making, becomes man: "We already and first of all discern him..." (DJP LA1/3.1; Ana 49)

The genetic process I hope I have convincingly put forward – that the opening of *The Anathemata* emerged from the context of the prehistoric makings of man which emerged from the context of a clutter of made objects – allows us to gain a purchase on what is an admittedly highly ambiguous opening to the poem. The effect of this genetic critical understanding of the poem is to undermine the universal assumption in Jones scholarship that *The Anathemata* begins and ends

at the Mass, one which persists in spite of the fact that the phrase 'already and first of all' makes absolutely no sense in such a context. The above analysis allows us to see that Jones's poem does begin at the Mass, and more specifically at the consecration of the Eucharist, but as a sign not a narrated event. What the poem really begins with is both the actual and philosophical co-origination of man and his making. As the manuscript evidence clearly shows, this ambiguity was purposefully built into the text in numerous alterations. Jones's removal of the first two pages of his manuscript - pages which held a record of how his quasi-free associations had led him to man-the-maker, the removal of which left his man-the-maker bereft of context – was not an isolated action: he did exactly the same with the Absalom Mass, which begins abruptly at page three (see DJP LR5/1.325). It seems that once the centre and schema for Jones's continued writing had been constructed through experimentation, he had then to discard the scaffolding which had allowed him to reach that point. Just as Pound excised what he saw as the redundant material of 'He Do the Police in Different Voices', and so was instrumental in turning it into The Waste Land; so, in discarding the material which dealt with made things and prehistoric makers not to mention the numerous longer experiments which were gradually falling into redundancy over the same period 1941-45 - Jones made possible the movement from writing one long poem to writing another very different one. The change Eliot made to the title of his poem as his sense of what it was about changed is also mirrored by the change to Jones's title, which forms the subject of the following section.

## II. "It Always Came Back to ANAΘΗΜΑΤΑ": The Title as Totem of the Making

In the Preface to *The Anathemata*, written in the summer of 1951, David Jones wrote the following: "I mean by my title as much as it can be made to mean, or can evoke or suggest, however obliquely" – and he goes on to list these meanings, evocations and suggestions over the course of a further half-page (*Ana* 28-29), to which we will return. Nearly a year later, and only two months before the publication of his poem in October 1952, Jones gave a different view of his choice of title to W. F. Jackson Knight:

I fear the title is going to be a *nuisance* as chaps can't pronounce it. I have been *quite astonished* to find how many people ask what on earth it means – I mean chaps whom you'd naturally suppose would know. After all it's not all that obscure. I tried to think up another title, but it always came back to ANAΘΗΜΑΤΑ.

(KFP 15 August 1952)

A title of which a large number of readers know neither the pronunciation nor meaning is a big problem: contrary to Jones's expression in the Preface, such a title might mean or evoke or suggest nothing at all. And yet this in itself is expressive of a central tenet of Jones's diagnosis of modernity: the title enacting, as it does, the unshared backgrounds, the inefficacious sign, the fragmentation of a formerly communal knowledge base. Jones, in having attempted to think up another title, is demonstrably aware of this problem, and yet his title is inescapable: 'it always came back to ANAOHMATA'. We might say that part of its inescapability, part of its efficacy, is ironically its inefficacy: it succeeds by failing. In this section, I look at the role the changing title played in the gradual conception Jones had of his long poem.

In order to do so, I trace the chronology of the development of this title ('The

Anathemata') and relate it and its discarded predecessors – first, 'The Book of Balaam's Ass'; second, 'The Anathema' – to the chronology of Jones's textual experimentation. The finding of the title, I will suggest, was co-incident with the finding of the poem. One measure of the inescapability of the title which I would suggest, and which is investigated here, is that its discovery entailed or allowed or effected the first coming together of the centre and the schema of the Indeed, the conceptual shifts we witnessed occurring through the development of the 'man-the-maker' fragment in the preceding section were accompanied by changes to the working title of Jones's poem. Part of my task will be to untangle – if such a thing can be done – which of these, the title or the writing, led in conceptual reorientation for the other to follow. Once again, we might refer back to Eliot, for the change in title from 'He Do the Police in Different Voices' to The Waste Land would appear (if we endorse Gardner's reading, which I do) to be both an effect of the shifting centre of the poem as edited and re-read, and the *cause* of the realization of a schema in poetic terms in the 'automatically written' fifth section, 'What the Thunder Said'. 203 Jones's title, I will argue, is a kind of tutelary spirit for the writing of the poem; but also, it is performative in a single word – at the most compressed scale possible, we should remark – of the structure of the poem as a whole. It is inescapable because it is the poem in miniature – another title would have led to the writing of another poem. So, it is not so much the title that was inescapable because it exemplified what the poem was, as that the writing of this poem in its eventual form was inescapable because of the emergence of the guiding principle of 'anathemata'.

### (i) [Untitled]: an unknown title for an unknown poem

Jones's experiments began, as we might expect, without a title. In a letter of April 1939, Jones recalls the origin in 1936 of the writing he was currently working on: "It started off by talking about how things are conditioned by other things – a person comes into a room for instance and all the disorder and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> I focus merely on the implied transition in this title change from *ventriloquism* to the *Grail legend* as central preoccupations of the poem. The implications of 'him' doing the *Police* in different voices need not, I think, be pursued here.

deadness takes shape and life" (*DGC* 91). We see this origin in the opening of the very first of Jones's experiments:

SHE'S BRIGHT WHERE SHE WALKS SHE
DIGNIFIES THE SPACES OF THE AIR AND MAKES AN AMPLE
SCHEME ACROSS THE TRIVIAL SHAPES. SHE SHAKES THE
PROUD AND ROTTEN ACCIDENTS; SMALL CONVENIENCES
LOOK SHRUNK SO THAT YOU HARDLY NOTICE THEM.

(DJP LR7/1.8 and LR7/1.67; RQ 187)

For 'a person' in the description Jones gives above we might read 'Prudence Pelham' – the woman Jones loved from a distance throughout the 1930s and '40s – and so remark that the origins of *The Anathemata*, in spite of its author's protestations that he doesn't "know about our old friend 'love'" (*DGC* 86) – are in a love poem. (This needn't surprise us; love being, for Jones, the fundamental source of sacramental behaviours.) Jones continues his description of his current project by stating that "it has wandered into all kinds of things" – again, the unintentioned making is implied – which is to say that it has begun to explore his ideas in relation to the utile and gratuitous: the writing in the manuscript which this passage begins is Jones's first attempt to state in poetry his developing ideas in relation to the sacramental 'habit of thought' and its endangered life in modernity.<sup>204</sup> By May 1938, Jones is describing this emerging work in different terms:

It is about how everything turns into something else, and how you can never tell when a bonza<sup>205</sup> is cropping up or the Holy Ghost is going to turn something inside out, and how everything is a balls-up and a kind of 'Praise' at the same time.

(DGC 86)

The important point to note here is that the poem is first described as being

 $<sup>^{204}</sup>$  See in particular those passages reproduced in RQ 190, where the representative for fact-man is victorious over that for myth-man.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> Jones's use of Australian/New Zealand slang appears peculiar. However, during the First World War, Australian and New Zealand Divisions of the British Army fought in France from April 1915 and April 1916, respectively, and Jones is likely to have come into contact with them at the Front. 'Bonza' is probably one of Jones's many war words.

about *change* ('how everything *turns into* something else'), and then as about contradiction or co-presence of opposites ('everything is a balls-up and a kind of 'Praise' *at the same time*'). This latter aspect has gained dominance by April 1939, when Jones writes: "I think it is really about how if you start saying in a kind of way how *bloody* everything is you end up in a kind of *praise* – *inevitably[...]"* (*DGC* 91). Here, we find the first indication that Jones is predominantly concerned with a 'duality', one which is fundamental to the schema of *The Anathemata*. <sup>206</sup>

I believe that such a 'duality' is important because, for Jones, each single element of his 'anathemata' in the middle of the twentieth century, if blessed as a gratuitously produced art object, is also cursed from the dominant utile, desacramentalized viewpoint for its inutility. As noted in the Introduction, the absolute distinction of the utile and gratuitous is a philosophical one; by contrast, every act, whether a making or a doing, partakes of both the utile and the gratuitous to varying extents. And yet, in Jones's analysis, these two copresent characteristics of man's making are being separated toward an absolute division because of the imposition of a habit of thought in modernity oriented upon the utile: "How are we to reconcile man-the-artist, man the sign-maker or sacrament-maker with the world in which we live today?", Jones asks in 'Art and Sacrament. We are not able to do such a thing, Jones's rhetorical response implies: "It would appear that there is a dichotomy which puts asunder that which our nature demands should be joined together" (E&A 176). So, the sacramental acts of man (all those acts partaking to any extent in a measure of the extra-utile) are locked in a dualized nature in this modern technocracy: a thing made separate and lifted up to the gods will be reviled and cursed by a culture which denies that such signs have reality or relevance. What is wholly inutile is purposeless to a technocracy; it is therefore cursed. But equally, and oppositely, the wholly utile productions of man can be interpreted as cursed to those "rear-guard details" (Ana 50) – artists, priests, and lovers – who do believe in the reality and necessity of gratuitously produced signs. If the dominant aporia for Jones is the seeming presence and absence of sacramental man – no

 $<sup>^{206}</sup>$  Jones makes this clear in the Preface, stating that the "duality" within the word 'anathema' "exactly fitted my requirements". (Ana 28)

less than the co-reality of man and non-man – the necessity of this duality is clear: to play out the aporia at the centre of Jones's thought.

But Jones's conception of his poem was by no means this clear when he wrote of the inevitability of praise in the saying of how bloody everything is. Jones's qualification of his description runs thus: "[...]if you start saying in a kind of way how *bloody* everything is you end up in a kind of *praise* – *inevitably* – I mean a sort of Balaam business." It is here, apparently at the very time of writing, that Jones comes upon his title: "Yes perhaps it will be called *The Book of Balaam*, or *Book of Balaam*'s *Ass*," he concludes (*DGC* 91). In what follows, I examine Jones's first working title as an indicator of an inconsistent schema at the heart of his making between 1939 and 1944.

### (ii) 'The Book of Balaam's Ass': the wrong title for the wrong poem

As early as Spring 1939, then, Jones had in place the conceptual germ for *The Anathemata*: saying how 'bloody' everything is in poetry results in praise because a making is taking place.<sup>207</sup> However, five years of refinement and reconceptualisation had to take place first. The measure of how dimly-felt the schema for this poem was can be made in an assessment of the title. When Jones writes that saying how bloody everything is '*inevitably*' results in praise, he immediately locates his scriptural analogy: 'I mean a sort of Balaam business.' Cursing and blessing are indeed part of the main Balaam narrative in Numbers 22-24, but major inconsistencies between Jones's title and schema come to light if we look at this narrative in detail.

The Israelites, coming out of Egypt, enter a region inhabited by the Moabites. Balac, the king of the Moabites, sends a message to the prophet Balaam to curse the Israelites, "for I know that he whom thou shalt bless is blessed, and he whom thou shalt curse is cursed" (Num 22:6). Of course, Balac misunderstands

Rene Hague draws attention to this facet of the title, though it is subjugated to other, in his opinion more important, aspects of the title (which I deal with below). See Hague's introduction in RQ xxv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>208</sup> All biblical quotations are from the Douay-Rheims Bible.

under whose authority such blessing and cursing is undertaken: Balaam only blesses or curses in obedience to God's direction. Accordingly, Balaam consults God, who says: "Thou shalt not go with them [the messengers], nor shalt thou curse the people: because it [i.e. the people] is blessed" (Num 22:12). Balaam delivers this judgement to the messengers who return to Balac without him. The king then sends more messengers, but Balaam says: "if Balac would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot alter the word of the Lord my God, to speak either more or less" (Num 22:18). However, he asks the messengers to stay the night whilst he consults God again, who instructs Balaam this time to go, though maintains that he should only bless Israel. Balaam goes with the messengers, and even though he has latterly gained permission, angers God. Following Balaam's arrival, Balac and he go to the highest point above the Israelite camp. Here, Balaam sacrifices seven bullocks and seven rams upon seven altars and receives the word of God, by which he blesses rather than curses the Israelites (Num 23:7-10). Balac remonstrates with Balaam, and compels him to make his curse again. But twice again, after performing the same sacrifice, Balaam can only bless the Israelites (Num 23:18-24 and 24:5-9).

The problem for Jones's analogy here is that blessing and cursing are not copresent at all. Balac may *want* Balaam to curse the Israelites, but as he maintains to the angry Balac afterwards, he cannot (Num 24:12-13). The duality of which Jones first wrote in May 1938 is not evident in the structure of this narrative.

So, perhaps Jones's qualifying words, where he moves from thinking to call his poem 'The Book of Balaam' to 'The Book of Balaam's Ass', might help us towards the true location of Jones's summary title-image. But this narrative (Num: 22:21-31) is even less relevant to Jones's newly discovered schema of bloodying/praising. On the way to visit Balac, after agreeing to follow his messengers (ostensibly with God's permission), Balaam's ass bows its head and turns aside from the path they are taking. Unbeknownst to Balaam, whose eyes have not been opened as have the ass's to the sight, an angel is standing in their way so that they cannot proceed. This happens three times, and each time Balaam beats

the ass. On the third and final occasion, God gives the ass a voice, whereby Balaam is asked why he should beat the ass when the ass has ever served him obediently. God then opens Balaam's eyes to the angel, whereupon Balaam falls on his face. The angel says that he stands before Balaam because his journey is against God. Balaam recognises that he has sinned. He is nevertheless directed onwards by the angel, and reminded that he is to speak only God's word when he meets the Moabites, which, as we have seen, he does.

There are clear commonalities between this narrative and Jones's view of his vocation as poet in modernity – the voice of the reviled ass/poet discovering the truths which the unseeing (utilitarian) master cannot – Jones writes in 'Art in Relation to War' (1942-3) of how the "the controllers of the world-orders", but not "man the artist and man the contemplative", are blind to the "new world-shaping" (*DG* 159-60). However, the specific connection between this narrative and a poem which is "about how if you start saying in a kind of way how *bloody* everything is you end up in a kind of *praise*" is not clear. Balaam neither sets out, nor does he ever attempt, to curse.

I believe that Jones thought that his title – The Book of Balaam's Ass – provided the necessary dualistic structure to act as the title for such a poem, but that it did not. The shift from 'The Book of Balaam' to 'The Book of Balaam's Ass' occurred immediately as Jones wrote his letter to Jim Ede; this shift therefore almost certainly indicates that Jones refined his image rather than entirely shifted the allusion from one scriptural narrative to another. But this also implies that Jones misremembered the story: he seems to have conflated the two narratives by accident, and to have ended up with a dualistic structure or meaning which is in neither.

So, to an extent, Jones was attempting to write a version of *The Anathemata* from as early as 1939: one element of the schema was there, but he had found neither the right method, nor the right form, nor the right title. 'The Book of Balaam's Ass' as a title persisted as a catch-all for the writing of much of his

I believe that Jones came to realise that 'The Book of Balaam's Ass', although perhaps indicating the *transformation* of cursing into blessing ('everything *turns* into something else'), did not enact the co-present duality of 'balls-up' and 'praise' to which Jones's writing was gravitating. Such is indicated by the emergence of his next proposed title, 'The Anathema', which so adequately does perform such a duality. The negational duality of the utile and gratuitous as cursed/blessed had been present in Jones's work from the beginning of his experiments, but it is only in 'The Roman Quarry', written late in the sequence of experiments, that this duality becomes dominant – where we find Roman utile sign-making come to dominate 'by assimilation' indigenous Celtic gratuitous sign-making, and thus express a more complex interaction between the gratuitous and the utile.<sup>210</sup> Thus, the rise of this paradoxical duality in the text can be seen to occur at the same time as this second title is formulated. And if the development of the text makes 'The Book of Balaam's Ass' untenable as a title, the formulation of the subsequently considered title, 'The Anathema' - which does articulate this paradox through its amphibolic structure, as Ann Carson Daly identifies<sup>211</sup> seems to have refocused the schema of the text and consigned the original beginning of 'The Book of Balaam's Ass' to the category 'Experiment'. Thus we find the dialectical modulation being played out between centre and schema of the writing registered in Jones's shifting sense of an adequate title as he continues to write.

## (iii) 'The Anathema': almost exactly fitting requirements

In February 1944, Jones received a letter from someone named Norman in response to a query he had made about the word 'anathema' (*DJP* LA5/1). Norman, basing his observations on Liddell and Scott's *A Greek-English Lexicon*, notes that there are two Greek sources for the English 'anathema', the difference

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> A table presenting chronological evidence in relation to the specific titles Jones had in mind during the years 1938-45, and to which experiments each applied, is presented in Appendix 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> See the "But by assimilation most of all we conquer them..." passage in RQ 6-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> See Daly (1982) 49-63.

residing in the use of epsilon( $\varepsilon$ ) and theta ( $\eta$ ). Jones's description in the Preface demonstrates an awareness of this:

I knew that in antiquity the Greek word *anathema* (spelt with an epsilon) meant (firstly) something holy but that in the N.T. it is restricted to the opposite sense. Whilst this duality exactly fitted my requirements, the English word 'anathemas', because referring only to that opposite sense, was of no use to me. I recalled, however, that there was the other English plural, 'anathemata', meaning devoted things, and used by some English writers down the centuries, thus preserving in our language the ancient and beneficent meaning; for 'anathemata' comes from *anathema* spelt with an eta, of which the epsilon form is a variant.

(Ana 27-28)

Liddell and Scott provide exactly this information, but there is one additional meaning to 'anathema' spelled with an epsilon. This word  $\alpha\nu\dot{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\mu\alpha$ , whilst meaning first 'anything devoted', and afterwards 'devoted to evil', also describes a curse which makes something 'anathema'. So, the word denotes the thing devoted/accursed, it describes the nature of that thing, and is the very means by which that thing becomes accursed. In other words, 'anathema' spelt with an epsilon can be a noun, a quasi-adjective, and/or an adjective-performative. <sup>213</sup>

In the Catholic Church, the passing of the sentence of anathema has historically been a solemn rite which only the Pope could transact, and it had exact ritual requirements of dress, priestly assistance, use of instruments, and spoken formula.<sup>214</sup> In other words, the bringing into being of 'anathema' (with an epsilon) requires a rite which uses objects and words lifted up to God for cursing, which is to say, it requires 'anathema' (with an eta). As Jones points

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Jones owned an abridged version of Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* from October 1945, and the unabridged version from August 1954. He perhaps used a reference copy in his local library to ask Norman about 'anathema', though this would have involved leaving his 'dug-out'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> In the Douay-Rheims Bible, the word 'anathema' appears 18 times, with these three uses all represented. The use of 'anathema' as a noun occurs in a positive sense (in Josue 6:17) but more usually a negative (in Deut. 7.26 and 13.17; in Josue 7: 1, 11 and 12; in Zach. 14:11; in Rom. 9:3; in 1 Paralipomenon 2:7; and, as a proper noun naming a settlement, in Num. 21.3 and Judges 1:17). It is used adjectivally in Josue 7:13, Judith 16:23, and Malachias 4:6. Finally, it used performatively in 1 Corinthians 12:3 and 16:22, and in Galatians 1:8 and 9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> See 'anathema', *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Gignac, 1907. The chapter 'ordo excommunicandi et absolvendi' in the *Pontificale Romanum* contains the words and directions for this ritual. In the 1983 *Code of Canon Law*, the penalty of anathema was removed. Thus, since that date, the Church can no longer make anathema of any person or thing. See <a href="http://www.catholic.com/thisrock/2000/0004chap.asp.">http://www.catholic.com/thisrock/2000/0004chap.asp.</a>

out, this word –  $\alpha \nu \dot{\alpha} \theta \eta \mu \alpha$  – is the etymological root of the version of 'anathema' which uses an epsilon.<sup>215</sup> So, just as sentencing a thing to becoming 'anathema' (with an epsilon) in the Catholic Church required prior use of objects or 'anathema' (with an eta) in the performance of its rite, so too is 'anathema' as a curse in ancient Greek culture preceded etymologically by 'anathema' as 'that which is set up' or as 'votive offerings', which are of course made things. Presumably this etymological development signifies a substantial reality: that made objects are appropriated, presumably over a long period of time, into functioning as part of a ritual act which designates blessedness or accursedness. This in turn implies that there was something in the making of those objects which prefigured that ritual act – in other words, that making, before any communal ritual was developed, was that ritual: that making was from its very inception devotional. We would do well to remember that the words Jones uses from the Canon of the Mass at the beginning of The Anathemata - the preconsecrational epiclesis – are spoken by the priest in reference to the bread and wine, and in a supplication to God to bless, ascribe to, ratify, and make reasonable and acceptable that bread and wine: benedictam, adsciptam, ratam, rationabilem.<sup>216</sup> Which is to say, in order for a thing to become 'anathema' (blessed or cursed) it must be signified as such through the use of 'anathema' (made, votive objects). Jones was not aware of this meaning, but this does not mean that 'anathema' was not a viable title. It fitted his requirements at the time he considered it. However, the word he accidentally discovered through his research into the word 'anathema' - 'anathemata' - did the same job, but, in being exclusively rooted in the made object, did it better.

## (iv) 'The Anathemata': a coming together of title and poem-concept

On the verso of a sheet which forms part of the 'Roman Quarry' manuscript we find written: 'The / ANATHĒMATA / The ANATHĒMA' (LR8/6.142). This sheet, having only one page number ('125 ctd'), unlike most of the 'Roman Quarry'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> This much is suggested by both words having the same verb form, which, as Liddell and Scott identify, uses an eta:  $\alpha v \alpha \tau i \theta \eta \mu u$ .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> In the published version, Jones uses only '*adscriptam*, *ratam*, *rationabilem*', but the earliest version on *DJP* LA1/3.1 includes '*benedictam*', later crossed out.

manuscript (the first foliation ended at age 77), must be a late addition to the sequence, during the time that Jones was attempting to piece together his fragments into a long poem. Whilst the dating of the writing of these two titles can only be made to some time in the period February 1944 to early-1945, what is irrefutable is that at the time he wrote them down, Jones was considering both as possible titles. This observation throws up some important considerations.

Jones makes an error in his Preface when he writes that the English 'anathemata' is derived from the Greek 'anathema' with an eta. In truth, the English 'anathema' has functioned as the descendant of both Greek forms, and so operated as noun (a blessed or cursed thing or person), quasi-adjective (describing a thing as cursed), and performative (bringing into being that very curse through its use) - but also as a noun defined by its devotional function ('a thing devoted or consecrated to divine use' - OED). Whilst the usage of 'anathemata' which Jones mentions in his Preface – the only usage in the OED, and dating from 1857 - post-dates any of the nounal usages of 'anathema', the division of 'anathema' and 'anathemata' into distinct terms does not equate to the division of  $\alpha \nu \dot{\alpha} \theta \epsilon \mu \alpha$  and  $\alpha \nu \dot{\alpha} \theta \eta \mu \alpha$ . This misunderstanding, or wilful simplification, by Jones is crucial to our view of the changing title of his poem. For Jones, 'anathema' cannot be used as a noun defined by its devotional function; i.e. its nounal use does not apply exclusively to made and devotional objects. 'Anathemata', on the other hand, whilst only ever having been used in a nounal form, Jones co-opts into connoting also the adjective-proper meaning, and thus the necessary blessed/cursed duality: "I decided that 'anathemata' would serve my double purpose, even if it did so only by means of a pun" (Ana 28). When Jones begins considering both 'The Anathema' and 'The Anathemata' as titles for his poem, the choice he is presented with is equivalent to the choice between the following:

#### 'The Anathema' –

- (i) things or people cursed or blessed;
- (ii) blessed/cursed duality (though this is problematic because the modern English sense precludes connotations of the blessed);

(iii) a word whose use is performative of a blessing/cursing (though Jones shows no sign of having been aware of this meaning).

'The Anathemata' –

(i) things or people cursed or blessed;

(ii) blessed/cursed duality (though only by means of a pun, which however has the benefit of dissociating itself from the modern English

'anathema', from which is precluded the blessed);

(iii) performative (though again only by means of a pun);

(iv) made objects used in ritual acts.

If 'The Anathema' was first considered by Jones as an alternative to 'The Book of Balaam's Ass' because its amphibolic structure fulfilled (as its predecessor had not) Jones's aporetic duality of the gratuitous and utile, then the definitive switch to 'The Anathemata', which occurred in order that Jones might dissociate his title from a one-sided interpretation, seems to have effected a concern in Jones's further writing with made objects: with votive offerings.

On 22 June, 1945, Jones wrote to W. F. Jackson Knight seeking information for the writing of his book:

Can you tell me if the Chryselephantine figure of Athene (I think by Pheidias) in the Parthenon is *known* to have been a *standing* figure like the big bronze one outside the Acropolis, or not?

(KFP 'Summer Solstice, 1945')

The reason Jones wanted to know the answer to this was that he was at the time writing the following passage (clearly Jackson Knight did not know the answer to Jones's question, for no reference is made to her stance in the published version):

One hundred and seventeen olympiads since he contrived her:

chryselephantine

of good counsel
within
her maiden's chamber
tower of ivory
in the guilded cella
herself a house of gold.

Her grandeurs

enough and to snare:

West-academic West-hearts.

(Ana 94)

This passage was written on page 5F Continued, and thus dates from an early network of insertions which were managed by Jones's institution of the second foliational stratum of the first foliational order of *The Anathemata*. As a result, using Jones's letter to Jackson Knight as a chronological marker of the genesis of the text, we can identify that the text contained on the base and first foliational strata had been written before mid-1945.

The insertions Jones began making into the poem after this point of development was reached continued under the terms of his conceit of dating the Passion in relation to historical events. However, this dating suddenly began to be located in relation to the making of art objects. These art objects are: equestrian statues at the Roman Forum, <sup>217</sup> Phydias's two statues of Athena, some Pergamon bronzes, a marble dedicated by Rhonbos on the Acropolis, <sup>218</sup> a sixth-century Kore statuette, and some Greek kouroi. <sup>219</sup> All these works are made things which fulfilled a votive or devotional function: they are 'anathemata' in the sense precluded, in Jones's mind, from 'anathema'. The text, as produced by Jones up until June 1945, did not include any such devotional objects. <sup>220</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> These statues appear on page 5 F continued; *DJP* LA1/4.40 and 42 (*Ana* 85).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> The Phydias Athenas, the Pergamon bronzes, and the Rhonbos marble appear on pages 5 F continued (*DJP* LA1/4.52), 5 F continued 2 (ff.53, 55); 5F continued 3 (ff.59, 60, 61, 62, 63); 5 F Continued 4 (ff.65, 66); and on three unnumbered sheets (ff.56, 57, 58). See *Ana* 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Early versions of the kouroi appear on pages 5 F continued <del>9</del> 11 (*DJP* LA1/4.78); 5 F continued 10 (ff.75-7); and 5 F continued 12 (f.86).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> The poem at this stage included the following themes or images in order: the origin of man as manthe-maker (*Ana* 49); the Modern Mass (Ana 49-51); preparing the Cenacle for the Supper (51-53); geological formation according to Aristotle's theory of the Great Summer and Great Winter (55); Troy (55-57); geological formation again (57-58); dating the Passion in reference to: (I) the beginning of

Therefore, it was only after 'anathemata' suggested itself as a title and began to tip the balance of favour away from 'The Anathema' for Jones that such 'anathemata' began to be included in the text. Thus, here, the changed title has shifted the poem's conceived centre, and as a result performed a refocusing function on the schema of the poem during its making.

If we consider also that the earliest instance of the phrase 'makers of anathemata' enters the text at the same point that Jones began including these art objects within his poem, though temporally just a little later (perhaps only a matter of days) we are led back to a consideration of the moment Jones appears definitively to have decided on 'The Anathemata' as the title for his poem. <sup>221</sup> In reference to Jackson Knight's advice, Jones wrote to Harman Grisewood on 4 July 1945: "He thought *Anathemata* was the accurate title for my thing" (*DGC* 130). The discussion Jones had with Jackson Knight took place at the Paddington Hotel on the Saturday preceding the writing of this letter. So, the 4<sup>th</sup> July being a Wednesday, this meeting, during which Jones "plucked up sufficient something" to read some of his work in progress to Jackson Knight, took place on 30<sup>th</sup> June, just ten days after Jones had written to ask Jackson Knight about the Athena statue. Thus we locate a kind of flashpoint of several weeks in which title and text were involved in a tussle of reorientation.

I believe that, after having held 'The Anathema' and 'The Anathemata' both to be possible titles for his poem – as their simultaneous presence on the draft sheet mentioned above reveals – Jones began exploring the creative implications of the additional meaning of the latter early in the summer of 1945. The title Jones eventually used had already assumed a dominance in his mind before the talk with Jackson Knight (the emphasis on 'was' – 'he thought *Anathemata* was the accurate title for my thing' – denoting confirmation of something already almost

agriculture (58), (ii) the first Roman invasion of Britain (58), (iii) events of the Roman Empire (186-89), (iv) events in the life of Christ (188-89); The Crucifixion (189, 190, 193, 224-233); the manner of the institution of the Eucharist as dependent on the cultural traditions of the time and place (241-2); the institution of the Eucharist (242); and the equivalence of the Mass, the institution of the Eucharist and the Crucifixion (243).

The phrase appears on page 5 F Continued 9-10 (*DJP* LA1/4.81) and page 5F continued 10 (ff.[83], 84, 85). As both the 'makers of anathemata' and the kouroi passages were first drafted on different versions of 5 F continued 9/10/11, but the kouroi passage was shunted along by growing insertions into the text to come after the 'makers of anathemata' passage, the kouroi passage was almost certainly written first

decided). This shift – from 'anathema' (when he wrote to Norman in February 1944) to 'The Anathema'/'The Anathemata' (when he drafted the title page on the verso of a manuscript sheet at some time between February 1944 and early-1945) to 'The Anathemata' at the end of June 1945 – matches the shift in Jones's textual preoccupations over the same period. In mid- to late-1944, Jones returned to the 'man-the-maker Mass' he had drafted in 1941. Shortly afterwards, probably whilst considering both titles, Jones began inserting material into this Mass fragment, which signifies if not outright rejection then at least a disenchantment with the long poem he was attempting to create out of his already written fragments. On further consideration of the significance of the most recent title to suggest itself to him, I believe that Jones saw the added dimension which the word 'anathemata' offered up to him over and above what 'anathema' suggested, linked this to the work he was producing – a votive object, a thing lifted up – and began introducing art objects into his own text. In this suggested developmental sequence, the title and the text are interdependent or co-generative, each guiding, refining and then ratifying decisions made in relation to the other.

### (v) Title as totem to the making

If we pause to take a broader overview of the process of the conceptualization of the poem as presented in this chapter, we can see something rather puzzling occur. The central schema of the poem, the re-calling of all makings using the terms of the Mass as a sign for man-the-maker in modernity, emerged, as I have suggested, through a number of re-readings and re-workings out of the 'made things' fragment – which is to say, out of a list of art objects. Over the course of several years – roughly 1939-44 – the emerging content warped the original title 'The Book of Balaam's Ass' out of shape; and then, it would seem, a newly emerging title redefined the emerging content, as well as leading to the necessity of throwing out some of the old. The mysterious thing is that, at the same time as Jones found 'The Anathemata' take predominance as a title in his mind, he began including depictions of art objects in his text once more. Jones appears,

therefore, to have moved full-circle. However, these two moments in the history of the writing of *The Anathemata* are utterly dissimilar: in the first case, centre and schema are still nebulous and shifting, and objects are written away from; in the second, the centre and schema have resolved themselves into a focus on the made object, and so Jones *must* return to this preoccupation.

When Jones found the title for his poem he found an all-encompassing trope in a single word which behaved exactly as his first emerging fragment had - or would. Jones's writing of the poem is mediated around his discovery of the archetypal title. The title and the poem are bound together as conceptual equivalents: each is the other's meta-sign – the title both linguistically performs the poem in miniature, and is the label by which we speak of the whole. We should observe also, then, that 'anathemata' is both the singular and plural form of the word: it is able to refer to the collection of things lifted up in the poem, and to the poem itself – a clear rhetorical link between part and whole. The title is implicated in the poem's conceptual and actual genesis to such an extent that changing the title would have meant changing the entire poem. In this single word, anathemata, we find brought together (at least for Jones) every aspect of man in relation to nature: the reality of the sacramental, the self-evidence of a metaphysical presence, the co-habitation of the utile and gratuitous in those things pertaining to man. It becomes a talisman or totem – indeed, the word becomes itself: anathemata, lifted up and separated from all the other signa Jones had recourse to but forewent.

### **Conclusion**

Where Chapter 1 covered Jones discovery of a method, this Chapter has presented a view of his discovery of the subject of his poem; and as the comparison with Eliot's and Pound's discovery of *The Waste Land* indicates, such a groping movement – and we should remember the maker at the opening of *The Anathemata*: "his groping syntax, if we attend, already shapes: ADSCRIPTAM..."; *Ana* 49 – might well be a characteristic of modernist literary composition. The absence of inevitability to Jones's discovery of his title – its reliance upon chance and the incremental progression of makerly judgement – is mirrored by the same process by which the 'man-the-maker' fragment developed in 1944 out of the 'made things' fragment which Jones had written in late-1941. Both developments were only possible because Jones held only a vaguely felt programmatic intention, and was willing to allow it to mutate.

But to what extent are the reorientation of the title and the development of the text connected? As stated above, we know that Jones wrote and made a fine copy of his 'made things' fragment in late-1941. If Jones continued to develop this fragment shortly afterwards, and wrote the 'man-the-maker Mass' fragment which forms the base stratum of *The Anathemata*, then it would appear that they are not connected at all.

However, I believe that we can date the fine copy Jones made of the 'man-the-maker Mass' fragment to a later date using the analysis of the paper Jones used. The data suggests that Jones made his fine copy of this piece of writing (on sheets numbered rather cryptically '1 (4)', '2 (5)' and '3 (6)'; *DJP* LA1/3.2, 4 and 6) in January 1944 at the earliest. (See Appendix 1 for the tables of paper-type data in full.) If, as I think likely, Jones made this fine copy soon after producing the rough draft (pages '3' – '6'; *DJP* LA1/3.1, 3, 5 and 7) which develops directly out of the 'made things' and 'prehistoric makings' fragments (pages '1' and '2';

*DJP* LR8/6.2-3), then we can see how the growing work on the origins of manthe-maker, the construction of the two titles 'The Anathema' and 'The Anathemata', and Jones's transferral of the generative fragmentary method to this new text, were involved in a reciprocal process by which the centre and schema of the poem shifted and tarried. Such a movement matches Sally Bushell's theorization of poetic process (mentioned in the Introduction to this thesis) as the continual turning of the hermeneutic circle in the construction of new intentions in a making.<sup>222</sup> By mid-1945, this development had reached a point of stability sufficient for Jones to concentrate exclusively on producing new work within the 'man-the-maker Mass' fragment, and thus to the development of the whole of *The Anathemata* from within that fragment.

In her article, 'The Amphibolic Title of *The Anathemata*: A Key to the Structure of the Poem', Ann Carson Daly examines in detail the 'dualism' which Jones establishes with his choice of title. Although I am not convinced by Daly's precise designation of what constitutes the sacred and profane in Jones's work, I do agree that "both the form and content of [the word] 'anathemata' convey that Jones's subject matter is contradiction itself." Jones's title, in being an amphibole, formally performs the aporia which besets his thought, and thus achieves a characteristically modernist effect where form and content co-operate. This was related to Jones's conception of an 'incarnational' poetics, which was exemplified for him by Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*. Indeed, we should note again that the title *Finnegans Wake* shares this amphibolic effect with Jones's own title: it incorporates the senses both of a wake (following death), and a wakening (and so, symbolically, life).

Jones had begun writing his poem "about 'ideas" (*DGC* 86) in 1937, but, as the experiments attest, he only discovered that his central idea was the self-opposed, aporetic state of man-the-maker in modernity, and that his method would be to 'lift up' items which symbolised that state, toward the end of 1945. After this, and in spite of a second nervous breakdown in September 1946 which incapacitated him for a year, Jones wrote most of *The Anathemata* before the end

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> See Bushell (2008) 159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> Daly (1982) 54.

of 1949; and perhaps more importantly, everything he wrote in this period was included in his poem as published. The need to keep plugging away at a writing when unsure of what is being produced – to court makerly limbo – is one we find described by James Joyce in October 1923 as he was beginning to write parts of Finnegans Wake: "I work as much as I can because these are not fragments but active elements and when they are more and a little older they will begin to fuse themselves."<sup>224</sup> Whilst accounts vary as to Joyce's process of arriving at the schema for Finnegans Wake - which might be described as the conception of the form in which the 'active elements' of a writing will 'fuse themselves' – the general consensus in genetic Joyce criticism is that Joyce was writing the various parts of his last work for at least four years (from October 1922 to November 1926) before he knew how they would come together. <sup>225</sup> On a more localised level, we see in Luca Crispi's analysis of the writing of Chapter II.2 of Finnegans Wake that, while Joyce struggled with this chapter, once he realized that the central theme of the chapter was the investigation by Anna Livia's two sons Shem and Shaun of their mother's 'delta', he wrote it very quickly.<sup>226</sup> Thus, if we recall the process of Eliot's making of *The Waste Land* described at the beginning of this chapter, we clearly see common characteristics to the writing processes of Jones, Joyce and Eliot as regards shifts to the conception these writers had of what they were doing. The notion that such incremental movements in a making involve the interaction of the 'centre' of the text (experienced by the writer as he or she re-reads), and the 'schema' for the text (the writer's conception of its overall orientation), provides, I believe, a valuable means of thinking about how conceptual breakthroughs occur during a writing.

Whilst by mid-1945 Jones had developed the generative fragmentary method of his writing, and at the same time had established a writerly centre and schema –

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Joyce quoted in Crispi and Slote (2007) 14.

There are two major accounts of the conceptualisation of *Finnegans Wake*, which conflict. Danis Rose believes Joyce was writing a collection of short stories to be entitled *Finn's Hotel*, while David Hayman believes that Joyce moved gradually from focusing on Tristan and Isolde to the creation of a whole family narrative which treated of HCE, ALP, Shem, Shaun and Issy. Either way, Joyce only gradually discovery *Finnegans Wake*. Crispi, Slote and Van Hulle provide a useful summary of the compositional history of *Finnegans Wake*, and refer to alternative accounts, in the introduction to Crispi and Slote (2007) 5-31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> Crispi and Slote (2007) 219.

and the title which guided and exemplified the orientation of both – this only provided him with a plan and method of writing. The specific poetics which his poem would instantiate was still by no means certain. In the following two chapters, I will investigate how Jones developed a poetics which met the demands of his newly established intentions. The latter of these, Chapter 4, shows how such a poetics was organised into a larger system. In the former, we will look at Jones's development of an 'incarnational' poetics – an 'anathematical' poetics, so to speak – in which the most widespread and fundamentally utile sign we have – language – is made to perform gratuitously: where words themselves are lifted up and made over to the gods.

## **3 ♦**

## "This 'word' business"

The development of a poetics of the material word, 1945-7

For Jones, as an Aristotelian, it was axiomatic that the metaphysical could only be – but also that it *could* be – apprehended through a rigorous engagement with the physical. This was what making was *for*. An observation Jones made in a review of Patricia Hutchins' *James Joyce's Dublin* is important here. Hutchins reproduces a postcard from Joyce to his aunt Josephine enquiring about whether trees behind a particular church are visible from a particular point on the shore. Jones writes of this:

He had not learned in vain from the scholastics. 'We proceed from the known to the unknown'. The concrete, the exact dimensions, the contactual, the visual, the bodily, what the senses register, the assembled data first – *then* is the 'imagination' freed to get on with the job. The vague, the fanciful, the generalized have no place. No padding, no guesses, no effect-making, still less the slovenly, the slack, the jerrybuilt and the bogus. This much might be inferred from this postcard alone.

(E&A 306)

Joyce's query was made for the purpose of acquiring information for the writing of *Ulysses*; this writing proceeded out of a rigorous empirical engagement with the facts of the world. The latter period of the writing of *Ulysses*, and the whole of the writing of *Finnegans Wake*, are qualitatively different from this earlier approach in that Joyce became increasingly engaged with the facts of the *word*. We might identify here another aspect to the process of modernist composition:

that a work always ends, or is ended, with a different set of aims directing its composition, and a different poetics being deployed within it, as compared with how it was begun.<sup>227</sup> Such a trajectory implies that the work is unfinishable because it is always metamorphosing into a different work: formed by a changing method, directed by a changing schema, exhibiting a changing poetics, the modernist literary work is always becoming something other as it is being produced.

Having examined the development of a method in the first chapter, and the finding of an overall concept in the second, we now move in this third chapter to engage with the specific poetics Jones developed within the terms of that method and concept. Although there is no distinct boundary between these developments, and although all developments were taking place at once, we can see that Jones reached a successful method first (1943), then a satisfactory concept (1944-5), and then a poetics adequate to the demands of those two earlier developments (1944-49). This poetic development, I would suggest, had two main stages: first, a growing engagement with words as kinds of material nodes at which complexes of textual-historical data converge; and second – and building on this engagement – the growing compulsion to make a text which organised that micro-poetics into a structure which suggested as many analogical associations as possible. This chapter deals with the first stage of this development.

We begin in December 1945, when Jones had produced 74 pages of material out of (but, of course, literally speaking *within*) the 'man-the-maker Mass' fragment. In the period immediately following and no doubt entrenching the conceptualization of *The Anathemata* (roughly the whole of 1945) Jones wrote a third of the poem's finally published text and refoliated the sequence 1-74. The Roman and Welsh experiments written 1939-44 continued to cling to the final sheet (page 8 in the first foliation; page 74 in the second) of the 'man-the-maker Mass' fragment. Jones never crossed out the directions on this final sheet which indicate that this is only the end of a section, and that text would follow on a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> See my introduction to Chapter 2 for an account of how this would seem to have been the case in Eliot's writing of *The Waste Land*.

'new page' (see Figure 23). (Here, the link to page 9, which is the link to all the experimental Roman and Welsh material (see the structuration sheet on *RQ* 281-3), remains intact, though elsewhere in the manuscripts we find that Jones crosses out superseded connections.)

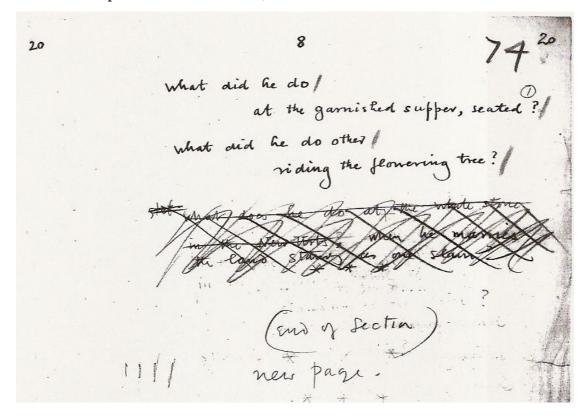


Figure 23 – An early version of the final lines of The Anathemata as published, but here only ending a 'section' (DJP LA1/3.20)

Whilst the experiments were certainly falling off from Jones's long poem about ideas, there was no definitive moment: the resilience of this link to the 'experimental' material registers Jones's feeling that he might be able to salvage it – it suggests that he never abandoned entirely the hope that he would be able 'to forge the necessary connecting links' (*TL* 19). This, I would argue, was another essential ambivalence which enabled the writing of *The Anathemata*: such a tenacious clinging-on meant that Jones was guarded against making wholesale extractions from this earlier material. This in turn meant that only new material could be produced, which was essential in allowing the form of *The Anathemata* to emerge out of the text's 'inner necessities'.

These 74 pages, then, were still seen as only the opening of a much longer work. However, the conceptualization of his poem as the textual manifestation of 'anathemata' had led Jones in the writing of this material (which formed the two main foliational strata: 5A-T and 5F1-33) to a new kind of experimentation within the terms of the fragmentary method and overall schema of the work (as covered in the two preceding chapters, respectively). This experimentation was undertaken toward the development of a poetics adequate to his schema, and possible using his method. When Jones described the moment at which he realised that he required a new poetics, his writing of 1945 had led him to this realisation by already exhibiting the partial realisation of such a poetics in the use of foreign words (predominantly Latin and Welsh), the deployment of a technical vocabulary (particularly in relation to seafaring and architecture), and the construction of analogies between Christian and non-Christian mythological deposits.

I think perhaps the main thing was that I saw or felt the necessity of using the material less 'realistically' – less of a 'narrative' – no less 'real' but using the *materia poetica* in such a way as to make the work more evocative and recalling – with more overtones and undertones[...]

(TL 20)

Earlier in the same letter, Jones wrote of his experimental material that "it remained chunks of material that I worked on sometimes in considerable detail. There was virtually nothing of 'The Lady of the Pool' theme, and very little if any of the geological stratification theme, both of which are so important to The Anathemata." (TL 19 – my emphasis). 'The Lady of the Pool' and the geology-themed material only began to be written after August 1947, which would indicate that the realisation which Jones described in the letter quoted above post-dated the writing of the material which constituted the whole of the first foliational order (pages 1-74 in manuscript) of the poem, and so came after his second nervous breakdown. Thus, if Jones had developed the centre and schema of his poem by mid-1945, as I suggested in the previous chapter, it took at least another two years for him to realise a poetics which was adequately 'evocative and recalling'. In this chapter, I examine the developmental process of Jones's poetics towards that realisation.

## I. The Challenge of an Incarnational Art

## (i) "The Mass makes sense of everything"

The first experience Jones had of the Roman Catholic Mass occurred in around 1917 on the Western Front. He recounts this experience in a letter written the year before he died. Searching for firewood behind the Front Line, Jones noticed an outhouse whose roof remained intact, and so approached it:

I found a crack against which I put my eye expecting to see...empty darkness and that I should have to go round to the other side of the little building to find an entrance. But what I saw through the small gap in the wall was not the dim emptiness I had expected but the back of a sacerdos in a gilt-hued *planeta*, two points of flickering candlelight no doubt lent an extra sense of goldness to the vestment and a golden warmth seemed, by the same agency, to lend the white altar cloths and the white linen of the celebrant's alb and amice and maniple<sup>228</sup>...You can imagine what a great marvel it was for me to see through that chink in the wall, and kneeling in the hay beneath the improvised *mensa* were a few huddled figures in khaki.

I can't recall at what part of the Mass it was as I looked through that squint-hole and I didn't think I ought to stay long as it seemed rather like an uninitiated bloke prying on the Mysteries of a Cult. But it made a big impression on me...I felt immediately that oneness between the Offerant and those toughs that clustered round him in the dim-lit byre – a thing I had never felt remotely as a Protestant at the Office of Holy Communion in spite of the insistence of Protestant theology on the 'priesthood of the laity.'

(DGC 248-9)

Despite not being able to remember which part of the Mass was being said, Jones recalls the scene in great visual detail – and this some 57 years after the event. As an 'uninitiated bloke' of 22 years of age, Jones almost certainly would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Jones's sentence remains grammatically incomplete in the original letter.

not have known the names for the vestments of the priest, nor have been able to refer to him as a 'sacerdos'; yet looking back on the event, he retains a clear enough memory of the scene to mention specifically the alb hanging to the priest's feet, the planeta worn over the top, the amice about the shoulders, and the maniple hanging from the left arm. Jones also mentions the points of candlelight and the altar cloths lying across the altar 'stone' (the improvised mensa). A sense of illumination, warmth and oneness - of community envelops the participants, but by the same token excludes the 'prying' Jones. This visual scene and its objects – but neither the words nor the specific action of the Mass – are what stand out for Jones, and are what make this sight 'a great marvel' to him. In accounting for the source of the 'oneness', Jones must revert to the objects of the scene; the highly specific terms for those objects and Jones's knowledgeable deployment of those words as, now near the end of his life, an initiated bloke, is a sign for his having long ago acquired the knowledge of the insider. I would suggest that these objects and their illumination – and they are, importantly, also things made – are the source of Jones's impression of the "oneness between the Offerant and those toughs." They are instruments used in a making, and the contrast between these two - offerant and toughs - is significant of just how efficacious these signs are. The implication is that such making overcomes difference and generates community. Jones the outsider from both the Roman Catholic Church in Normandy and the 'toughs' of the army - craves community through signs. The 'Absalom Mass', written in early-1939, retains features of the conflict of insider and outsider: the consciousness through which we experience the Mass is that of a Mr Tod; and 'tod', whilst being German for 'death', also entered English as rhyming slang for 'alone' (from Tod Sloan, an American Jockey) in the 1930s (OED).

For Jones, the creation of communal identity through the making of material signs was at the forefront of his makerly impulse; the 'prehistoric makers' fragment written in late-1941, already quoted above, replays this same first sighting of the Mass, where the instruments of the prehistoric artist enable the making of the cave paintings which produce an equal oneness between offerant (artist) and toughs (audience):

the master of the faunoglyph handles
the instruments: his bone palette
his scalpriform flints, his stone maul, &
and employs the consubstantiating formulas. They cry
their placets from their lean haunches
when they see his foreshortened bison,
bulk & linear, splay the mural space.

(DJP LR8/6.2)

Jones, who had been a practising Protestant for the first two decades of his life (and who would remain so for a further four years after his first experience of the Mass), suddenly felt a gulf of comparative efficacy open up between the central rite of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. Jones inwardly cries his *placet* to the Roman Catholic rite when he first sees it in France because it achieves a oneness, and the objects it uses – and which the Protestant rite does not – function as outward signs of inner realities, just as do the bread and wine of the Eucharist – and just as had the cave paintings and burial rites of prehistory.

So, looking through this crack in the wall, Jones saw how material objects effected an immaterial 'oneness'. It was this experience which led Jones to discuss the analogy between the structure of the showing inherent in the arts and in the Mass when at Westminster School of Art in 1919-21 (quoted in full in the Introduction to this thesis), and which ultimately lay behind his conversion in that latter year (see *DGC* 232). As we have seen, the development of his 'man-the-maker' fragment led to a conceptual resolution in the co-origination of man and his making. Jones needed a concrete image for this, which the Mass perfectly fulfilled – as Jones wrote almost twenty years after the publication of *The Anathemata*: '[t]he action of the Mass was meant to be the central theme of the work for as you once said to me "The Mass makes sense of everything" (*TL* 20).

Jones portrayed the Mass in three main experiments written between 1939 and

1944, and began inserting material into the 'man-the-maker Mass' at the end of 1944 (as we saw in Chapter 2). Finding the Mass as paradigm for making was only the beginning, though. He had then to establish a poetics adequate to its treatment: to travel from content to form. Jones used the term 'incarnational' to describe the ideal form which a writing exhibited. I will begin my investigation into the nature of Jones's notion of an incarnational art by looking at the more common notion of the concrete universal.

### (ii) The form of the concrete universal: from Romanticism to Modernism

At the beginning of January 1939, when Jones was writing his first Mass sequence, he put to Harman Grisewood the major problem of his current work: "This bloody difficulty of writing about 'ideas' and somehow making them concrete is a bugger to surmount – but I believe it can be done" (*DGC* 89). Such a task has been identified as *the* poetic challenge from Aristotle in the *Poetics*, through Philip Sidney in his 'Defense of Poesie' (1595), to Ezra Pound, who in spite of his wilful new-ness simply restates the same necessity of poetry: "art does not avoid universals, it strikes at them all the harder in that it strikes through particulars". <sup>229</sup>

In his essay 'The Concrete Universal' (1954), W. K. Wimsatt makes the following tentative suggestion in relation to the nature of poetry:

The fact is that all concrete illustration has about it something of the irrelevant. An apple falling from a tree illustrates gravity, but apple and tree are irrelevant to the pure theory of gravity. It may be that what happens in a poem is that the apple and the tree are somehow made more than usually relevant.<sup>230</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Ezra Pound, 'T. S. Eliot', *Literary Essays*, p.420; quoted in Gefin (1982) 31. Sidney identifies history, philosophy and poetry as the three high achievements of man. Whilst history is concerned with particulars, and philosophy with abstraction, "the peerlesse Poet performe[s] both, for whatsoever the *Philosopher* saith should be done, he [the poet] gives a perfect picture of it by some one, by whom he presupposeth it was done, so as he coupleth the generall notion with the particular example. A perfect picture I say, for hee yeeldeth to the powers of the minde an image of that whereof the *Philosopher* bestoweth but a wordish description, which doth neither strike, pearce, nor possesse the sight of the soul so much, as that other doth." Sidney (1923) 14. As Wimsatt identifies, this has been seen as the ideal state of poetry from Aristotle, through Plotinus and Scholasticism. See Wimsatt (1954) 71.

Wimsatt uses Wordsworth's 'Solitary Reaper' in order to illustrate the means by which the concrete universal functions in poetry. Wimsatt extrapolates the following from Wordsworth's juxtaposition of a singing girl with two singing birds:

the three figures serv[e] the metaphorical function of bringing out the abstraction of loneliness, remoteness, mysterious charm in the singing. But there is also a kind of third dimensional significance, in the fact that one bird is far out in the northern sea, the other far off in southern sands, a fact which is not part of the comparison between birds and the girl. By an implication cutting across the plane of logic of the metaphor, the girl and the two birds suggest extension in space, universality, and world communion – an effect supported by other details of the poem...<sup>231</sup>

We might speculate that the poem would still have existed as poetry if Wordsworth had written only of the girl, but that it is enriched by the metaphorical commonality encapsulated in the two birds also singing (which enriches the sense we get of the girl's loneliness – a universal – through metaphor); and that this is further enriched by the concrete attributes of the birds (both their geographical position, and the distance between those positions) which, again by the action of the metaphor, increases in its greater concreteness the power of the universal attributes assigned to the girl. Wordsworth is not telling us what these birds mean; neither, in view of the distance between them, is he telling us what the impossibility of hearing all three singers at the same time means. It is the very absence of a stated meaning to these three figures' presence that allows them to operate as metaphors. Discursive logic is suppressed (or at least is not explored after a metaphorical formulation presents itself) in order that metaphorical expression might bring forth a universal significance.

Even the simplest form of metaphor or simile ("My love is like a red, red rose") presents us with a special and creative, in fact a concrete, kind of abstraction

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> *Ibid*. 80.

different from that of science. For behind a metaphor lies a resemblance between two classes, and hence a more general third class. This class is unnamed and most likely remains unnamed and is apprehended only through the metaphor. It is a new conception for which there is no other expression.<sup>232</sup>

We shall return to the importance for Jones's poetics of that which underlies metaphor – analogy – in the following chapter. For now, we need to be clear that in Wimsatt's reading of Wordsworth's poem, there are three dimensions of signification. First, there is the literal signification: two birds (one in the desert, one in the northern sea) and a girl, are singing. Second, there is a universal significance – loneliness, remoteness, mysterious charm – which are abstracted from those literal particulars. Third, there is a higher signification abstracted from and opposed to these abstractions: one of universality and communion. The metaphorical structure of the text generates a paradoxical effect: isolation and communion at once. But, importantly, the move from the concrete images of the poem to its universal signification is, to use Wimsatt's words, achieved by 'implication': what the images 'suggest' produces an 'effect'. Whether or not such a thing as the concrete universal in language objectively exists is not of concern here; what matters is the specific poetics which the writer deploys in a given epoch in the pursuit of such an effect.<sup>233</sup>

With Wimsatt's analysis in mind, I would argue that modernist writers were no less concerned to create this effect than Wordsworth (as the above quotation from Pound reveals). However, the advent of literary modernism involved, amongst many other things, an engagement with a different class of the concrete altogether. Whilst in Romanticism the concrete is approached *through* words (the images of the girl and the birds are the particulars to which Wordsworth's poem directs us), in certain kinds of modernist writing, the concrete is approached *in* words. That is to say, the concrete signifier assumes a predominant position in the construction of universal effects. I would argue that, whilst the modernist concrete universal remained an effect, it had become a thing which was logically calculated, an intellectual puzzle which required words

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> *Ibid*. 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Paul de Man deconstructs the notion that the concrete universal has an objective reality in the opening chapter of *The Rhetoric of Romanticism*. See de Man (1984) 2-7.

to be experienced as material entities, as signifiers which do not insuperably relate to their signifieds, as signs preoccupied with their own material being. How this was so can be seen if we look at the reasons David Jones gave for holding James Joyce in such high regard.

# (iii) "Jimmy J's astoundingly packed-full nut": James Joyce and incarnational art

When Jones began writing in the voice of Elen Monica, *Finnegans Wake* was at the forefront of his mind. In the period 1947-8, Jones named the pictures of trees he made looking out of the window of Bowden House as part of his post-breakdown therapy using phrases from Joyce's 'Anna Livia Plurabelle'; he painted his 'Northmens thing made southfolks place' inscription (a quotation from the same chapter of *Finnegans Wake*); and he explained the significance of those five words as regards their paradigmatic incarnationality in his essay 'The Arthurian Legend'.<sup>234</sup> It was perhaps also at this time that Jones memorized all eight and a half minutes of Joyce's audio recording of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle'.<sup>235</sup> While Jones's move to begin writing *about* women after 1947 was certainly the result of the advice of his therapists, writing *as* a woman was at least as much down to the influence of the dialogue of the two washerwomen in his favourite chapter of Joyce. Joyce was Jones's foremost literary problem solver (see *DGC* 174) because he led Jones to explore new ways of meaning with language.<sup>236</sup>

In 'Notes on the 1930s (1965), Jones wrote that Joyce as an artist,

more than any other, for all the universality of his theme, depended on a given locality, for no man could have adhered with more absolute fidelity to a specified site, and the complex historic strata special to that site, to express a universal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> See Miles and Shiel (1995) 194 for an account of Jones entitling his paintings in this period. The 'Northmens thing' inscription is used to illustrate *The Anathemata*, facing page 55; 'The Arthurian Legend' was published in E&A 202-211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> William Blissett describes a visit to Jones on 28 January 1959: "Mr Jones wanted to talk about Joyce. He had memorized 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' from the record – one of the few things he had ever memorized since his childhood – and it only gradually faded when the record along with a number of other things was stolen from his studio; now he has secured another copy." Blissett (1981) 12-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> See Staudt (1994) 133-8 for a comparative view of Jones and Joyce.

concept. It was from the *particular* that he made the *general* shine out. That is to say he was quintessentially 'incarnational'.

(DG 46)

In 'James Joyce's Dublin' (1950), Jones described Joyce as "the most incarnational of artists", and then immediately afterwards wrote: "If it is true that our business here below is to make the universal shine out of the particular, then among twentieth-century artists there is no doubt that 'Fr. James Joyce has made hares of them all!" Joyce achieves this because "of all artists ever, James Joyce was the most dependent on the particular, on place, site, locality" (*E&A* 304). Jones appears in these instances to conflate his notion of an incarnational art into identity with the notion of the concrete universal. However, I would suggest that the two are distinguishable.

The incarnational poetics is perhaps a sub-class of the larger class of concrete universal poetics, but it uses completely different means for the achievement of its effect to those remarked on by Wimsatt in reference to Wordsworth. But we need to be careful to point at that Jones certainly did not mean by 'incarnational art' an engagement with the incarnation itself. For any Christian, in Christ the divine and the human are brought together in one being. The mystery of the event of the incarnation has of course formed the subject of a tradition in English verse, from its place in medieval lyrics, through Milton's 'On the Morning of Christ's Nativity', to its place throughout Hopkins' work – and indeed in its place in *The Anathemata* itself. But such a tradition was not at all part of Jones's consideration when he used the phrase 'incarnational art'.

Jones used the incarnation to describe a certain poetics by analogy only. If we consider that the incarnation involves the co-presence of the concrete particular (Jesus) and the universal (Christ), we move closer to Jones's sense, and of course also to the similarity with the concrete universal. This co-presence can quite easily be seen as analogous to the structure of signification: Jesus is to Christ as the signifier is to the signified. If we refer to a passage Jones inserted at the beginning of 'The Roman Quarry' – and which Rene Hague excised from the published version (see RQ 218-9) – we see Jones make an interesting

statement which presupposes such an analogy: "They say he [Christ] is himself both sign and / thing signified" (see *RQ* 218-9). The important thing to note is that the notion of the incarnational, unlike the notion of the concrete universal as presented by Wimsatt, implicates an interstress of form and content in cosignification: in an incarnational art, what is being *said* is also being *performed*: sign and signified are co-operative. In addition to this, as we shall now see, Jones's sense of incarnational art was intimately bound up with the experience of history in the present, and so can be seen as a development out of the experience he had in Jerusalem in 1934, examined in Chapter 1, where occupying British infantrymen re-called the Roman forces at the time of the Passion.

In 'The Arthurian Legend' (1948), Jones provides an example of how Joyce set up a re-calling poetics of history. Although Jones does not use the term 'incarnational' to describe it, I think we can see that this description is the missing articulation of the specifics of that poetics. Exploring the capacity for imbuing a piece of writing with 'now-ness', Jones refers us to a phrase in *Finnegans Wake*:

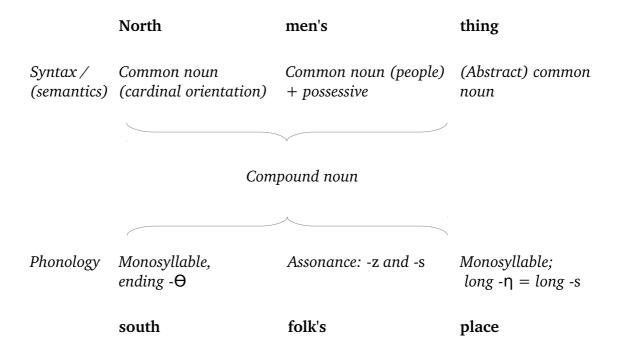
In *Anna Livia Plurabelle* these five deceptively simple words occur: 'Northmen's thing made southfolk's place.' I cannot recollect words from another source to express so briefly what I mean. As a matter of fact, when you come to think of it, the familiar words, *Ab urbe condita* 'from then till now', have quite a bit of what I mean; but Joyce's five words serve us better, for they include also 'how then became now' and also they include the change of people on the unchanged site. All this they hold up even independent of the context. Given the context, we know the city referred to, and we have the Viking assembly or Thing, 'making', in the fullness of time, the Georgian assembly rooms by the same Black Water and the Dublin of now. [Jones's footnote: 'At the time of writing this article (1948) I was under the impression that the place-name Dublin derived from two Goidelic words meaning 'black water'. I understand that this is incorrect.']

Had the author not metamorphosed 'Suffolk Place' in both sense and appearance he would have had a kind of banal and restricted 'now-ness', a total lack of universality and no poetry. On the other hand had he not found a 'Suffolk Place' of some sort, somewhere, to metamorphose, he would have lost

contact with the actual, the intimate and the 'now'. As it is, concept and universality are married to the local and the particular. The marriage is secret (which has a bearing on the question of 'obscurity') but by it, all is achieved, and that by a positively text-book specimen of *Art est celare artem*.

 $(E\&A\ 210)$ 

The local and the particular here certainly refer to things in the world – the Viking assembly which existed on the site of modern Suffolk Place, Dublin – but the means of such reference, and most importantly *co-*reference, is morphological. The non-semantic features of the phrase 'Northmen's thing made southfolk's place' – its syntactic and phonological patterning (as regards both stresses, and length of syllables) – guides our conversion of a group of common nouns pivoting on one of the most abstract verbs in English ('to make') into a highly site- and time-specific observation of Dublin.



The experience of this formal patterning is the first step; it obliges us (with Jones) to pursue the possibility that a semiotic equivalence might provide a clue to an equivalence within the world: semiotic equivalence guides us toward the identification of a semantic equivalence. The 'made' which links these two formally repetitious phrases encourages us to do precisely that to the phrases

either side of it: to make them into something else. Joyce's phrase propounds a joy in the flexibility of language as much as it comments on the history of Dublin. Jones's attraction to 'Northmen's thing made southfolk's place' partly stems, I think, from the fact that a sequence of six highly abstract common nouns are transmuted by the material particularities of their combination into two site- and time-specific institutions: the Viking assembly-hall and Suffolk Place of Dublin of the ninth and nineteenth centuries respectively. The temporal folding together upon a single location which this five word phrase achieves is completely dependent upon the dual-signification of the word thing as English 'unspecified object' and Old Norse 'assembly-hall'. The movement from solely the former to its combination with the latter in the experience of this phrase sets up the movement from 'southfolk' to 'Suffolk' – it germinates the experience of a pun. And the making of the terms of the pun in the readerly experience (the 'secret marriage' we as readers are making) formally re-enacts the process by which, on a single site in Dublin, the Norse assembly becomes (is 'made') the modern square we are now able to walk around.

The kind of effect which Jones experienced in his reading of this phrase is completely dependent on a kind of stratification of the word. It is noteworthy, however, that the phrase Jones chooses to single-out is in one respect not characteristic of Joyce's method. Joyce's more usual strategy is to create a polysemic effect through puns and portmanteaux which are constructed from the English of his present; and, when using non-English words, without regard to their etymological connections to modern English. That is to say, 'Northmen's thing made southfolk's place' is a comparatively rare case in Joyce of the diachronically performative – in this phrase, the history of language enacts the history of culture. This is the reason for Jones's attraction to it: the whole of *The Anathemata* being concerned with 'how then' (prehistoric proto-man) 'became now' (twilight-man in modernity), Joyce's phrase opens up a whole new strategy for a poetics of history.

Shortly before announcing his now famous definition of the poetic function in 'Closing Statement', and in the preparation of that announcement, Roman

Jakobson wrote that "Poetic function is not the sole function of verbal art but only its dominant, determining function, whereas in all other verbal activities it acts as a subsidiary, accessory constituent. This function, by promoting the palpability of signs, deepens the fundamental dichotomy of signs and objects." Joyce's phrase, and Jones's reading of it, clearly rely on this dichotomy, whereby the semiotic and semantic are separated out in order to elucidate one another. If such a dichotomy has always been the preserve of poetry, in modernist poetry it would appear to have reached a hitherto unrivalled degree of separation, to the extent that an incarnational poetics became practicable. In the following section I will argue that this kind of poetics was only possible after the new comparative philology of the mid-nineteenth century had arisen and provided literary artists with both the strategy and material means – the data – by which such a poetics could be articulated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> Jakobson (1985) 153. Jakobson's definition is as follows "The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination. Equivalence is promoted to the constitutive device of the sequence. In poetry one syllable is equalized with any other syllable of the same sequence: word stress is assumed to equal word stress, as unstress equals unstress; prosodic long is matched with long, and short with short; word boundary equals word boundary, no boundary equals no boundary; syntactic pause equals syntactic pause, no pause equals no pause. Syllables are converted into units of measure, and so are morae or stresses."

## II. The Modernist Word: Writing and the OED

In the early stages of his experimentation, in 1940, Jones wrote in a letter to Harman Grisewood: "What I don't understand is why more has not been done with this language thing – why are there not a whole lot of leaders-up-to-and from-Joyce – I mean the pleasure is endless and the possibilities infinite". The truth is that there were a number of leaders-up-to Joyce, but that it took Joyce to use language in the extreme way in which it is used in *Finnegans Wake*. Gerard Manley Hopkins (of whose work Jones was particularly fond) and Thomas Hardy have been the subjects of full-length investigations into the effect of the philological vogue of the mid- to late-nineteenth century on the writing of poetry. In this section I suggest that this philological movement, and its dominant and indeed continuing presence in English culture in the form of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, was what made modernist writing in the form it took possible; and, in the specific context of the making of *The Anathemata*, that it supplied Jones with a set of 'data' which trumped all others, referring as it did to the very material from which Jones was making his poem.

#### (i) Language as material

We must begin, though, by thinking about what the materials of language might be. Julia Kristeva, exploring this question, divided that materiality into two kinds: first, "there is no language without sounds, gestures, or writing"; language is for communication, and there can be no communication without this material instantiation. Second, every language system follows a set of objective laws in its organization – it must consist of articulable units, and there are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> Unpublished letter to Harman Grisewood, 19 March 1940; quote in Staudt (1994) 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>239</sup> See Plotkin (1989) and Taylor (1993) Plotkin suggests *The Wreck of the Deutschland* as a watershed not only for Hopkins but for English poetry: "The Wreck of the Deutschland and the corpus of poems it inaugurates mark the convergence in English of poetry and philology, with consequences for discursiveness and obscurity, for meaning and the vehicles of meaning, and for the nature and function of language in poetry." (7-8)

objective laws for this division.

The nature of this second type of materiality in language is an important element in the consideration of the differential capacities which languages have for morphological change. Kristeva remarks that the science of writing, immature though it is,<sup>240</sup> has traditionally organized writing into three types of system: pictographic, ideographic (or hieroglyphic), and phonetic (or alphabetic); a taxonomy constructed in the early- to mid-nineteenth century.<sup>241</sup> This, says Kristeva, is currently being contested with a more sophisticated fivefold categorization: phraseograms, logograms, morphemograms, syllabograms, and phonograms.<sup>242</sup> Differentiation between each of these types of language is made by ascertaining the smallest material unit into which a language can be broken down. So, the five categories divide the world's written languages under the terms of what constitutes their foundational and indivisible units of writing: phrase, word, morpheme, syllable, and phonic element. Of the phonic class, there are two types: the consonantal and the vocalized; the former having written units for consonants, the latter having written units for consonants and vowels. The English language is of the phonic-vocalized class, and as such is a member of that language class whose written system is most articulated.

English, as a result, is far more subject to morphological change than written languages which are less articulated. Letters can be – and have been – added to, subtracted from, or altered within words through time; and those letters themselves have experienced the same process – thus generating a shifting morphology of words through the language's historical development. The monumental result of a century of comparative philology in English, the *OED*, presents these material changes in infinitesimal detail. Because its material laws of organization predisposed it thus, the English language was found in the nineteenth century to be rife with historicity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>240</sup> Kristeva (1989) 23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>241</sup> Whilst the earliest recorded uses in the *OED* of 'alphabet' (1513), 'alphabetic' (1642), and 'hieroglyph' (1598) reveal an early modern understanding in English of the difference between language-types, the first recorded uses of 'phonetic' (1826), 'ideograph' (1835), and 'pictograph' (1851) show that this tripartite division emerged with the new comparative philology, which forms the subject of the following subsection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>242</sup> Kristeva (1989) 27-9.

## (ii) The new comparative philology and the history of English

Etymological speculation is probably only a little younger than language itself. In Plato's *Cratylus*, a foundational text for the argument over whether languages are founded on conventional or natural sets of signs, Socrates' method of argument is to trace whichever words he can back to their origins. His conclusion, though presented somewhat tentatively, is that language is natural, because its forms appear to stem from the movement of the mouth and tongue in natural, physical reaction to phenomena. The major critical division over the *Cratylus* – is Socrates speaking in earnest or satirizing his contemporary etymologisers?<sup>243</sup> – is indicative of an abiding attitude to the uses of etymology.

The *Etymologiae* of St Isidore of Seville (*c*.560 – 636 AD) was one of the major reference works across Europe for an entire millennium, and supplied St Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274) with a wealth of material for his *Summa Theologica*. In the Renaissance, speculative etymology in vernacular languages became common, a development which Maurice Olender relates to the growth of the construction of national identities in language.<sup>244</sup>

The study of language in England in the eighteenth century was an instrument of philosophy. In one short passage of *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), John Locke implied that etymology might be the means by which the origins of thought in sensation might be discovered.<sup>245</sup> This suggestion was developed by Horn Tooke, for whom language study was no less than the study of mind.<sup>246</sup> William Jones, the foremost Orientalist of the late-eighteenth century, opposed this view. He believed that the study of language should be empirical and anti-speculative, and that, transacted in this way, it would reveal the affinity of languages, and thus of nations.<sup>247</sup> As Hans Aarsleff notes, "[b]y making it strictly historical, comparative, and structural, Jones

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>243</sup> Arguments persist over whether Socrates is genuine in his etymological investigations and conclusions. See Plato (1997) 101.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>244</sup> See Olender (December 1994) 5 and *passim*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>245</sup> See Aarsleff (1983) 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>246</sup> *Ibid*. 52-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> *Ibid*. 128-9.

caused a revolution in the study of language."248 His historical, a posteriori approach to language study allowed him to formulate the Indo-European hypothesis in 1786.<sup>249</sup> However, because of Tooke's enormous influence, the new comparative philology which William Jones's method pre-empted was not able to emerge in England until the 1830s. A philological movement owing a large degree of debt to Jones had developed much earlier in Germany with the work of Michaelis, Herder, Schlegel, Bopp, Rask and Grimm, though comparative philology did not properly emerge until 1816 with the publication of Franz Bopp's Uber das Conjugationssystem. 250 In the 1830s, Benjamin Thorpe (1782-1870) and John Mitchell Kemble (1807-1857) studied under Rask and Grimm respectively, and brought back their comparative philological methods to England. From 1830 onwards, comparative philology began to become a discipline in England, growing out of an increasing interest in, and a consequent increasing availability of, Anglo-Saxon literature in England from the mid-This enabled the Philological Society to be eighteenth century onward. established in 1842. However, the Society was intent upon developing this interest beyond Anglo-Saxon literature, and encouraged the comparative study of Anglo-Saxon with other non-English languages. Despite the continued survival of a strain of etymological metaphysics through the mid-nineteenth century (exemplified by Max Muller) the movement of language study in England was towards the historical and empirical. One of the most important figures in this movement was Richard Chenevix Trench, who believed that the study of language enabled the study of nations.<sup>251</sup> Trench's On the Study of Words (1851) and English Past and Present (1854) were immensely popular works, making language study a common interest and preparing the conditions under which a large new English dictionary was marketable.<sup>252</sup> On 18 June 1857, Trench, Herbert Coleridge and Furnivall were appointed as a committee of the Philological Society to collect unregistered words in English; and seven months later, a scheme for a new English dictionary was introduced and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>248</sup> *Ibid*. 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>249</sup> *Ibid*. 136-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>250</sup> See *ibid*. 144-61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>251</sup> *Ibid*. 238.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>252</sup> The Study of Words reached its nineteenth edition in 1886; English Past and Present its fourteenth in 1889. See *ibid*. 234-5.

accepted.<sup>253</sup> Trench published *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries* in 1860, wherein he stated his 'true idea' of a dictionary as 'an inventory of the language'. For Trench, a dictionary was "an historical monument, the history of a nation contemplated from one point of view." As such, the new dictionary would be very different to its antecedents.

Johnson's dictionary (1755) was the first to use exemplary quotations, though these were undated, no doubt because the examples were taken from texts written over the course of only the preceding 160 years. Richardson's New Dictionary of the English Language (1836-7), by contrast, quoted works from as early as 1300, and provided dates of publication; it also eschewed definitions altogether, believing that only exemplary uses were necessary. 255 Despite the significant debt which the OED owed to its predecessors, in an address to the Philological Society in 1857 which inaugurated the making of this new dictionary, Trench made it clear why such a project was necessary, giving a list of six major problems with existing dictionaries. First, obsolete words were omitted; second, the organisation of words by family was passed over; third, dating for the first uses of words was insufficient; fourth, obsolete meanings of words which continued to be used with other meanings went unmarked; fifth, there was insufficient use of examples to distinguish words from their synonyms; and sixth, exemplary passages which reveal first introduction, etymology and meaning were omitted.<sup>256</sup> The methods by which this new dictionary was intended to be an 'inventory of the language' - a historic record - and not a 'standard of the language' were thus clearly laid out. The first fascicle of the New English Dictionary on Historical Principles (A to Ant) was published in 1884, and the last (Wise onward) in 1928 - the dictionary had taken 44 years to publish, and was only completed 70 years after Trench had first conceived of the scheme. The fascicles were re-published in 12 volumes (with a one-volume Supplement) as the Oxford English Dictionary in 1933.

Jones's complaint of 1938 - "for the kind of writing I want to do you really do

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>253</sup> *Ibid.* 258.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>254</sup> Trench, On Some Deficiencies, pp.4-6; quoted in Ibid. 261.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>255</sup> Murray (1900) 72.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>256</sup> See Willinsky (*c*. 1994) 14-16.

have to have so much *information* and know such a lot about *words* that I can't really believe I can do it except in a limited way" (*DGC* 83) was only possible because of what the new comparative philological movement had revealed about the English language. It was only following the publication of such rigorous accounts of the language as the *OED* that 'such a lot' – the scope and complexity of the history of the English language from 1150 to the present day – was there for the knowing. We will now turn to an account of how the *OED* presented its information.

James Murray, who became the editor of the *New English Dictionary* in 1879, had to engage with etymology because his dictionary was historical, and yet was placed in the awkward position of doing so without encouraging the interpretation that earlier meanings were 'true' meanings. As Dennis Taylor has suggested, the relationship between the old and modern senses of words still "haunted the Victorian philologists." As Taylor argues, participants in the new philology may have wanted to reveal the ultimate origin of language, and they may have thought that a comprehensive laying-out of the historical development of a language might reveal the mind of man in its development from pre-history, but their zeal was tempered by a characteristically Victorian scientific sensibility; that before anything could be usefully speculated, the data would need to be collected and exhibited, much as it was in the natural sciences in the same period. The *OED* – "the climactic achievement of Victorian historical philology" – was that collection and exhibition. The same of the same of the property of the climactic achievement of Victorian historical philology" – was that collection and exhibition.

However, the historically-oriented structure of the dictionary enabled and encouraged origin-seeking speculation by the readers of the dictionary. Thus, the two different purposes of the eighteenth century study of language which the comparative philology opposed – etymological metaphysics and the philosophy of mind – were encouraged once more by the data which it produced.

In some cases, the historical structure of the dictionary did not cause problems;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>257</sup> Taylor (1993) 228.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>258</sup> *Ibid.* 230-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>259</sup> *Ibid.* 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>260</sup> *Ibid*. 241-4.

for example, when alterations to morphology took place, but meaning remained constant. Murray's example of 'acre', given in the 'General Explanations' of the first edition of the *OED*, reveals how the historical structure of the dictionary was the simple laying-out of data.

ACRE (now really  $\bar{e}^i \cdot k \partial J$ ), formerly aker, is the extant form of Old English  $\not\approx cr$ , the special English form of acr, akr, this of West Germanic akra, this, through earlier  $akra \cdot z$ , of Original Teutonic  $akro \cdot z$ , this of original Aryan or Indo-European  $agro \cdot s$ ; and agros, akroz, akraz, akra, akr,  $\not\approx cr$ ,  $\not\approx cer$ , aker,  $\vec{a}ker$ ,  $\vec{a}cre$  ( $\vec{e}^i \cdot k \partial J$ ), are all merely successive and temporary forms of one and the same word, as employed through successive periods. The word has never died; no year, no day probably, has passed without its being uttered by many: but this constant use has so worn it down and modified its form, that we commonly look upon acre as a distinct word from agros, with which it is connected by many intermediate forms, of which only a few have been discriminated in writing, while the finer and more intimately connecting links have never been written.  $^{261}$ 

As we shall see, such morphological changes, and their presentation in the *OED*, enabled Jones to develop a poetics of history. However, when the meaning of a word altered, or a new meaning developed out of morphological constant and supplemented its former meaning, the dictionary's historical presentation of its data caused problems: how did these meanings relate to one another? The *OED* avoids addressing this question by listing polysemes under the same heading, but with separate numbered articles (with examples) on each different meaning; and by listing homonyms under separate headings. The *OED* is glaringly silent on the gap between a first meaning and a second meaning and a third and so on. This silence, and the dictionary's historical structure, encourages the reader to speculate on such a development. In what follows, I will show how David Jones participated in such etymological speculation; and how this was connected with an ambivalence in regards to another of the great problems of dictionary-makers: how words can be adequately defined.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>261</sup> OED (1933) xxx.

# (iii) David Jones, language, and the OED

David Jones began making painted inscriptions in about 1932, a form which developed out of his impulse to decorate letters with commemorative quotations, mostly from the liturgy (see, for example, the letter reproduced as Figure 5, above). In the six years between 1940 and this breakdown, Jones painted eight inscriptions. In the same number of years following his treatment at Bowden House in 1936-7, the number produced was twenty-six. This means that, of a total of 33 years working in the form, it was in just five years (the period which I have identified, for the scope of this and the following chapter, as the latter stages of the writing of *The Anathemata*) that Jones produced 40% of his inscriptions. Of course, the painting of inscriptions involves an engagement with a different kind of materiality to language than that we have been examining. Nevertheless, the concentration of Jones's productivity in this period reveals a dominant interest in how written language might be made to signify in unfamiliarly material ways.

This engagement is reflected in the kinds of books which Jones was acquiring in the same period. Elen Monica's use of the word "rutter" (*Ana* 148) marks Jones's own dependence on the word-books which were the product of the new comparative philology. He explained his use of this word to Desmond Chute in a letter of 1953:

'rutters' means book of words used by seamen, a set of instructions for finding the route or a guide to tides, spelt in the smaller *Ox. Dict.* 'ruttier' from Fr. *routier*. But spelt 'rutter' in old books & so spelt by Prof. E. G. R. Taylor (the eminent geographer) who says that is what the English seamen called their manuals in the 16<sup>th</sup> Cent.

(IN 31)

Here, Jones is choosing a period-specific morphology for a word which denotes a book about words, and whose technical terms are themselves period-specific.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>262</sup> See Gray (1981).

If we examine the contents of Jones's library at the time of his death, now held at the National Library of Wales, we find that he acquired a number of 'wordbooks' in the period 1948-1952, during the writing of 'The Lady of the Pool' and the editing of the whole poem for publication. These books can be roughly divided into two categories: either language-specific or discipline-specific books. The acquisition of word-books in relation to specific disciplines – namely architecture, writing/inscriptions, geography/topography/geology, and seafaring – is most noticeably concentrated in the period 1948-52.<sup>263</sup> As regards the language-specific volumes, Jones owned a four volume Shorter Oxford English Dictionary from 1936, and acquired various Latin and Greek lexicons through the 1930s and '40s. However, notable additions to his library during the later period of the writing of The Anathemata include works in relation to the alphabet, slang, philology, the legal use of Latin, and a Tudor and Stuart word glossary.<sup>264</sup> Jones's acquisition, in particular, of Trench's On the Study of Words in September 1951 is a sign that he was becoming increasingly interested in words as an object of study – as a material which might disclose the history which had shaped them.<sup>265</sup>

Jones's attitude to the *OED* was complex. His reference to it in a letter of 1953 to Desmond Chute – "the big, big, vol. vol. vol. Double of the First Class with a privileged octave O.E.D." – conveys a mixture both of awe and mock-awe (*IN* 81). Jones wrote this description immediately after giving an account of the discrepancies between the lemmas of the *Shorter*, the *Concise* and the *Pocket OED* in regards to the word 'matlo(w)'. As we would expect, the full *OED* (the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>263</sup> See *The Library of David Jones: A Catalogue*, compiled by Huw Ceriog Jones (1995) under the following author headings: In relation to architecture: Ware (acquired by Jones on 4 August 1945); Atkinson (c. 1950); Weale (1950). In relation to geology-topography-geography: Moore (11 January 1950); Gorton (July 1951). In relation to writing and inscriptions: Gray (22 October 1948); Tschichold (July 1951). In relation to sea-faring: Harnack (June 1949). Dates are as written by David Jones on the inside front cover or fly leaf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>264</sup> Thompson, *The ÅBC of Our Alphabet* (acquired by Jones c. 1950); *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*[...] (June 1950); Hotten, *The Slang Dictionary: Etymological, historical and anecdotal* (21 July 1950); *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (2 volume edition:) Vol. 1 (published in 1944; undated by Jones), Vol. 2 (22 Sept 1950); Trench, *On the Study of Words* (September 1951); Skeat, *A Glossary of Tudor and Stuart Words* (24 May 1952); [catalogued under title:] *Latin for Lawyers* (26 September 1950); Smith, *A Small English-Latin Dictionary* (2 copies) (1948; 1952). Again, dates are those recorded by Jones himself.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>265</sup> Trench's work could only have influenced the writing of *The Anathemata* in its final stages. However, this purchase signifies that the writing of *The Anathemata* led Jones to an interest in language of a kind which made the acquisition of Trench's book necessary or of interest.

'big, big, vol. vol.' etc) is the final authority on word forms for Jones. More interestingly, Jones's attention to detail in regard to morphology is again indicative of the way he makes use of whatever lies about him – in this case, the huge amount of data which is readily available in the OED. At the time that Jones was working through and rewriting parts of his experiments in the late-1950s and early-1960s, he wrote the following to Rene Hague:

I'm calling those saffron-haired girls in the Urbs 'meretricious sirens'. I like always, if one gets a chance, to use an English word which gives a kind of back indication of its factual and bodily origin.

(DGC 182)

Access to such a 'factual and bodily origin' in words only became comprehensively available with the publication of the NED/OED, and so it is clear the extent to which his later poetics depended on "the big, big, vol. vol. vol. Double of the First Class with a privileged octave O.E.D."

However, what of the apparent mock-awe? The combination of earnest respect and satire in Jones's description is a sign, I would argue, for his divided attitude in regard to its split personality. On the one hand, the OED is an inventory of the history of English; but it also includes definitions, a factor which Trench did not address at all in his recommendations. As Roy Harris has noted, "[none] of the scholars associated with the Oxford English Dictionary betray the slightest awareness that the enterprise of defining the meanings of words might involve problems of a philosophical and theoretical order."266 William Empson, in The Structure of Complex Words (1951), engaged with the definitional strategies of dictionaries, as well as with the interpretive strategies of literary criticism, in terms of the feelings in words. Although Empson admired the OED, he believed that "one needs more elaborate machinery to disentangle the Emotive from the Cognitive part of poetical language" than was provided in the dictionary. 267 Empson went on to present a system of codes by which this might be achieved. First, he described the different codes by which the Implication, Association,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>266</sup> Harris (1988) xi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>267</sup> Empson (1951) 7.

Pregnancy and Mood in each word under consideration might be separated out and indicated;<sup>268</sup> second, he set up the idea of an Existence Assertion, and four Types of equation within words which seek to account for the 'compacted doctrine' which words seem to carry.<sup>269</sup> We need not examine Empson's account of the structure of complex words in detail; it is sufficient to note that a rigorous engagement with language highlights the shortcomings of the definitional strategies of the *OED*.<sup>270</sup>

I believe that we can detect Jones's ambivalence in regard to the definitional strategies of the *OED* at play in his response to one of Chute's queries in regard to his use of archaic terms for 'cockney' in 'The Lady of the Pool' section of *The Anathemata*.

# (iv) Material and meaning: David Jones's words for 'cockney'

Elen's monologue is introduced with a description of her "East-Seaxna-nasal" accent, the cockney which Jones points out is rumoured to have its source in Essex; and then, just before she speaks, there is a parenthetical aside which dwells briefly on London, the "nestle-cock *polis*" (*Ana* 124). Toward the end of her monologue, some forty pages on in the text as published (and around two years of hard makerly labour later), Elen is provided with the term 'cock's egg' to describe the cockney accent of a priest saying Mass: "in ligno quoque vinceretur / twisting his cock's egg tongue round / the Vulgar lingua like any Trojan licentious of divinity." (*Ana* 165)

In a letter of 10 March 1953 to Desmond Chute, Jones explains his – or Elen Monica's – use of these obsolete forms:

'nestle-cock', 'cock's egg' etc. The word 'cockney' comes from 'cock's egg' (Mid.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.* 39-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>268</sup> *Ibid*. 15-19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>270</sup> We should note that Empson concludes *The Structure of Complex Words* by proposing that the next edition of the *OED* should include an account of the interactions between words; but then, claiming that such an inclusion is not really so important, states that his main purpose is to improve shorter dictionaries. See Empson (1951) 391-6.

Eng. *cokeneye*), so a special & to be valued thing, hence by this twist of meaning and that a near thing, a thing special to a place, to a home-town, so a *nestling* place. At least that's a rough outline of the definition, I believe. |\*| [marginal gloss] 'a child that sucketh long', 'a cockled child' so a 'milk-sop' & so, as a term of contempt, a 'townsman', thus a Londoner. O.E.D.

(IN 63)

Jones's description of the interrelation of 'nestle-cock', 'cock's-egg' and 'cockney', in combination with the way he treats the source of this information, offers a fascinating view not only of how Jones sought out historic forms of modern words for use in his poem, but also of how the meaning of those retrieved words was idiosyncratically constituted from his place in the present.

In Jones's description, we at first see him begin with the morphological development of the word 'cockney': "The word 'cockney' comes from 'cock's egg' (Mid. Eng. *cokeneye*)". This is indeed an etymological extrapolation from the first definition of the word in the *OED*: "1. An egg: the egg of the common fowl, hen's egg; or perh. one of the small or misshapen eggs occasionally laid by fowls, still popularly called in some parts 'cocks' eggs', in Ger. *hahneneier*. *Obs*." If we work from the definition alone, the only possible route by which Jones arrived at his meaning of 'cockney' as pertaining to 'a *nestling* place' is by somehow turning 'small or misshapen' (*OED*) into 'a special & to be valued thing' (Jones), which would seem to be an impossibility. Jones, though, was treating words as items of 'anathemata', and so such turnings of meaning are to be expected.

If we move on, we find that the first three examples of use for this first definition take the phrase 'cock's egg' to denote the hen's egg, and the fourth is ambiguous in terms of whether it applies to the cock or hen, and whether the egg is a thing valued or reviled. However, the fifth and latest example, from 1600, implies that the cock's-egg was indeed valued: "*Tourn. Tottenham* 227 At that fest were thei seruyd in a rich aray, Euery fyve and fyve had a cokeney."<sup>271</sup> With this quotation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>271</sup> This assertion of value is strongly opposed by the examples of use given under the twenty-third definition of 'cock' (n.): "1626 *Raleigh's Ghost in Harl. Misc.* (Malh.) III. 531 Every minute he produced new and unnatural \*Cocks~eggs...hatched them from the devilishness of his policy, and brought forth serpents to poison all Europe. 1825 FORBY *Voc. E. Anglia*, Cock's-egg, an abortive egg, without a yolk. 1883 C. S. BURNE *Shropsh. Folklore* 229 The small yolkless eggs which hens sometimes lay are called

in mind, we can allow Jones the extrapolation of his definition so far: every twenty-five people at the feast were lucky enough (we construe) to get a cock's egg.<sup>272</sup>

Following this, Jones takes the raw data of the *OED* and co-opts it into the etymological function. Even though the *OED* only lists its four separate definitions, and does not make any etymological connection between them, Jones writes: "a special & to be valued thing, hence by this twist of meaning and that a near thing, a thing special to a place, to a home-town, so a *nestling* place". But whose 'twists of meaning' is Jones referring to? The qualification Jones gives of this etymological development of the definition – "At least that's a rough outline of the definition, I believe" – in addressing this question is important: the twister of meaning is Jones himself, applying an Empsonian emotive complex to a period-specific morphology as it suits him. When Jones read back over his letter, he seems to have decided that he'd better check this etymological development in his *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, for he inserts an asterisk following the etymological development he originally gave, and writes in the margin: "'a child that sucketh long', 'a cockled child' so a 'milk-sop' & so, as a term of contempt, a 'townsman', thus a Londoner. O.E.D."

In this marginal statement, Jones moves in sequence from the second definition of 'cockney' in the *OED*, through the third, to the fourth, indicating an etymological link (which the *OED* itself only implies) with a 'so' at each stage. The silence of the *OED* in regard to the means by which these etymological shifts occurred allows Jones to make these logically oriented etymological deductions. But the astonishing thing here is that although Jones's and the *OED*'s definitions for 'cockney' begin and end at the same points (moving from 'cock's-egg' to 'Londoner') the diachronic value-meaning exhibited by the two routes taken is diametrically opposed: for the *OED*, the historical development of the word

[in Shropshire] cock's eggs.. They are very unlucky, and must never be brought into a house."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>272</sup> The OED includes the following as its first quotation: "[1598-1611 FLORIO, Caccherelli, cacklings of hens; also egs (1611 egges), as we say cockanegs. Cf. cock's egg s.v. COCK1 23. In Surrey the saying goes, 'When the cock lays eggs, then the hen lays rashers of bacon'.]" In view of the fact that the square brackets in which this quotation is enclosed in the OED denote that it "indicates a use which helps to illustrate the development of the sense, while not strictly exemplifying it", 'cock's-eggs' were only at first a figure for something which could never exist. (OED, Preface to the Second Edition (1989), 'Key to the conventions of the Dictionary'.)

'cockeneye'/'cockney' – whether applying to a malformed egg, spoilt child, feeble adult, effete town-dweller, or Londoner - is uniform in the sense that it has always been used within a discourse of contempt. Jones's use of the sixteenth century form 'cock's-egg' for the modern 'cockney', no doubt influenced by Elen's historically specific location in the same period, is primarily motivated by his desire for a form which exhibits his sense of the value of the individuality of place – its specific dapple. Howsoever it may be that the priest is saying the same Latin words as every other priest in the West on the same day ("Vulgar lingua" is of course 'the language of the Vulgate', but altered to give a sense of the meeting of cockney slang and liturgical Latin), his accent marks it apart from the priests saying Mass in churches not in London, just as the specific culture of London marks it apart from every other city. The words 'cock's-egg tongue', used to describe the accent of the priest, are a material vessel chosen among a multitude of others in order to carry a complex of values and associations which its form and newly designated context in terms of both text and time manipulate into a unique shape.

Jones was completely unwilling to distort historical word-forms. To use a morphology without historic precedent – to invent one – was cheating, as his admiration (quoted above in full) of Joyce's attention to "[t]he concrete, the exact dimensions, the contactual, the visual, the bodily, what the senses register, the assembled data" makes clear (*E&A* 306). The assembled data of the *OED* allowed, or compelled, the poet to in some degree or other write about the thing with which he or she wrote: language.<sup>273</sup> Jones's approach to language is one which revels in the specific historicity demarcated by its changing material forms.

It is clear from the above analysis that Jones saw no problem whatsoever in presenting his own version of the definitions of 'cockney', and then finding that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>273</sup> Jones writes in the Preface to *The Anathemata* of the poet's unique position in comparison with all other makers: "I name the poets in particular, not to round off a phrase, but to state what appears to me to be a fact. The forms and materials which the poet uses, his images and the meanings he would give to those images, his perceptions, what is evoked or incanted, is in some way or other, to some degree of other, essentially bound up with the particular historic complex to which he, together with each other member of that complex, belongs. But, for the poet, the woof and warp, the texture, feel, ethos, the whole *matiere* comprising that complex comprises also, or in part comprises, the actual material of his art." (*Ana* 19)

the OED's version was opposed. For Jones, definition was not the way in which meaning was constituted, and so oppositional definitions indicated not a faulty understanding of the word, but a faulty method of thinking about how a word means. Jones's description of London as the 'nestle-cock polis' (Ana 124) is a compound of 'cockney', 'nestling place' and the Greek for 'city', all of which are part of a fabric of cultural history to which Jones assigned value. The OED defines 'nestle-cock' as 'The last-hatched bird of a brood; the weakling of a brood. In extended use: a mother's pet; a spoilt or delicate child or youth.' Prior to Jones's use, the phrase 'nestle-cock' had never been used in relation to cockney, nor a particular place, nor as a term denoting value. (Indeed, the OED tells us that its use has increasingly been part of northern and north-midlands dialect.) This might be interpretted as discrediting Jones's poetics, or at least this use of this particular word in this context. However, if we turn to the most recent edition of the OED, we find, in a deliciously ironic inversion – and yet also a powerful vindication of Jones's synthetic, material and intertextual attitude to meaning – that this very passage from David Jones's Anathemata (highlighted in bold below) has entered the most magisterial of word-books, contributing the first thread of value to the weave of the word's synthetic meaning:

a1632 T. MIDDLETON & J. WEBSTER Any Thing for Quiet Life (1662) IV. sig. E4<sup>v</sup>, My mother was wont to call me your Nestle-cock, and I love you as well as she did. a1661 T. FULLER Worthies (1662) London 196 One coaks'd or cocker'd, made a wanton or a Nestle-cock of, delicately bred and brought up. a1796 S. PEGGE Two Coll. Derbicisms (1896) 48 Nestle-cock [this word has precisely the same meaning as Nestlebub, and is used occasionally]. 1868 Sphinx 14 Nov. 133, I tell o' what, this nestle-cock 'S a wick un, I con see. 1883 T. LEES Easther's Gloss. Dial. Almondbury & Huddersfield 91 Nestlecock, the youngest child. 1952 D. M. JONES Anathemata V. 124 Whose nestle-cock polis but theirs knows the sweet gag? 1986 P. O'BRIAN Reverse of Medal V. 161 You ignorant incompetent whey-faced nestlecock.

Jones's use of 'nestle-cock' is informed by the associational selectiveness and analogical etymologizing we have covered above in relation to 'cock's-egg' and

'cockney'. Each supplements the other, until the diachronic reality of the discrete histories of these terms is blurred, and they become associated in an indissoluble synthesis in the present synchronic system of language as constructed within *The Anathemata*. This is a temporally promiscuous and illogical approach: Jones is filling material words with images, impressions and feelings from all times, multiplying them as best he can – indeed, Jones described his method as "catchas-catch-can" to Desmond Chute (*IN* 39).

The terms for 'cockney' which Jones used are suffused for him with a sense of value which is signified by the material linguistic network which they carry. That network is too vast to grasp in its totality (every material word brings into play every other material word in a new shape) and so the experience of a single word can only manifest itself as an immaterial aesthetic 'sense'. We might speculate that the *OED*, in order to present a comprehensive history of the English language as Jones conceived of it, would have to have separate definitions for every use of every word; each textual example would contain its own definition. And perhaps, if every user of English explored the feeling they had for language, then *every* person would require their own personal *OED*, in which each word in each example was no longer defined but shown to exhibit meaning in terms of how it interacted within the totality of the complex of language.

And this is the crux of my view of the material of language in relation to Jones: the very fact that only the totality of such individualized dictionaries would provide a true and comprehensive reflection of the history of meaning in the English language – but equally, the very fact that such an idea is ludicrous – reveals the extent to which language is activated, achieving more than it seems possible to, by the limits of its material. The short-circuits, crossed wires, accidental similarities, purported etymologies, morphological analogies, puns, homonyms and polysemies – all of these are made possible by the materiality of the English language which we identified at the beginning of this section. These aspects of language energize it by being the terms under which language threatens to do something other than the specific use we want to put it to (but

equally de-energize it as it fails to do the magnificent things we always feel we can do with it). Jones would surely have laughed if he had been alive to witness the inclusion in the *OED* of his use of 'nestle-cock' under the definition 'spoilt or delicate child'. In drawing from the material plane of the *OED* and suppressing its immaterial, definitional plane; in making etymological inferences and synchronic analogies; by using a term which has always signified valuelessness to signify value; by manipulating associations into a word in order that it might be experienced as specific to place, as growing from within the protection of that place, as pied and dappled – by undertaking all of these actions, Jones resisted the terms of an analytical-definitional movement in the constitution of meaning within language which informed the strategies of the *OED*. And it is this strategy which enabled the second edition *OED*, published in 1984, to fold Jones's nuanced and resistant use back under the lexical look-up definition of 'nestle-cock' which Jones had opposed.

Jones's resistance to a notion of meaning as a 'sense' which can be gathered from a definition is, I believe, mirrored by his view of contemporary reforms to the liturgy. Jones did not resist the vernacularization of the Mass by the Second Vatican Council (1962-5) because he believed that all change, in view of its inevitable interruption of lineages of tradition, was bad. He knew better than most how the modern liturgy had become itself only through such a series of sometimes violent or abrupt changes. Gregory Dix's *The Shape of the Liturgy*, which Jones read and annotated in the Summer of 1948, provided him with adequate confirmation of this, particuarly through its use of a kind of 'comparative liturgicology', whereby it could be seen how the Church of East and West, though growing from the same root, had become utterly dissimilar in terms of the practice and appearance of the rite of the Mass. Indeed, it is inescapably the case that the emergence of the Latin liturgy itself involved the vernacularization of the Greek original in the early Roman churches.

Jones found the vernacularization of the Mass distressing because the terms of its purpose revealed it to be a self-defeating reform: in attempting to mean more, the vernacular Mass would actually come to mean less. The vernacularization of

the Mass was a case in point for Jones of an erroneous location of meaning in words by definition (from L. definire, 'to end, terminate, bound'; OED), which posits a closed world of mere sense. By commanding that the Mass in England be said only in English from New Year's Day 1970, Vatican II was cutting the Mass off from the associative meanings it had developed for the laity through their lifelong attendance. Meaning, as Jones knew, was different from sense; hence the OED was for him more of a source book for forms, a kind of limited concordance to the textual instances of the tokens of language; it was a vast archaeological site of the history of the English language, an assemblage of raw data. In my view, the OED's historical stratification of language made a certain strain of literary modernism possible, and one which included *The Anathemata*. As the OED gradually penetrated Anglophone culture between 1890 and 1930 – and beyond – it became possible to experience the words used in every home, street and office – and notebook, newspaper, and book – as an echo of "the big, big, vol. vol. vol. Double of the First Class with a privileged octave O.E.D." In turn, the OED is the (albeit limited) echo chamber which encloses the whole history of the English language. From the moment that its dominance was assured, writers could not help but engage with the material being of language in some way, no matter how inadvertently or implicitly. To modify Eliot's judgement of Ulysses in relation to the writerly act, the OED was the book to which modernist writers were indebted, and from which none could escape.

Jones's attention to English morphology and etymology increased in the years 1945-52 as he acquired more and more 'word-books'. The highly specialized language which Jones deployed, most easily located in the passages of *The Anathemata* which deal with sea-faring, penetrates the whole poem. But far more noticeable than these technical or obsolescent English forms are the words in other languages. In the final section of this chapter, I will seek to show how Jones's macaronic poetics was a form developed out of the twin pressures of his incarnational ideal and his philological inheritance.

#### III. David Jones's Modernist Macaronics

# (i) The borders of the English language

In the *Cratylus*, one of the insuperable barriers to the discovery of the origins of language which Socrates identifies is the suspected source of many words in other languages.<sup>274</sup> The comparative philological movement of the nineteenth century developed the means by which the interrelations of languages through history in the formation of the languages of the present could be assessed. One inevitable result of this was that the experience of the 'borders' of a particular language became increasingly fuzzy. James A. H. Murray explained at the opening of the General Explanations of the *OED*:

The Vocabulary of a widely-diffused and highly cultivated living language is not a fixed quantity circumscribed by definite limits. That vast aggregate of words and phrases which constitutes the Vocabulary of English-speaking men presents, to the mind that endeavours to grasp it as a definite whole, the aspect of one of those nebulous masses familiar to the astronomer, in which a clear and unmistakeable nucleus shades off on all sides, through zones of decreasing brightness, to a dim marginal film that seems to end nowhere, but to lose itself imperceptibly in the surrounding darkness.<sup>275</sup>

Jones of course saw that the 'matter of Britain' was intimately related to the matter of Europe. Nowhere was this more obviously signified for Jones than in the source of the English language in numerous languages and dialects, living and dead. I believe that it is no coincidence that the resurgence of the use of non-English terms in English poetry began in the wake of the new comparative philology.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>274</sup> Plato, *Cratylus*, 409d, 416a, 421c-d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>275</sup> OED (1933) xxvii.

Jones's literary tastes placed him as the inheritor of a late medieval English macaronic tradition; other than Shakespeare, the metaphysical poets, and the Rime of the Ancient Mariner, Jones was not taken with much poetry written in the three hundred years following 1600. His major literary influences, in addition to the liturgy which dominated all, were Langland, Malory, and the Mabinogion – the great medieval quest narratives, in other words. 276 One important stylistic similarity between the English strain of this medieval tradition and the most important poem for Jones's own development written in the twentieth-century, The Waste Land, is the use of foreign words - what has historically been called macaronic poetry (though the term seems to have fallen out of use since the advent of modernism, which is perhaps significant; they are not seen as being of the same kind, let alone continuous). According to Elizabeth Archibald, the macaronic tradition was at its strongest in Britain in the fifteenth century. Whilst Piers Plowman by Langland (c. 1325-c. 1390) contains Latin quotations, William Dunbar (c.1460-1513x30) and John Skelton (c.1460-1529) are the representatives of the high-point of a sophisticated macaronics. <sup>277</sup>

One of the observations Archibald makes is of primary interest in our assessment of David Jones. Writing of the Latin refrains or burdens which were common in Middle English poetry – and noting that such usages were almost always quotations from the bible, liturgy, or well-known hymns – Archibald states: "Most of the refrains were so familiar that the audience would not have needed much knowledge of Latin to follow them; and even if the Latin was not understood, in many cases the English verse was syntactically complete without the refrain." Whilst the discrepancy between this familiarity with liturgical Latin in the middle ages and Jones's feeling that such a foundation for the articulation of meaning was vanishing (if not entirely vanished; see his reference to 'unshared backgrounds' in the Preface, *Ana* 14) is of the utmost importance, it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>276</sup> To Aneirin Talfan Davies, Jones wrote the following (in 1962), at first in relation to medieval Welsh poetry: "There seems to me to be a power & urgency and conciseness and a closer touch with reality in the earlier stuff. But I feel that about English poetry. Langland (which I can just about manage with the constant aid of Middle-English glossaries etc. plus modernised versions) I find far more moving (and also amusing) and also other early English poetry – Chaucer, Scot, Dunbar, Skelton, translations of Anglo Saxon poetry (for A.S. one *can't* read without knowing the language – Middle-English is just *possible*) – *Dream of the Rood* for example, *much* more is the stuff I like than 75 per cent of the Ox. Bk of English Verse, say." (*LF* 84)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>277</sup> See Archibald (1992) 147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>278</sup> *Ibid*. 133.

need not concern us too much here. The use of words from other languages in a poem in English, I would argue, is indicative of a certain attitude to meaning – one which we have encountered in the previous section of this chapter. There is certainly a rhetorical element to it – a shock tactic intrinsic in stepping outside of the common language of the poem/community for effect – but this effect, this rhetoric, is rooted in an equal stepping-out: out of *this* text, and into another.

This is of course the instrument which forms the most noticeable innovation of *The Waste Land*. Such lingual disjunctions are textual interjections; it is as if the passages from the foreign texts in Eliot's poem are nodes which, when read, trigger the incorporation of the whole of those foreign texts within the English text. Of course, *The Waste Land* incorporates quotations from texts written in English too, and it is through this that I think we can detect a possible purpose to Jones's macaronic poetics: the difference of effect between foreign and English quotations as we read *The Waste Land* involves a difference of degree to which such an intertextual experience occurs. Quotations in English do not advertise their origin in another text, and so such origin may slip past us; the lingual disjunction being absent, an intertextual strategy of reading is not signified by the text. I believe that Jones's experience of reading *The Waste Land* informed his development of a poetics which would exhibit such intertextuality in the most compressed form possible, one in which individual foreign words foregrounded the penetration of other texts into *The Anathemata*.

When Elizabeth Archibald writes of medieval English macaronics that "[m]ost of the refrains were so familiar that the audience would not have needed much knowledge of Latin to follow them", we should remark that whilst these refrains might have been familiar in their original context (in the pre-Reformation church), placed in another context (the English poem) their lingual disjunction would perform a jolt of unfamiliarity. Unlike in the Church, two different discourses are brought together. As such, Archibald's observation identifies a way of meaning in the macaronic poem which resides in a contextual, encyclopaedic synthesis of known texts, or fragments of texts. We can be familiar with Latin texts without having knowledge of Latin as a language; which

is to say that in such instances, a different way of meaning – one based on context rather than definition – is being introduced into the text. As I see it, the macaronic method is a means by which the lexical look-up habit of cognition, the automatic-ness of the perception of sense, is disrupted in favour of a radically associative and synthetic means of meaning. That this macaronic method almost completely receded from view between the late-sixteenth century and the early-twentieth century both supports and is explained by Foucault's idea that the dominant *episteme* of Western culture switched in the late sixteenth century from one informed by synthesis through the similarity-in-difference of analogy, to one informed by analysis through the identity/difference of measurement and order.<sup>279</sup> (Analogy forms the basis of the investigation of the following chapter.) In what follows, I will explore how Jones's conception of language, fostered by the new comparative philology, lead him to develop an increasingly rich macaronic poetics – one which we will find met the demands of his incarnational ideal.

# (ii) The English language and the modernist myth of attenuation

We should begin by stating the obvious: the *OED* only contains words which have been used – almost solely in published writing, as far as the first edition goes – as components of the English language. As noted in the first section to this chapter, there is in Jones's work a clear though problematic relationship between the development of a macaronic poetics and the search for a valid sign: foreign words, like the vestments of the priest, might be protected from the depredations of everyday (utile) use, remaining always significant of something with substantial and defined value; but equally, non-English words, by not being used by English people, are likely to be experienced as no more valid than an English equivalent purportedly leeched of its significance. However, this was in part a benefit of the use of non-English words: Jones, I would argue, was seeking to make a text which forged a kind of linguistic community which resisted dominant utile discourse. The demands of the incarnational ideal, and the provision of a model of working with language as a limited set of material tokens

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>279</sup> See Foucault (2002) 51-85.

through the influence of the *OED*, led to a modernist version of the medieval macaronic form in the later writing of *The Anathemata*.

As Jones stated in his Preface, the artist "has, somehow or other, to lift up valid signs; that is his specific task." However, "[i]t is precisely this validity and availability that constitutes his greatest problem in the present culture-situation" (*Ana* 23). As Jones continues, we find that this 'validity' requires the incorporation of numerous cultural-historical impressions, resonances, connections, and associations, which is precisely what seems to be increasingly difficult for the contemporary artist.

If the poet writes 'wood' what are the chances that the Wood of the Cross will be evoked? Should the answer be 'None', then it would seem that an impoverishment of some sort would have to be admitted. It would mean that that particular word could no longer be used with confidence to implement, to call up or to set in motion a whole world of content belonging in a special sense to the mythus of a particular culture and of concepts and realities belonging to mankind as such. This would be true irrespective of our beliefs or disbeliefs. It would remain true even if we were of the opinion that it was high time that the word 'wood' should be dissociated from the mythus and concepts indicated. The arts abhor any loppings off of meanings or emptyings out, any lessening of the totality of connotation, any loss of recession and thickness through.

(Ana 23-4)

A consideration of the *OED* is important in relation to the perceived 'emptyings out' of words for two reasons. First of all, the dictionary does not seek to provide an account of the 'connotation' or 'thickness' of words, only of the history and forms of their use, and the meanings of those uses (though its exemplary quotations might be experienced as a nudge towards such an account). In this respect, the *OED* might be seen as a victim of the general movement towards a lessening of the totality of connotation: it does not occur to the makers of the dictionary to present language in such a way. Second, with the publication of the *OED* the number of obsolete meanings and forms of words was visible for the first time. In this respect, the dictionary can be seen as the objective measure of

such 'loppings off of meanings'. Taken together, what the *OED* on the one hand omits and on the other hand includes might guide the literary artist towards a feeling that the English language was in decline; that its signs were becoming less and less valid for art.

This conception of an attenuated language was inextricably linked to the fact that language is not the preserve of poetry alone: the poet's material is *everybody's* material. W. H. Auden's approach to this problem, in *The Dyer's Hand* (1963), also explicitly links the perceived decline of the English language to modernity; but, moreover, it also seems to express an ambivalent attitude of the poet towards the dictionary.

It is both the glory and the shame of poetry that its medium is not its private property, that a poet cannot invent his words and that words are products, not of nature, but of a human society which uses them for a thousand different purposes. In modern societies where language is continually being debased and reduced to nonspeech, the poet is in constant danger of having his ear corrupted, a danger to which the painter and the composer, whose media are their private property, are not exposed. On the other hand he is more protected than they from another modern peril, that of solipsist subjectivity; however esoteric a poem may be, the fact that all its words have meanings which can be looked up in a dictionary makes it testify to the existence of other people. Even the language of *Finnegans Wake* was not created by Joyce *ex nihilo*; a purely private verbal world is not possible.<sup>280</sup>

Auden, in stating as a positive attribute of art in language that being able to look up the meanings of the words of a poem in the dictionary testifies to the existence of other people, veils the logical outcome of such a statement which the earlier part of this paragraph sets up: according to Auden, it is *these very people* which are responsible for debasing language and reducing it to nonspeech. And the consequence of such a debasement and reduction is that it will be recorded in the *OED*. Perhaps the poet's best move is to move beyond the bounds of the dictionary – to move to the periphery of that 'nebulous mass' of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>280</sup> W. H. Auden (1963) 23.

language which Murray described, and use words that dwell on 'a dim marginal film that seems to end nowhere'.

# (iii) Language, community, and 're-calling'

Jones's use of foreign words in *The Anathemata*, probably the most off-putting aspect of the poem for new readers, is an attempt to negotiate a valid sign in poetry. It is, I will argue, the means by which he achieved an incarnational poetics. In the Preface, Jones presented his use of non-English words in the poem as having been directed by a necessity founded on his inability to find English equivalents to such words.

The words 'May they rest in peace' and the words 'Whosoever will' might, by some feat of artistry, be so juxtaposed within a context as not only to translate the words 'Requiescant in pace' and 'Quincunque vult' but to evoke the *exact historic over-tones and under-tones* of those Latin words. But should some writer find himself unable by whatever ingenuity of formal arrangement or of contextual allusion to achieve this identity of content and identity of evocation, whilst changing the language, then he would have no alternative but to use the original form...Although all this is fairly clear in principle, I have found it exceptionally hard to decide whether in a given context an 'Whosoever will' is the, so to say, effective sign of a 'Quincunque vult'.

(Ana 11-12)

The difficulty of finding an identity of evocation is clear: Jones is not looking for an equivalent in meaning; he does not care for a lexical look-up, an analytical description of what object or action or attribute lies on the other side of a word. Jones is describing here the search for a material node for the carriage of a set of culturally specific associations. As we saw in the preceding section, he is concerned with the network of value which has appended itself to a particular form through its historical use, which makes that original form indispensable and unsubsitute-able. In the interpenetration of material and meaning which such choices discover, Jones is clearly finding in his version of the macaronic

tradition a way of working with words whereby the word might become both sign and thing signified – which is to say, incarnational.

Non-English words in an English poem escape the problem of a debased and workaday language, but equally and in doing so they set up a crisis of community: Who is this for? the reader might well ask. And he or she might decide: Not for me. Forms of Welsh, Old English, Latin and so on exclude the reader, whilst the modern English forms appear to invite the reader in. The macaronic making of The Anathemata is I feel fundamentally an attempt to construct a linguistic community opposed to the utile and desacramentalised. The non-English words in the poem are tokens which are filled with a special significance which an English alternative would not allow in. Words, then, might be seen to be experienced as differentially material: we barely notice articles and prepositions either materially or ideationally, and we habitually see through nouns, adjective-nouns, and subject-predicate-object constructions to the object, image or act being described. The non-English word in an English poem interrupts this movement to ideation (the Chinese character in Pound's later Cantos; the Latin word in The Anathemata) holding the reader up on the We will soon see how, in the latter part of Jones's macaronic material. development, that way of meaning was performative, an integral element to the incarnational effect. First, though, I will examine how Jones holds up his reader on individual words.

#### (iv) The macaronic word as extra-syntactic token

In the Preface, Jones advises the reader who approaches his poem to read it with deliberation – "with deliberation is the best rubric for each page, each sentence, each word" – and then points out just what this means:

I would especially emphasize this point, for what I have written will certainly lose half of what I intend, indeed, it will fail altogether, unless the advice 'with deliberation' is heeded. Each word is meant to do its own work, but each word cannot do its work unless it is given due attention.

In effect, Jones is telling us we must pay attention when reading poetry, which surely anyone who buys his book already knows. And yet, in the last sentence quoted, a suggestion that words might be individually functioning entities seems to rise up. Of course, we would be wilfully misreading this guidance if we said that Jones was telling us that the words of his poem are meant to do their own work *completely independently* of their place in the text. However, that Jones phrases it in this way – 'each word is meant to do its own work' – draws attention to a feeling he had for words as individually operative units.

In an early draft version of the same part of the Preface that deals with the use of Latin and Welsh, Jones wrote:

I cannot construe a sentence in the Latin or Welsh languages – except by some happy chance. I can neither read nor speak any language other than the English language, but owing to the [biographical] accidents above mentioned certain terms of Welsh and Latin provenance have got embedded in my 'thinkage'.

(DJP LA1/1.131)

Here, Jones unwittingly signals another contributory reason for his treatment of language as a set of tokens which are individually efficacious. Latin and Welsh words did not participate in a grammar for Jones, and so were liberated to stand as isolated tokens which were experienced as the nodal point of a nexus of intertextuality. The same principle also lay behind Jones's use of obsolete forms of English: he was free to use each word as a material nexus of prior usages because the particular form was unfamiliar enough to detach itself from any syntactic convention which words in common use tend to carry with them. Thus Jones's poetic language was free to exhibit encyclopaedic rather than dictionary-like characteristics; to be the node of a synthesis of source-uses rather than a compartmentalisation of analytic definition. Being held up by the visual form and the difficulty of the densely macaronic text, the reader is led to explore what lies within that material, what is attached to it, where it has been, what it is doing here.

# (v) Jones's macaronic development

Such a macaronic poetics took time to develop. In the eight-page base fragment to *The Anathemata*, Jones used individual words in Latin (*gens*, *numina*, *signa*, *disciplina*, *gentes*, *calix*), German (*volk*) and Welsh (*genhedloedd*), as well as the liturgical Latin phrases *accipit hostiam* and *adscriptam ratam rationabilem* (*Ana* 49-51, 241-3). In each case, the usage is directed by a feeling Jones had for stepping outside of English – perhaps because such a movement was equivalent to stepping outside of utile discourse. 'People' would have sufficed for *gentes*; 'signs' would have sufficed for *signa* – no 'meaning' would be lost in each case. But the *feeling* would have been lost. But what is that feeling?

I would argue that in the earlier-written macaronic parts of *The Anathemata* this 'feeling' is not distinct to the word being used; there is simply the requirement for something not part of ordinary discourse in English, at least partly motivated by a desire to circumvent the utile element of the English language as experienced by the English-speaking reader. In the early part of the writing of the 37A-T insertional stratum (probably written in mid-1946), Jones wrote in one line "(qui vocatur South Sea / our thalassa!)" and then replaced it with "(that they call Mare Austrum / our thalassa!)" (37A2; DJP LA1/8.45). Whilst one phrase of the line is moving from Latin to English ('qui vocatur' becomes in the next draft 'that they call'), the other is moving from English to Latin ('South Sea' becomes in the next draft 'Mare Austrum'). It would be fanciful to conclude that Jones discovered 'that they call' to be the effective sign for 'qui vocatur' at the very same time as he discovered 'South Sea' to be an ineffective sign for 'Mare Austrum'. It is clear that, for Jones, it was not that important which of these phrases was in English and which in Latin, but only that one of them must be in Latin, and that the combination of Latin and English take place (a combination which is in turn combined with the Greek 'thalassa'). In other words, his remark in the Preface in regard to the macaronic necessity being motivated by 'the exact historic overtones and undertones' is deceptive – unless his

macaronic poetics altered after this stage of the poem's writing. As you may have guessed, I believe it did.

The common principle guiding Jones's deployment of Latin, Welsh and German in the middle stages of the making of *The Anathemata* (in 1944-6) was a general desire for the languages which have formed modern English to be incorporated within the poem. This incorporation alters, becoming more highly specialised by its preoccupation with site or place, in the case of one particular passage. After the ship in 'Angle-Land', the third section of *The Anathemata*, has sailed from the 'South Sea', along the Channel, round Kent and East Anglia, and approaches the Wash, the meditative consciousness of the poem makes an incarnational recalling of St. Guthlac's first experience of the language of the Celtic Britons in the fens in the first year of the seventh century. This was written very shortly after the passage containing the 'qui vocatur'/'that they call' and 'Mare Austram'/'South Sea' indifference to specific overtones and undertones; but it marks, I think, a point at which Jones, adapting Joyce's method, developed the incarnational possibilities which macaronics offered him to a more sophisticated state. That this is so is hinted at in the reference in this passage to, in Jones's view, the most incarnational work of literature: 'the Wake'.281 And we should note, therefore, that Finnegans Wake is one more item of 'anathemata' which enters the text. Here is the passage, as published, in full.

> Past where the ancra-man, deeping his holy rule in the fiendish marsh

> > at the Geisterstunde

on Calangaeaf night

heard the bogle-baragouinage.

Crowland-diawliaidd

Waelisc-man lingo speaking?

or Britto-Romani gone diaboli?

or Romanity gone Waelisc?

Is Marianus wild Meirion?

is Sylvánus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>281</sup> Kathleen Henderson Staudt identifies Jones's debt to Joyce in the writing of this passage. See Staudt (1994) 136.

Urbigéna's son?
has toga'd Rhufon
(gone Actéon)
come away to the Wake
in the bittern's low aery?
along with his towny
Patricius gone the wilde Jäger?

From the fora

to the forests.

Out from gens Romulum
into the Weal-kin
dinas-man gone aethwlad
cives gone wold-men

. . . from Lindum to London bridges broken down.

(Ana 112-3)

As Paul Robichaud remarks of this passage, "St. Guthlac's encounter with the Welsh other is primarily an encounter with linguistic otherness, which Jones renders through the juxtaposition of English, German, French, and Welsh words." This is true, but we should also remark that Jones's conception of the way peoples and their cultures interact is also re-called here: as with 'Northmen's thing made southfolk's place', Jones is seeking to describe as well as linguistically perform "how then became now" (*E&A* 210). As we saw in the first chapter, Jones's breakthrough line of 1943, "But by assimilation most of all we conquer 'em" marked the moment at which Jones found adequate expression of the way that, when two different cultures meet – no matter if that meeting involves the subjugation of one to an imperial other – a third hybrid culture is produced. In the St. Guthlac passage written three years later, the poem moves from formally re-calling the meeting of different languages on the fens to asking "Is Marianus wild Meirion? / is Sylvánus / Urbigéna's son?" and so on. Jones has developed a macaronic poetics in which the meeting of Celtic and Roman cultures is being re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>282</sup> Paul Robichaud (2007) 157-9. Here, Robichaud provides a useful summary of critical interpretations of this passage, including Jones's own explanation to Chute of the necessity of its macaronics.

called performatively in the meeting of languages in the text. Sign and signified collapse into one another in this linguistic performance of history. The result is an incarnational re-calling.

As we saw above, the phrase 'Northmen's thing made southfolk's place' achieves its effect through the echoing form of the phrase indicating how the content should be established, and then how that content should be compared across the component parts of that five-word phrase. The interesting thing about the way Jones wrote his most Wakean passage is that such formal echoing seems to have led him completely by accident to comprehend all at once the incarnational necessity of this passage. This, in conjunction with a view of how 'Northmen's thing made southfolk's place' entered Joyce's text, will reveal, I think, that an important part of the incarnational effect is that it bursts into the consciousness of the writer as a self-contained and complex whole. In one of Joyce's notebooks, we see from the first instance of his phrase (see Figure 24) that it emerged as a single formally driven idea (the crossings-out indicate which words of phrases Joyce had thus far incorporated into his text).

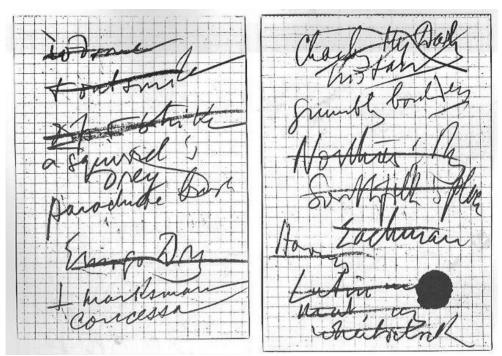


Figure 25 – James Joyce's notebook: 'Northmen's thing / Southfolk's place / Eachman' 283

Without a 'Southfolk's place', there is no point to a 'Northmen's thing'; they are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>283</sup> Reproduced from Joyce (1978) VI.B.9.91.

inextricably linked at their very writerly origin.

As regards Jones's writing of the St. Guthlac passage of *The Anathemata*, the incarnational performance of the early medieval melting pot on the fen has its origin in another formal echoing device: alliteration. The earliest extant draft is as follows:

```
[...]up with the lark.

(If Walton hides a Welshery

what will lies under the Naze?

past the <south> tons & the middle marts[...]

(DJP LA1/5.47)
```

In the next draft, the 'Welshery' becomes, formally, a bit of Welshery itself in the form of 'Waelas':

```
[...] had nipped Le Tene in the flower.

if Walton hides a Waelas

What's [illeg.] under <deep in> the Naze?

(DJP LA1/5.41)
```

If a macaronic word which began with a 'w' had not suggested itself to Jones, the passage as eventually published may never have been written. This generative aspect to alliteration is even more visible in the next extant draft:

```
[...]Wuffingas up with the Lark

or the Waelas pockets

<& [illeg.] in the tons of Wensum>

(if Waltons hide a Waelas what

what? lies under the <a> Naze)

past

the tons in the marsh[...]
```

(37D; DJP LA1/5.43)

The generative principle to the writing of this passage is, quite simply, the alliterative 'w' sound. However, following the writing of this version the macaronic imperative gradually takes precedence, and the meditative consciousness takes the meeting of different languages in East Anglia after the fall of Rome as its subject:

(if there are waelas in Walton is her syntax pre-Aryan for the mor-forwyn deep in the Naze?)

(DJP LA1/5.48)

The focus on pre-Aryan syntax produces a number of insertions which translocate the meeting of Welsh and Anglo-Saxon from Walton-on-the-Naze in Essex, north to the mouth of the Yare on the east coast of Norfolk (see *DJP* LA1/5.51); then on to the Soke, and then Thorpe Ness, on the north-east coast of Norfolk (see *DJP* LA1/5.54), which brings Jones to Crowland, the place where St Guthlac lived in pious isolation for 14 years from 600 AD. There follows, we can imagine, a realization that Guthlac must have encountered precisely this type of linguistic confusion in the fen, and so the incarnational means have already been partially prepared for the discovery of a new narrative action. Accordingly, St Guthlac enters the text in the next version:

(DJP LA1/5.55)

The reference to *Finnegans Wake* ('come away to the Wake') appears several drafts later (*DJP* LA1/5.60), after Jones is assured that this incarnational passage is a fitting tribute – and thus 'anathemata' – to the writer who solved the incarnational problem for him. This passage in its eventual form can be read as an almost direct imitation of that key phrase from Joyce which we keep returning to, 'Northmen's thing made southfolk's place': Jones's use of 'gone' seven times takes the role of Joyce's 'made' in the pursuit of how then (east Roman Britannia) became the text's now (seventh-century East Anglia) on the unchanged site. In this context, we can interpret Jones's inclusion of 'come away to the Wake' as a kind of thank you to the writer of whom he exclaimed in a letter: "what a superb old joker at the deepest level Jimmy Joyce was" (*LF* 27).

Jones used the same macaronic method to the same effect in the writing, probably in 1949, of the magnificent homage to Christ in 'Mabinog's Liturgy', the seventh section of *The Anathemata*. <sup>284</sup>

What says his mabinogi?

Son of Mair, wife of jobbing carpenter

in via nascitur

lapped in hay, parvule.

But what does his Boast say?

Alpha es et O

that which

the whole world cannot hold.

Atheling to the heaven-king.

Shepherd of Greekland.

Harrower of Annwn.

Freer of the Waters.

Chief Physician and

dux et pontifex.

Gwledig Nefoedd and

Walda of every land

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>284</sup> Jones clearly rated this passage highly himself: it is the only passage of his own poetry of which he made a painted inscription. See Gray (1981) Cat. 45.

If we return to Jones's apology in the Preface for his use of Latin and Welsh, we find him continue with a reference to this use of *gwledig*.

I have found it exceptionally hard to decide whether in a given context an 'Whosoever will' is the, so to say, effective sign of a 'Quincunque vult'. Or to give a concrete instance: whether, within its context, my use of the Welsh title 'Gwledig' was avoidable and whether the English translation, 'land-ruler', could have been so conditioned and juxtaposed as to incant what 'Gwledig' incants.

Jones continued to discuss the matter in the footnote to this passage:

Or whatever the translation might be. Anwyl's dictionary gives: lord, king, ruler, sovereign, prince. But none of these is satisfactory. The word is connected with *gwlad*, country or land and in modern Welsh *gwledig*, used as an adjective, implies something rural or rustic. As a noun it belongs only to the early Dark Ages[,] when it was used only of very important territorial rulers; it was used of Maximus the emperor, it was used by Taliessin, of God. Significantly it was never used of Arthur, because he was a leader of a mobile cavalry force, and not a territorial ruler.

(Ana 12, note 1)

We do not have the benefit of such a description by Jones of his decision sometime in 1946 to use '*Mare Austrum*' instead of 'South Sea' and 'that they call' instead of 'qui vocatur'. However, in view of their perceived interchangeability, it is clear that Jones's macaronics had become far more rigorous in the intervening three years between the writing of these two passages. Jones judgement of the translation 'land-ruler' as unsatisfactory is based on the principles of the application of meaning he experienced in his use of the *OED*, in comparison with which the sub-500-page Welsh-English dictionary edited by John Bodvan Anwyl which Jones consulted is doomed to abject failure.

But if we look in detail at Jones's description, we see that, in fact, *no* definition can be satisfactory, because Jones did not experience words in a 'definitional' way. Jones's feeling for the word 'gwledig' registers a kind of internalized endorsement of the encyclopaedic character of the *OED* in its inclusion of dated examples of usage, but at the same time, a rejection of its definitional character. Jones carried in his mind an awareness of the words with which *gwledig* is 'connected' (*gwlad* n., and modern Welsh *gwledig* adj.); of its potential for temporally specific re-calling as a result of its historical development ('As a noun it belongs only to the early Dark Ages...'); and of the fundamental knowledge which allows such historical development to be experienced, as the examples of use ('of Maximus...of God by Taliessin') and non-use ('it was never used of Arthur') show. Jones's mind might therefore be seen as a kind of encyclopaedia of European history organised under head-words drawn from Welsh, Latin and English texts, and under which an enormous synthetic network writhes in perpetual flux.

The whole of the macaronic homage to Christ quoted above began from the single phrase 'Gwledig Nef!' (see '133 continued'; LA1/6.13). "The bard Taliessin", Jones wrote in a draft note, "addresses God as gwledig nef a phob tud, ruler of heaven and of every country of people" (LA1/6.92.2; Cf. Ana 208, note 1d). The latter part of Taliessin's full phrase, ...a phob tud ('...and of every country of people'), is carried as a hidden component within the material of the two-word sign gwledig nef. That is to say, textual material which is used by Jones signifies not only what it 'means', but also the textual material with which it is contiguous in the original source; every signifier refers not only to a signified outside of the text, but also to the network of other signifiers from which it is extracted. Meaning is constituted by an irreducible encyclopaedic network of intertextuality which binds all culture up through the smallest nodes of its manifestation – individual words – which can be found like loops in a fabric in a multitude of texts, and by which (Jones's use of them being like a pulling at each of these loops) the entireties of these texts are gradually knitted together. Jones

begins the highly macaronic development of this passage because Taliessin's phrase demands that 'every country of people' become implicated in this naming of Christ. The different language forms used by Jones - modern English, Old English, Welsh and Latin, with an additional nod to Greek (Alpha es et o) achieve this through the same material performance as we saw in the St Guthlac Thus the emerging passage exhibits through its concrete form without any ideation necessary at all, the very material of the language indicating the text's signification in many languages – a universal meaning: the ruler of heaven (in the subject of the passage) and of every country of people (in the form of the passage). Jones's juxtaposition of macaronic nodes to various devotional texts praising Christ (see his note to this passage on Ana 208) is both sign and signified of the phrase of its genetic origin (gwledig nef a phob tud) which it also partially contains. This passage praises Christ in Jones's (and our) present, but through its macaronic intertextual strategy, it also praises the tradition of such praise: it lifts up as anothemata the variety to the history of the praise of Christ in Europe which survives in the texts Jones refers us to. The language, drawing attention to the gap between then and now, immediately bridges it. Such an incarnational poetics was the culmination of years of experimentation with macaronics.

# Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the connections between several pressures upon Jones as a maker in the early- to mid-twentieth century: the incarnational ideal, the new comparative philology and the desire to uncover a valid sign, as registered in his macaronic development. Jones, after Chute suggested the phrase to him, referred often to the 'common tongue of the zeitgeist' as a way of explaining how influences upon his works were not so much of Pound or of Joyce, but of a common epoch upon him and Pound and Joyce (see IN 46 and DGC 160-1). One common influence, I argued, was the new comparative philology, which made possible the making of poetry which was self-consciously archaeological. The OED offered a comprehensive data-set of the English language from 1150 to the present day, and so the possibility of formally recalling, with historical exactitude, images or events from the past. Joyce had shown Jones how such a possibility could be made a reality with 'Northmen's thing made southfolk's place', an endlessly fascinating example for Jones of incarnational re-calling. Jones's reaction to the pressures mentioned was to resurrect a macaronic form, one which had faded into disuse just prior to the Reformation. Whether using obsolete (or obsolescent) English words, or words from the Welsh, Latin, Greek, or German languages, Jones was moving towards an encyclopaedic poetics, one in which meaning is enacted not as definitional 'sense' but as the gathering of overtones and undertones around the present material instantiation of a word. For Jones, the richness to the 'meaning' of a word depended upon the degree to which the intertextual web of prior uses of that word were experienced within that particular, current usage. This intertextual attribute of Jones's macaronics is intimately connected with bringing history into a present textual performance – incarnating history – because, without that connection with textual originals, the gap between then and now cannot be opened with such poetic compression, and so cannot be bridged with such powerful poetic effect. Without such texts, we might speculate, there is only pre-history, which is un-incarnate-able.

Words, being conceived by Jones as detachable from their syntactic position in the text and as at least partially independently operative, were made to function as nodes of such intertextuality. This set up the possibility of conceiving of a poetics which was absolutely analogical, where history made incarnate in individual words might be knitted into an immensely complex shape across a large expanse of text. This larger-scale aspect to Jones's developing poetic forms the subject of the following chapter.

# **4 4**

# "Interpenetration backwards & forwards & up & down"

The Thomist analogical making of *The Anathemata*, 1948-50

The most important revision which I believe this thesis has so far made to the view of how *The Anathemata* was written is that Jones did not insert large swathes of material into already written 'fragments' in eight discrete stages of writing, but on the contrary, that he continually altered his text in literally innumerable overlapping insertions as he read over it, to the effect that the text developed until its progress was halted at the moment of publication. My analysis of his method has revealed that Jones was not building a formal sign out of the structure of his poem, but simply preparing the conditions under which the writing of a long non-narrative poem could occur.

It might therefore appear to be problematic, if we turn back to Jones's writerly activity at Christmas 1945, that he *did* divide his manuscript at its centre in order to insert material.<sup>286</sup> That this was clearly intentional and not just a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>285</sup> I say innumerable because I do not believe that an 'insertion' can be assigned textual and temporal boundaries. Jones's insertions were a cascade of overlapping alterations and additions. I discuss Jones's method in the context of 'mess' in 'The Messy Making of David Jones's *Anathemata*', *Moveable Type: Mess* 5: 9-14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>286</sup> Jones certainly began writing the 37A-T folational stratum in late-December 1945, and most or probably all of it was written between January and September 1946, up until his breakdown. On sheet 37N1 (*DJP* LA1/5.85) Jones is working out historiccoal dates in relation to 1945. On an unnumbered page (but which contains a draft toward the formation of Elen's voice, and so corresponds with 37P; *DJP* LA1/5.89) Jones has written a note on the wards of the city of London which begins: "At the present time,

coincidence is put beyond doubt by the calculations Jones has made on the last sheet of his manuscript. After he stopped adding material to the third insertional stratum (5F1-33) he refoliated his manuscript from one to seventy-four. On page 74 (previously page eight) Jones calculated half of his new total number of pages (see the calculations circled in firm lines in Figure 25).

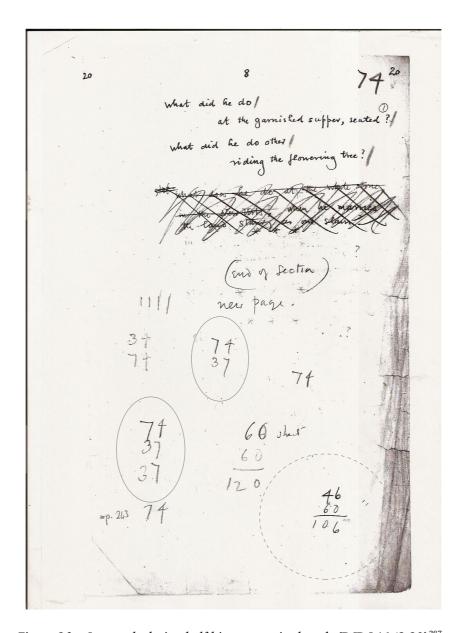


Figure 26 – Jones calculating half his manuscript length (DJP LA1/3.20)<sup>287</sup>

<sup>1946,[...]&</sup>quot; Tom Goldpaugh's handwritten notes, included in with *DJP* LA1/5, identify a reference to the Picasso and Matisse exhibition at the V&A, which took place at the end of 1945, on the verso of 37B1 (*DJP* LA1/5.21). Turning back to the recto, we find that the draft has been written on a letter (turned upside down) addressed to a Mr Serfell (or Serpell) which refers to a letter of 22 December, which must be in 1945. Jones drafted a letter to The Times on 20 December 1945 in response to a review of the Picasso and Matisse exhibition (see *DJP* CF2/19).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>287</sup> The '8' in the centre-top of the page is the first foliational order page number; the '74' to the top-right denotes the second foliational order page number. The two '20's (top-left and top-right) were not made by Jones: they indicate the folio number within the *DJP* file. Also, the '=p.243' was written after Jones's death, perhaps by Harman Grisewood, though more probably by the cataloguers at the National Library

Following this, he turned to page 37 – exactly halfway through his manuscript – and began making insertions. Out of this decision to insert material at the 'centre' of his poem, the 37A-R set of insertions grew to form another 60 pages, a third of the poem as eventually published (*Ana* 110-171). The important question here is: What kind of 'centre' is Jones finding in such an act? The complete indifference to the content of his text as demonstrated by this act of division continues to highlight a preoccupation with process rather than form. But why *would* Jones – an artist who up until this point, as I hope I have already shown, attended to the minutiae of his developing text with great deliberation, and prepared the conditions under which his text would generate its further growth by meticulous re-reading – suddenly disregard the actual signifying structure of his so-far written text in favour of the text-insensitive location of a material centre to his manuscript through a numerical calculation?

The division of the text at its centre on page 37 was not an isolated incident. During the same period in which Jones made numerous insertions into his text at page 37 (forming the 37A-R insertional stratum), he also made sets of insertions at pages 10, 62, and 63.<sup>288</sup> Although he did not refoliate his manuscript, he counted the manuscript pages to a total of 120 pages in order again to find the paginal centre to his poem. Jones then began inserting material at the sixtieth page of his manuscript, which was foliated 37P; this calculation can be seen on the same last page of the manuscript as the 74/37 calculation (see the calculation circled with a dotted line in Figure 26 above).<sup>289</sup>

I believe that this shift indicates not so much a reversal of Jones's method as an of Wales.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>288</sup> These being 10A-B, 62A-O, and 63A-B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>289</sup> My calculation of the state of the manuscript at 120 pages includes the following second insertional stratum insertions to the 37A-R (first) insertional stratum: 37A1-2, 37B1, 37L/, 37N1, and 37Q1-3. However, it includes neither the first insertional stratum which appears to be equivalent to the numbers 71A-C, nor the second insertional stratum which appears to be equivalent to 71A1-6. The justification for their absence in my calculation lies in their being only *equivalent* to their paginations: it appears that Jones made his third foliational order very soon after the completion of this section because the third foliational numbers after page 62O are mostly in pink or orange instead of the earlier black or red. This implies that the third refoliation took place in stages (and the later numbers were of course dependent on the earlier ones having been already written in sequence). The lack of definitive sheets for the 71A-C and 71A1-6 strata implies that these parts were only definitively included in the text whilst the third foliation was being made, and which swallowed up the second foliational order designation with which its organisation had begun.

extension of the same principle which informed his highly textually engaged method in the earlier stages of the writing of the poem. We will remember how, in the absence of a narrative structural principle to guide the writing, Jones's already written text was opened up by his finding nodal points which aggregated potentialities for the insertion of new material. This was how an impetus for the continued writing of the poem was established; it was the 'binding', 'ligament' or 'chain' which enabled the making process to be sustained – the necessary structure which protected it from atrophy. After proceeding with this method of writing for a year or more, the text had grown to a length of 74 pages. The very fact that Jones made his first re-foliation of the manuscript at this stage suggests a preference for a purely mechanical engagement with his text – indeed, a non-textual engagement – which implies that he was at a creative impasse.

I believe that when Jones stopped inserting material at the 5F1-33 insertional stratum, he became suddenly paralysed by the method which formerly prevented such paralysis. As he continued to work, inserting material as it emerged out of the potentiality of his re-read fragments, his text became ever larger, and so the number of potential nodal fragments became ever larger, and so too did the number of places at which insertions might be made. Jones's text was oriented exponentially upon infinity; there was no systematic necessity directing where the next fragment-insertion would take place; it might have been at any point in the course of the 74 pages of his re-foliated manuscript. The number of potential places at which Jones might develop his material had become monstrous. Rather appropriately in view of Jones's preoccupation with duality in the poem, the binding or 'ligament' which had 'secured a freedom to function', to paraphrase Jones (*E&A* 158) – the fragment-insertional method – had turned into its opposite.

The splittings Jones enacted on the physical centre of his manuscript between December 1945 and late Summer of 1947 coincided with his gradual move away from writing within the voice of a meditative consciousness and a return to the monologue form. Ilia's short monologue, written in around the summer of 1945 as part of the second insertional stratum of the first foliational order (5F4-6; *Ana* 

86-88), and Eb Bradshaw's, written a little later as part of the first insertional stratum of the second foliational order (37J-O; *Ana* 118-121), were Jones's first attempts at the monologue form since the 'experiments' which he had clearly by now abandoned, at least for the time being, and which had been written well before the idea of 'anathemata' suggested itself as a possible conceptual centre for his poem.<sup>290</sup> As we have seen, the monologue form imposes limits upon the writer: as soon as the voice of the poem is embodied in a speaking character, considerations of class, age, gender, and dialect emerge, as well as considerations of geographical and historical location. These two acts – the material division of the manuscript, and the return to the monologue form – were, I would argue, emergency measures which allowed Jones to continue writing his poem.

Prior to the second splitting, Jones had been forced to take a year off writing and painting (from the beginning of September 1946 until August 1947) because of a sudden return of 'Rosy' – his nickname for the nervous symptoms he had first suffered during and after 1932. It seems likely that the apparent limitlessness of the writing he was engaged upon was a contributory factor to this return. So, in returning to the monologue form, was Jones losing ground, retreating to former unsatisfactory methods because he was under neurotic fire? To an extent, yes. But whilst Ilia's and Eb Bradshaw's monologues are almost as bluntly rhetorical as those of the pre-1945 experiments, Elen Monica's, which forms the whole of the long fifth section of *The Anathemata*, 'The Lady of the Pool', was completely different.

In mid-June 1947, Jones entered Bowden House, a nursing home halfway up the hill at Harrow, and was treated by two Freudians, Dr Stevenson and Dr Hugh Crichton-Miller. As part of his treatment, Jones was directed to paint women he saw at Mass; later he was told to introduce women to his writing also.<sup>291</sup> Soon after the last week of August, Jones began to write again; and by the end of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>290</sup> That Jones refoliated his manuscript 1-74 and then calculated its halfway point suggests that the Judas narrative (MS pp.9 *passim*; *DJP* LR6/1.438-570), because not included in this refoliation, had definitively fallen off the back of the growing work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>291</sup> I am grateful to Thomas Dilworth for sharing this information with me, which is to appear in his forthcoming biography of Jones.

year he had moved to Northwick Lodge in Harrow so he could continue to receive weekly treatment.<sup>292</sup> 'The Lady of the Pool', one of Jones's favourite parts of The Anathemata, and which amounts to almost a quarter of the poem as published, occupied Jones from late-1947 until the end of 1949.<sup>293</sup> Written as the monologue of a mid- to late-fifteenth-century lavender-seller, the section owes its initial impetus to Jones's treatment at Bowden House. However, the motivating principle which underlay the making of this section gradually altered to the extent that Jones's entire purpose was to explore historical parallels through a single socially and culturally specific individual. In order to arrive at this aim, certain conditions had to be operative; from the intersection of numerous historically-specific pressures Jones developed a poetics founded on analogy. Although the process started after the conceptualisation of the poem in 1944-5 (as we saw in Jones's pursuit of an incarnational poetics in the previous chapter), it was not until 1947 that Jones developed a larger structure to contain and organise such a poetics. In this chapter I will examine how Jones came to develop this analogical structure.

The first section of this chapter presents an overview of the central role of analogy in the Thomistic system by way of preparation for what follows. My guiding hypothesis here is that, if Jones's poetics is in some sense 'analogical', a view of the central role of analogy in Thomist onto-theology might assist us in interpreting why analogy was the instrument Jones utilized. Accordingly, in the second section I undertake a detailed view of what I believe is a transitional period in the writing of the poem. By looking at four 'first draft' sheets, we can see that the limited materials of Jones's medium acted as a kind of pressure chamber within which a kind of unity had to be established between his data. The limit was specifically the space of the page, and the ideal unity was analogy, because analogy offered an open-ended unity; it did not foreclose a view of the 'dapple' or 'tangle of being'. The genetic moment of these four drafts is transitional, I believe, because it was in their writing that the analogical ideal was constructed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>292</sup> As he wrote to Harman Grisewood on 24 August 1947, "I've not written anything yet – but I'm supposed to get down to that also, to wit, Book." (*DGC* 134.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>293</sup> In a letter of 17 December 1952 to H. S. Ede (*KY*) Jones wrote: "So glad you like the 'Redriff' bit – its one of my favourite bits. and the Lady of the Pool also." Both are extended monologues.

In the third and final section, I examine the making of the analogical poetics of 'The Lady of the Pool'. 'The Lady of the Pool' seems, from within all of its limiting socio-historical specificities, to be hell-bent on transgressing these very limits. This dialectical movement – approaching the limitless only through the limited – was, following his breakdown, achieved by Jones in the increasingly complex development of analogical structures within his poem. It will be my argument that in the period 1947-49 Jones developed an analogical method of making - and poetics of the made - which can, as a result of this reliance on analogy, be seen as 'Thomist'. Furthermore, a complex analogy never attains rest, but continues to resonate in the mind. Thus, I suggest a root motivation for this analogical poetics: that such analogy-making was, for Jones, the most gratuitous makerly function which the recipients of art-works can be involved in. 'The Lady of the Pool', I will argue, was explicitly written as the most complex tangle of analogically-related data (and the least narratively continuous section of the poem) because the readerly experience of making analogies was the same makerly act as Jones was engaged in, and more importantly with which he defined man.

## I. Thomism, Analogy, and Diversity-in-Unity

#### (i) Analogy and knowledge

In the Topics, Aristotle seeks to delineate dialectical argument, which he describes as "a process of criticism wherein lies the path to the principles of all inquiries."<sup>294</sup> In other words, Aristotle is here investigating the fundamental process by which knowledge is acquired. The two types of dialectical argument identified are induction and deduction. Induction proceeds from the knowledge of particular instances to the statement of universal truths; to refer to Aristotle's example, if we know that a skilled pilot is most effective, and that a skilled charioteer is most effective too, we are able to argue that the skilled man is best at whichever task he turns himself to.<sup>295</sup> By contrast, "a deduction is an argument in which, certain things being laid down, something other than these necessarily comes about through them." So, if it is reputable knowledge that there is only one science of grammar, then "it might pass for a reputable opinion that there is but one single science of flute-playing as well."296 Thus we see with this second example that analogy - although often playful and gratuitous - is also one means by which the fundamental assumptions which underlie knowledge are constructed. Indeed, as Aristotle states in the Prior Analytics, certain kinds of syllogism require the use of a deductive method in order for the accepted facts of several realms to be synthesised in the formation of new accepted facts.<sup>297</sup> So, for Aristotle, analogical reasoning participates at the most foundational level in the mechanics of knowledge, and, through its synthesising capabilities, negotiates the epistemological lacunae which logical analysis first creates and then cannot eliminate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>294</sup> Aristotle (1984) *Topics* 101b3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>295</sup> *Ibid.* 105a10-18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>296</sup> *Ibid*. 100a25-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>297</sup> "Whenever three terms are so related to one another that the last is in the middle as in a whole, and the middle is either in, or not in, the first as in a whole, the extremes must be related by a perfect deduction. I call that term middle which both is itself in another and contains another in itself: in position also this comes in the middle." Aristotle (1984) *Prior Analytics* 25b32-37.

The construction of a fitting analogy requires the assertion of a convincing similarity between two things or actions or relations in spite of obvious difference. Aristotle writes of the study of likeness in the formation of knowledge through deduction:

Likeness should be studied, first, in the case of things belonging to different genera, the formula being: as one is to one thing, so is another to another (e.g. as knowledge stands to the object of knowledge, so is perception related to the object of perception), or: as one is in one thing, so is another in another (e.g. as sight is in the eye, so is intellect in the soul, and as is a calm in the sea, so is windlessness in the air). Practice is more especially needed in regard to terms that are far apart; for in the case of the rest, we shall be more easily able to see the points of likeness. We should also look at things which belong to the same genus, to see if any identical attribute belongs to them all, e.g. to a man and a horse and a dog; for in so far as they have any identical attribute, in so far they are alike.<sup>298</sup>

Implicit within the statement that the assertion of similarities between things which are 'far apart' (whose similarity is less obvious) takes 'practice' is the sense that making such unlikely comparisons is worthwhile. For Aristotle, and for St Thomas after him, the discovery of analogical relationships is the discovery of reality. In many cases, what makes analogy so attractive is its lack of necessity: there is nothing immediately pressing about establishing similarity between two outwardly dissimilar things or actions; the route of the analogy between two associations can often strike one as miraculous, contingent, lucky. We might say that there is something in the formation of any particular analogy rather than any number of equally probable and effective alternatives which is gratuitous: free, playful, unnecessary. Cognitive science has over the past three decades identified the unguided development of the capacity to construct analogies by proportionality as the cognitive function which distinguishes human beings from all other primates, a notion which David Jones would have been fascinated by in view of his own philosophy of man. But such cognitive scientific investigations have also provided evidence for the development of knowledge through analogy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>298</sup> Aristotle (1984) *Topics* 108a7-16.

as being motivated by the sheer pleasure of such acquisition and organisation: analogy-making is often play.<sup>299</sup>

#### (ii) Thomism and the analogia entis

In Aristotelian-Thomist thought, all comprehension, specifically through language, involves an analogical structure of meaning. In Aristotelian ontology, and by adoption in St Thomas's, 'A is to B, as C is to D' is not a conceit of the mind or of language which organises the properties of being; it is the very structure of being itself as discovered by human cognition. This constitutes the theory of the analogy of being, or *analogia entis*. As Fr Martin Gilby wrote in *Barbara Celerant* (a book which Jones quoted in the Preface to *The Anathemata*):

The whole body of the organic thought of St Thomas is built round the principle of the analogy of being. Behind the variety we experience, there is not one exclusive, complete, and monotonous reality, but a richness of perfection to which the mind can respond with many and different notes. Nor is there a diversity of fundamentally different and independent units, for the universe is a planned order, composed of multiple systems all closely intermeshed, and none of them closed. Tapeworms illustrate the doctrine of the image of God [*ST* 1a: XCIII: 2] and even illusory desire is warmed by divine happiness [*ST* 1a: XXVI: 4].

It is important that we differentiate between two types of analogical engagement in language with orders of being. First, there is the linguistic construction of analogy by proportionality mentioned above: a is to b, as c is to d. As Fr Gilby identified, St Thomas uses this device throughout the *Summa Theologica*. But, we might remark, thinkers of all epochs have used analogy in their explications. As with these other thinkers, this first type of analogy is consciously constructed or thought-out; it is often deployed as a trope of rhetoric or persuasion, and in its use St Thomas is apparently no different.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>299</sup> See Gentner, Holyoak and Kokinov (2001) 1-19. See also Holyoak and Thagard (1995) 2-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>300</sup> Fr Martin Gilby (1949) 89.

What distinguishes St Thomas's use of analogy from these others is that it forms the foundational structuring system of his entire philosophy and theology. If analogy enables the discovery and assertion of truths in relation to reality, logically speaking there must be a stable realm or being upon which all analogies are finally oriented. This being is of course God. In specific relation to how we use language, the Thomist system relies upon God as the anchor for the possibility of positing any meaning whatsoever. St Thomas wrote in the *Summa contra gentiles* that

nothing is predicated of God and creatures as though they were in the same order, but, rather, according to priority and posteriority. For all things are predicated of God essentially. For God is called being as being entity itself, and He is called good as being goodness itself. But in other being predications are made by participation, as Socrates is said to be a man, not because he is humanity itself, but because he possesses humanity. It is impossible, therefore, that anything be predicated univocally of God and other things.<sup>301</sup>

The logical impossibility of univocal reference in language to different orders of being makes necessary an analogical structure of meaning to underlie all meaningful language use. This brings us to the central role of analogy in the Thomist system: analogy is not only a trope of rhetoric, but underlies *all* meaning. This clearly reflects Aristotle's identification in the *Topics* of the centrality of analogy in the construction of knowledge.

#### (iii) Analogy as the Thomistic instrument of linguistic adequacy

In the Thomist system, the subjective cognitive construction of meaning in the experience of any individual linguistic unit is hierarchically operative; the structures of analogy by which meaning is experienced out of a material set of signs in language reflects a hierarchy in being. Analogy is the organizational instrument of language and cognition which allows the mind to approach a truth of being which otherwise would be misrepresented as either an explicitly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>301</sup> St Thomas Aquinas (1975) I.32.7.

realisable order or an unapproachable chaos. The application of any individual word to multiple orders of being requires that meaning be understood analogically, which is to say, as neither univocal nor equivocal.

An effect that does not receive a form specifically the same as that through which the agent acts cannot receive according to a univocal predication the name arising from that form. Thus, the heat generated by the sun and the sun itself are not called univocally *hot*. Now, the forms of the things God has made do not measure up to a specific likeness of the divine power; for the things that God has made receive in a divided and particular way that which in Him is found in a simple and universal way. It is evident, then, that nothing can be said univocally of God and other things.<sup>302</sup>

"Neither, on the other hand" as St Thomas writes in the Summa Theologica,

are names applied to God and creatures in a purely equivocal sense, as some have said. Because if that were so, it follows that from creatures nothing could be known or demonstrated about God at all; for the reasoning would always be exposed to the fallacy of equivocation. Such a view is against the philosophers, who proved many things about God, and also against what the Apostle says: *The invisible things of* God *are clearly seen being understood by the things that are made* (Rom. I. 20). Therefore it must be said that these names are said of God and creatures in an *analogous* sense, that is, according to proportion.

So, between the absolutely univocal and the absolutely equivocal is the analogical, by which the mind, through language, is able to gain a glimpse of reality. The capacity to mean in language relies upon the discovery of a "community of idea", as St Thomas calls it in the same article, which resides in the analogical basis of meaning: similarity in proportionality.<sup>303</sup>

Whilst there is always a logical proportionality between the two participating domains in an analogy, there is also always a difference which resists an absolute identification of one element with another: "[t]he first quality to be noticed

<sup>303</sup> St Thomas Aquinas (1920-9) 1a: XIII: 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>302</sup> St Thomas Aguinas (1975) I. 32. 2.

about analogical notions is that they rejoice in interior contrasts."<sup>304</sup> The 'community of idea' which St Thomas refers to is the apprehension, in the mind, of a reality. In Thomism, the organizational principle of analogy locates within and across all orders of being – divine, natural, human; and within the human: moral, legal, social, linguistic, and so on – a common structure reflective of the structure of all the others. The logical outcome of this is a hierarchy of being.

But (we might object) if human language is part of the lower orders of that hierarchy, and yet is the only means by which the apprehension of any order of being can be communicated, isn't there a problem? The answer, as far as St Thomas was concerned, is No: it is precisely the analogy of being which *allows* language to overcome its inadequacy through the very performance of that inadequacy; its analogical relationship to the thing it speaks of negotiates that distance by replaying it at the lower order which is befitting of human comprehension.

This is of the greatest importance in the understanding of what constitutes the Thomist system; and it offers a way of approaching Jones's conception of what an analogical poetics might achieve. In reply to the article 'Whether holy scripture should use metaphors?', St Thomas writes that what God is, is most ably expressed for the human mind in relation to what he most clearly is not. Forming analogies for God rather of:

less noble than of nobler bodies...is more befitting the knowledge of God that we have in this life. For what He is not is clearer to us than what He is. Therefore similitudes drawn from things farthest away from God form within us a truer estimate that God is above whatsoever we may say or think of Him.<sup>305</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>304</sup> Gilby (1949) 84.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>305</sup> St Thomas Aquinas (1920-9) 1a.I.9. Gilby cites the following example from the *Summa Theologica*: "Whether the image of God is to be found in irrational creatures?[...] *I answer that*, Not every likeness, not even what is copied from something else, is sufficient to make an image; for if the likeness be only generic, or existing by virtue of some common accident, this does not suffice for one thing to be the image of another. For instance, a worm, though from man it may originate, cannot be called man's image, merely because of the generic likeness. Nor, if anything is made which is like something else, can we say that it is the image of that thing; for whiteness is an accident belonging to many species." St Thomas, *Summa Theologica* 1a.XCIII.2, cited in Gilby (1949) 89. Here, the analogical structure is, of course, *A tapeworm is to man, what all irrational creatures are to God*.

The movement, again, is dialectical: by utilizing instruments whose ill-suitedness for the job gives recognition of the impossibility of the task, that impossibility is most adequately overcome; it is overcome by being continually restated. As with the compression of water, the greater the limit placed upon thought, the further thought is able to leap.

As we have seen, in Thomism, the capacity of language to make true representations of reality is founded on analogy. In addition, the use of analogy as a rhetorical trope by St Thomas is part of a wider conception of analogy as the structure of reality. The natural order and the divine order are comprehensible and communicable in the human order because they are bound together by analogical relations which have reality. The structural isomorphism within and across all orders of being is posited in the analogical constructions in the linguistic order. Analogy, in Thomism, is how the diversity of being attains and is experienced as unity. Analogy, and metaphor – which is itself founded on analogy – allow a linguistic engagement with being. 306 As Jacques Maritain, the main conduit for Jones's Thomism, asserts in 'The Frontiers of Poetry' (1930) (paraphrasing Charles Maurras): "poetry is ontology." The neo-Thomism which Maritain was instrumental in constructing, and which was brought to Jones via Fr John O'Connor's 1923 translation of Art et Scholastique, reclaimed an at once open and unifying analogical dialectics – one which exhibited the necessary dapple, to use Jones's term – for the early twentieth-century. 308 Whilst I do not believe that David Jones extrapolated the ideal of an analogical poetics from a rigorous intellectual engagement with the features of the Thomist analogical system as described above, I do believe that his developing poetics in the late writing of *The Anathemata* exhibits the same foundational conception of a diversity-in-unity being comprehended through analogy. If in Thomism,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>306</sup> Max Black, writing in 'More about Metaphor': "I am now impressed, as I was insufficiently so when composing *Metaphor*, by the tight connections between the notions of models and metaphors. Every implication-complex supported by a metaphor's secondary subject, I now think, is a *model* of the ascriptions imputed to the primary subject: Every metaphor is the tip of a submerged model...every metaphor may be said to mediate an analogy or structural correspondence." Black (1979) 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>307</sup> Maritain (1930) 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>308</sup> David Tracy describes the emergence of this newly 'open' version of Thomist analogical dialectics thus: "All forms of authentic modern Thomism have lived by the power of Aquinas' own analogical imagination and his demands for a conversation held in fidelity to the ideal of that kind of unity-in-difference, not uniformity. Singly and together, these modern forms of Thomist theology have undone the fatal hold of an ahistorical neo-Scholasticism on the Catholic theological analogical tradition." Tracy (1981) 414.

analogy is seen as enabling an ontological and theological engagement with the unity of being, in Jones it functions as the instrument by which a unity to the history of culture is experienced in the present.

In the following section of this chapter, I explore a short period of Jones's writing in the Summer of 1946 in which he developed the sea-faring narrative of 'Angle-Land', section three of *The Anathemata*. This was undertaken in the months immediately preceding his second breakdown in September, approximately one year before he began writing Elen Monica's monologue. However, the particular examination I make reveals how the limits inherent in Jones's practice as a writer acted as a kind of pressure chamber for the creation of unities in his text – and two out of the four examples (significantly, the latterly written of the four) reveal that that unity consisted in the construction of analogies. Where later he used the limit of a single woman (Elen) in a single time (the late-fifteenth-century) and in a single place (the Lower Pool at Rotherhithe) as the means by which she could be a multitude of women in many times and places; here, in the writing of the seafaring narrative, the limit of the actual page upon which he was writing became instrumental in the construction of analogical relations between his deposits.

### II. Discovering Unity within The Space of the Page

#### (i) Process and the page

It goes almost without saying that in the process of making a text, a poet or novelist or historian does not select a piece of paper big enough for the writing he or she has in mind; on the contrary, he or she selects a sheet of paper and will move on to a fresh sheet if space runs out. By contrast, the Rosetta Stone, to take a well known example, was selected by the scribe or the employers of the scribe because it was big enough. The scribe was not going to begin writing on a pebble and then complain of a lack of space after quarter of an hour. The material matters; but since the invention of the printing press at the very latest, when standard sized pieces of paper became the norm, texts have not really had the option of choosing the size of the paper they are printed on, unless the writer adapts that paper to his needs. In such presumably rare cases, a reciprocal relationship emerges: the material is adapted to aid the making, the making is affected by that adaptation, and the final form is affected by the making.

One notable example can be found in the case of Jack Kerouac's writing of *On the Road* (written 1951, but not published until 1957), where preparations were made by him *against* the imposition of the limit of the page. In a letter to Neal Cassidy, Kerouac described this action and the effect:

From Apr. 2 to Apr. 22 I wrote 125,000 [word] full-length novel averaging 6 thous. a day, 12 thous. first day, 15,000 thous. last day. – 10,000 thous. devoted to Victoria, Gregor, girls, weed, etc. Story deals with you and me and the road...Went fast because road is fast...wrote whole thing on strip of paper 120 foot long (tracing paper that belonged to Cannastra.) – just rolled it through typewriter and in fact no paragraphs...rolled it out on floor and it looks like a

Here, the subject (the road) the form (no paragraphs) and the method of production (fast, on a 120-foot roll of paper) are interdependent: each is orientated toward the ideal of ceaseless flow. Kerouac, in his writing, his music taste (free-improvisational jazz), his religious interest (Buddhism), his politics (libertarian) reacted against limits by seeking the limitless. Whilst the writer can here be seen to choose the form of the material upon which he writes, he does so because the form of the paper will inevitably choose the form of the writing.

However, it hardly needs pointing out that *On the Road* was not published as a 120-foot long scroll, but in the conventional format of a book. The emerging text of *The Anathemata* was equally influenced by the space of the page upon which Jones wrote, but his desire for a kind of limitlessness depended, inversely in comparison with Kerouac, upon limits. The potentially ceaseless generation of text in the making of *The Anathemata* relied upon that making taking place within strict limits.<sup>310</sup>

In July 1947, a few months after moving to Bowden House nursing home in order to receive treatment for his second nervous breakdown, David Jones wrote to Harman Grisewood. In this letter, Jones avoided giving details of his breakdown, and instead gave his view on the Freudian psychoanalysis which informed his treatment. Suddenly, without any warning, Jones exclaims: "Damn these beastly little bits of notepaper – I've no foolscap, and feel cramped and odd writing on this stuff" (*DGC* 133). Jones's characteristic need for the familiar is registered in his use of the word 'odd': even a change to the size of paper he is used to using causes him emotional or mental disruption. More relevant here, though, is that Jones feels 'cramped'. The first question I feel we must ask here is, Does he mean physically – is his hand having to twist up to avoid falling off the edge and bottom of the paper? – or does he mean that his *thoughts* are cramped? This is an important consideration; for, if the latter is true, it would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>309</sup> Kerouac (1996) 315-6 (letter of 22 May 1951).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>310</sup> We might mention again Sally Bushell's identification of Wordsworth's technique of allowing himself only limited space within his notebook when engaged in writing. See Bushell (2008) 84-6.

seem to be likely that the space of the page upon which Jones wrote *The Anathemata* would have an effect upon the shape of the ideas that emerged during that writing.

#### (ii) The rise of the page as genetic unit in the making of The Anathemata

In the four case studies which follow, I examine Jones's writing (on sheets 37A-B2) of a passage of The Anathemata in which a ship sails from the Mediterranean, up the coast of Spain and France (unmentioned by Jones), along the Channel, and up into the North Sea. After Jones first drafted an insertion to page 37 as 37 Continued (DJP LA1/23.125) - which is really several draft versions, incorporating as it does various rubbings- and crossings-out, and alterations - he copied the final version of these multiple drafts (on a single sheet) to a new sheet, but, again, making alterations to this as he made the copy (37 continued; DJP LA1/5.1). He then copied the final draft on this sheet to another and crossed the old sheet. (This crossing was Jones's method of indicating that this sheet was no longer required – that it had been superseded by a subsequent draft; see, for example, Figure 27 below.) However, this new version, taking in a number of insertions, extended over the page; Jones numbered these 37 continued 1 and 2 (the second sheet does not survive). Jones repeated this process several times, and his expanding text was re-foliated 37A-B. The lines beginning and ending these two pages were, in the earliest surviving version, "Did he hold his course mid-sleeve...Did he touch Vectis?" (37A; two versions: *DJP* LA1/5.3 and 4) and "Did he strike soundings in the East Road?...In the streets of the city / a per se" (37B; DJP LA1/5.16). In the second surviving 37A-B sequence draft, the text has been shunted down so that the line "Did Albion's brume shroud Belerion?", which had been on 37A previously, now began sheet 37B (and the "Did he touch Vectis?" line was as a result shunted down to 37B; DJP LA1/5.17). In this developmental sequence, we see that Jones was treating his emerging text as a purely textual stream which was indifferent to page breaks. However, the page break did become significant in two different ways at the genetic point which we have reached: that moment

when the text-in-flux expanded to fill two pages. At this point, copying and developing the whole text as a unitary textual unit became more laborious than its alternative, which was the copying and development of each of the two pages independently. As we saw in Chapter 1, such a labour-saving technique was an integral part of Jones's use of a foliational code: it was a purely material reaction to textual proliferation.

However, there was a knock-on effect of the material reaction under consideration here which affected the writing of *The Anathemata*. We have already seen (in Chapter 1) how, when Jones inserted material into his text, he was departing from and returning to his text in a loop, which formed a 'ligament' to his making, securing the freedom of that making and preventing it from atrophying. This is true whether the insertion was of a single word or a dozen lines: there was always a returning-to occurring. When Jones moved from treating his text as a unitary textual unit which spanned two pages to treating each of those pages as a discrete makerly unit, the possibility of an additional returning-to was set up: with 37B established as a unit, 37A could be developed independently because it always had the line at the top of 37B to return to; indeed, 37A became 37A, 37A1, and 37A2 (which were in turn independently developed) because of this way of working.<sup>311</sup>

Whilst this material reliance upon the discreteness of the page is an important aspect of David Jones's method to bear in mind, in no way does this suggest that the physical space of the sheet of paper paginated '37A', and then those paginated '37A1' and '37A2', influenced the poetic structure of the text which was being written upon them. Indeed, the opposite would appear to be the truth: these foliational openings-up would appear to be simply the material state of the poem altering in accordance with the textual necessity of the growing poem. However, a detailed look at the development of the text on these pages

The clearest indication that sheets forming a textual sequence were being treated as independent entities is found in the variable setting-up which Jones made of his sheets for typing. Versions *DJP* LA1/5.3 and 4 of page 37A are the only sheets which form a continuous text with the first draft of 37B (*DJP* LA1/5.16), and yet both 37A sheets have their line breaks marked for the typist, whereas the 37B version does not. This therefore indicates a different drafting stage (the only 37B sheet with line endings marked is that from the final manuscript: *DJP* LA1/8.46), which in turn indicates that these sheets were being treated as separate entities, and thus that Jones was developing the text contained on these sheets within the bounds of the sheet.

provides a compelling view of how the page actually influenced the poetic structure of the text as Jones wrote.

Here, we might look back to the institution of the foliational code to the manthe-maker Mass fragment' in 1944. As soon as Jones created sheet 5A within his eight-page base stratum, that sheet occupied a physical space between pages five and six. The foot of that sheet - and indeed any of its successors as the text grew to 5B, 5D, 5F and so on – did not mark the turning to another blank sheet, and thus limitless possibility; it marked the return to his base stratum at page six. (Indeed, we see Jones reconnect with the initial fragment, with the line 'On Ariel mountain', on pages '5A', '5B' (in one case, this '5B' becomes '5C' as the draft is shunted down by further subsequent insertions), '5D', '5J', '5K' (becoming, first, '5M', then '5N'), '5O' and finally '5T'.) 312 Thus, Jones could do as little or as much as he wanted within the space of each sheet because what followed it was always already established, which is the essential attribute of freedom within the 'ligament' of the space of a page. This would mean that each page was a unit – a room – within which quasi-free association could take place. It would seem a characteristic of Jones's making that it required such 'dug-outs' (the military analogy he used for his bedsit); every makerly moment, of whatever magnitude, was a kind of parenthesis.

When Jones placed 'fixed' text in ink at the top of a fresh sheet (often a breakthrough fragment, as we saw in the opening chapter) there were two outcomes: a new room for quasi-free association to take place *forward* was opened up; whilst at the same time the text *preceding* that point had a defined point which it could and must reach. Working forward from 'fixed' lines at the top of a fresh sheet, and with the next page always already established because of the insertional method, Jones's tendency was toward filling the space of the page. The filling that occurred, as I will reveal in the following examples, was shaped by the limit of the page not only in terms of length (which is little more than inevitable), but also in terms of poetic structure, which I feel is an important discovery.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>312</sup> These are found on the following manuscript sheets: *DJP* LA1/23.190.v, LA1/4.1, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 180-3, 208, 218-9, LA1/8.11 and LA1/9.139.

The foliational code was the effect of Jones's micro-insertion method, a reaction to textual expansion, a way of enabling textual genesis to continue without atrophying. But it was also the cause of the opening up of new, limited spaces for textual production. After the shift of 37A-B from being a unitary textual unit to being two discrete developmental loci, the generation of 37A1 and 37A2 was possible. The way this occurred was through an unintentional bifurcation in the text at 37B – a setting-up, in effect, of two rival texts. When two different 37Bs had been produced out of the 'Albion's brume' and 'Dodman' lines (compare DJP) LA1/5.17-19 with f.8), Jones had two discrete units containing different text. So he re-foliated 37B to become 37A1.<sup>313</sup> In developing this passage, Jones again inserted material into 37A1 until it became 37A1 and 37A2. And again, the emerging poem was presenting itself to Jones through two different shapes: as a unitary textual sequence indifferent to page breaks, and as two discrete loci for textual development within the limited space of the page. The development which occurred in the latter kind took two forms: (1) that of the repeated sketch where Jones would draft and redraft the same line a number of times over until reaching the foot of the sheet, or satisfaction (whichever came first – usually the former; see in particular DJP LA1/5.10 and 11); and (2) the development of a continuous textual sequence without such repetition. It is the latter development which interests me most. Here, amongst the numerous drafts which make 'fine' copies of previously drafted and edited material within the unit of the page established by Jones's method for that purpose, we find a small number of sheets where the space of the page is part of the generative apparatus of Jones's making, just as had been the breakthrough fragment. The difference is that the method of the fragment is generative out of the linguistic signs of the text, whereas the foliational method becomes generative because of the carrier of those linguistic signs. In both, there is evident an urge to make the half-filled

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> When Jones reassembled his text as a final manuscript, he deleted the original reference to Albion's brume on 37B (*DJP* LA1/8.46) because it nearly replicated the line on 37A1 (LA1/8.44). Thus Jones veils the bifurcation or self-replication of his text. This bifurcation was a common occurance in the drafting process of Jones's poem. This is the reason why the poem keeps returning to the hill upon which the cenacle is said to have stood: the return is not part of the programmatic intention of the author, but a corollary of his unsystematic method. Jones did not edit-out these repeated references to 'this hill/Ariel Hill' (on *Ana* 53, 187, 233 and 241) because what happened in the Cenacle (unlike 'Albion's brume') was central to his thought. This is just another example of the method of *The Anathemata*'s making discovering the form of the poem.

vessel full: figuratively, in the case of the generative fragment (the gap between the ideal and the achievement at any point in time is its half-fullness); literally, in the case of the page.

Within the manuscript of *The Anathemata*, we find this small two-levelled insertional stratum (37A-B and 37A1-A2-B1) emerge out of the base stratum of the second foliational order in the following way:

The eight 'sheets' in bold contain text which gradually grew as a network of insertions between pages 37 and 38.<sup>314</sup> Of the 27 draft sheets towards these provisionally 'final' versions which survive, four suggest themselves for examination as evidence of the effect of the space of the page on the emerging text.<sup>315</sup> To varying extents, these four contain wholly new draft material at the conclusion of the text on each page. They are therefore as close as one gets in David Jones's manuscripts to 'first draft sheets': they exhibit the first stirrings of the 'practical intellect' in regard to the particular data of which the poem treats. Jones's first drafts are, in effect, in the lower part of his manuscript sheets, and the equivalent later drafts (i.e. of the same passages) are in the upper part of other sheets. On any one single sheet, then, there is a co-presence of early and late draft-state writing, with the late-draft writing acting as the quasi-free associational root for the development of fresh (early) draft material as Jones moved down the sheet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>314</sup> I write 'sheets' because they don't exist as physical entities: even as Jones was working on page 37ctd his text was turning into a two page version, i.e. 37A-B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>315</sup> These are 37B[crossed] A1 (*DJP* LA1/5.8); 37B (LA1/5.16); 37B (LA1/5.17); and 37A2 (LA1/5.14).

In order to identify which sheets constitute first drafts, and thus which text might have been affected by the space of page in its originary moment, I used the following criteria. The text of a first draft version will of course be (1) verifiably the earliest extant draft. In addition to this, it is likely that the text on that sheet will (2) be written in increasingly messy handwriting as the text moves down the page; (3) have an increasingly uneven line distribution; (4) contain text whose alterations are increasingly (as we move down the page) made during the progress of the writing of the text on the sheet. In the following, I examine each of the four sheets of manuscript pages 37A-B2 identified as first drafts in order to assess the influence of the page on the drafting process.

#### (iii) The page as arena for the discovery of unity: Four case studies

The following four case studies reveal how Jones was led towards establishing small-scale unities in his text by the limited space of the page upon which he wrote. However, the structure to that unity was not consistent. In the course of the following examinations, presented in chronological order of their writing, I reveal how Jones's sense of unity became increasingly oriented upon analogical association. We will see how the discoveries of the preceding chapters, particularly in regard to Jones's insertional method and macaronic poetics, participated in this process.

#### (a) Diversion to resolution: finding unity in place

The earliest extant draft of 37B begins at the top of the sheet with the 'fixed' lines (in variant form) transferred over from an earlier draft of 37 continued 1: 'Did he strike soundings / in the East Road?'<sup>316</sup> The first five lines of this sheet are evenly spaced and written neatly by Jones – a 'fine copy' made from a previously 'firmed-up' draft of the same passage of the text – whilst after this point the line spacing becomes increasingly irregular, the number of alterations to individual words increases, and the writing becomes messier.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>316</sup> See 5F continued 22 (*DJP* LA1/8.42); 37 Continued 1 (LA1/5.2); and 37B (LA1/5.16).

Slips of the hand (or, perhaps more accurately, of the mind) survive uncorrected the further we move down the page: when Jones fudges 'East' in the second line as 'Esat', he corrects his mistake straight away (we can tell it is straight away because the second time he writes 'East' it is not an insertion between his first attempt and the word, 'Road', which follows); by contrast, when he writes 'He he sign Tom Bowline...' instead of 'Did he...' in the fifteenth line of the sheet, Jones does not correct the line even in a re-reading. All these features of the sheet indicate to me that this is an ex tempore, hurriedly-written draft which is not based on previous material. Indeed, that these uncorrected features appear after the fifth line ("did he make the Estuary") which appeared only as an insertion in the previous draft version, 317 indicates that Jones copied his first five lines, definitively incorporating this insertion for the first time, and then had the remaining space of his page to see what arose from those lines. 318 Figure 26, overleaf, shows an image of the original draft sheet, and alongside it a transcription with summary (to the right of the transcription) of the geographical location of each of the specific references.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>317</sup> This is p.37 continued 1 (*DJP* LA1/5.2). Unfortunately, we are unable to deduce much more about the relationship between these two sheets because this earlier draft (of the latterly firmed-up material, but not of course that which it generates in the sheet now under examination) is torn, and the lower half missing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>318</sup> That the whole of this sheet is drafted in ink (normally taken as an indication of a non-first draft) does not, I think, outweigh the evidence adduced for the latter half of the text on this sheet being a first draft.

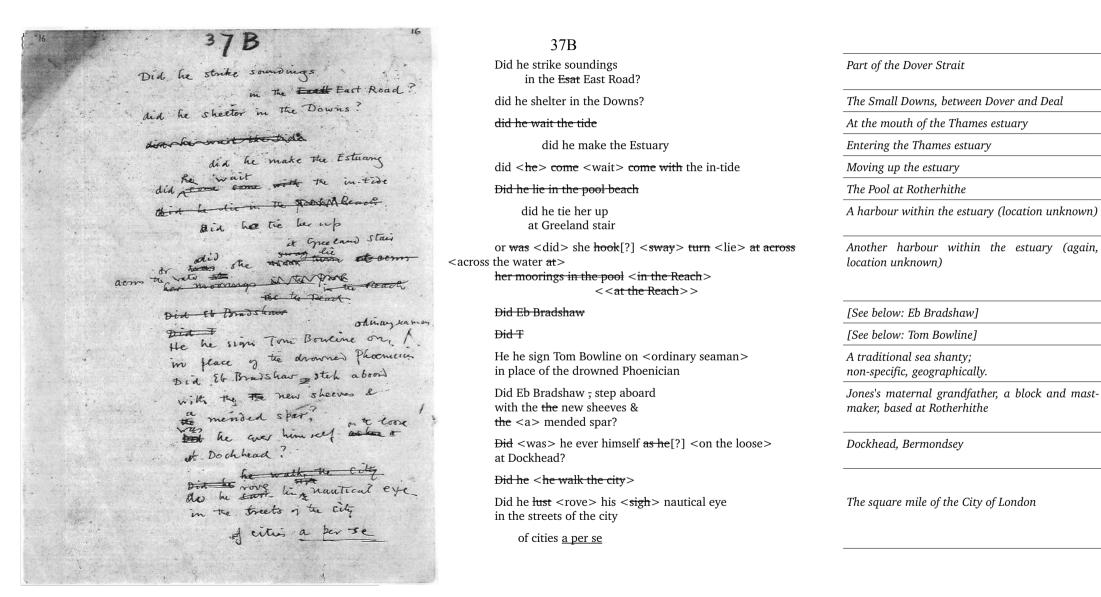


Figure 26 – Image and transcription (with 'deposit' identification) of 37B (DJP LA1/5.16)

As the 37A-T insertion grew, the course of this ship – which the interrogations of the meditative consciousness of the poem imply – became diverted. In the published version, the ship rounds Margate and continues up the coast of East Anglia, and then on beyond the coast of Scotland into the open North Sea (see Ana 111-5 and Rene Hague's Commentary). In the draft preceding the version transcribed above, the ship travelled from Cornwall eastwards, but only as far as Hampshire (37 Continued 1; DJP LA1/5.2); on the draft prior to this, though, the ship travels further, and is moved suddenly from the Solent ('was he off Vectis', the Isle of Wight) into "Cronos-meer", the North Sea beyond the northeastern tip of Scotland (37 continued; DJP LA1/5.1). On the first sheet to develop the gap between Hampshire and the North Sea, Jones moved his ship past Kent and into the mouth of the Thames Estuary. When he reached the Thames estuary ('did he make the estuary', as in the transcription above) he might have continued up the east coast to link up with 'Cronos-meer' - but he doesn't. Instead, his tentative imagination, and thus his developing text, is dragged with the tide (note the indecision, the groping for a sense of direction: "did <he> come <wait> come with the in-tide") up the estuary to stop off at the places – the Pool, The Reach, Gree(n?)land Stair – he had heard his mother talk about in relation to her father who lived at Rotherhithe, until he himself -Jones's grandfather – appears.

So, the text has taken a chance turn with the ship up the Thames estuary to meet Eb Bradshaw, the poet's maternal grandfather. This is a significant resolution for the text to have made: Jones's discovery of his grandfather's place (as a mast and block-maker) within a poem about utile and gratuitous makings is very important. But instead of dwelling on the poetic possibilities of Eb Bradshaw, Jones moves west from his work-place at Princes Stair, Rotherhithe to Dockhead at Bermondsey. The unnamed captain of this unnamed ship then disembarks, and, after crossing London Bridge, walks into the City of London to check out the local talent: "Did he lust <rove> his <sigh> nautical eye / in the streets of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>319</sup> Not only did his grandfather acquire a voice in later drafts, which eventually became 'Redriff', a three and a half page section of *The Anathemata*; but this voice is also the first extended dramatic monologue which Jones attempted within *The Anathemata* as it emerged out of his base fragment. In other words, it paved the way for 'The Lady of the Pool', Elen Monica's 45-page dramatic monologue at the centre of the poem.

the city".

So, in the two early draft versions described above, Jones's text, and the ship/captain, reach definite destinations: in the earlier draft, the captain passes numerous landmarks and eventually reaches the open sea at Cronos-meer; in the later draft, he does the same, but turns west up the Thames estuary and reaches London. In both cases this destination is reached at the foot of the page. My contention is that it was the end of the page which enforced the reaching of some kind of destination upon Jones's writing. When his makerly arrival occurred at Eb Bradshaw's Rotherhithe, Jones still had a third of a page left to fill, and this perhaps moved him onward beyond Eb Bradshaw's work-place, to Bermondsey and thence to the City.

Jones later added a final line to this draft – taken from Dunbar's 'In Honour of the City of London' – which I feel puts this reading of the importance of the space of the page beyond doubt: London, with this addition, is made the city "of cities a per se". This is the case in historical terms, but also in very personal terms for Jones who grew up and continued to live there throughout his life. Jones, in the course of drafting this sheet, has resolved the text in the destination of London as sign, as 'anathemata'. The route of the ship and its captain has looped round geographically to find out a centre of trade – and it had also done so figuratively in order to find out a centre of meaning. And of course, the meaning of London in relation to 'anathemata' is later pursued by Elen throughout her long monologue (and subsequently is stated by Jones on his dust

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>320</sup> Other draft sheets end at the bottom of the page at 'Vectis' and the 'Dodman', which might also be deemed destinations. The ending of these sheets at these 'destinations' is not made in a first draft version, and so the coincidence of destination and bottom of the page cannot be part of the making process. Therefore, if Vectis and the Dodman are no less destinations than London and Cronos-meer, my proposition – that the space of the page urged Jones to 'tie-up' the content of his sheets in first draft writings – would be discredited. However, London is a destination unlike Vectis or the Dodman because (1) you can't travel any further than it (if you are sailing a trade ship rather than a pleasure boat), and (2) precisely because it is 'the city of cities' – it has always been a shipping *destination*. Equally, though perhaps inversely, Cronos-meer is open sea: it is a 'destination' here because it is not a destination. All the other places mentioned in the drafts are landmarks which are *sailed past*; Cronos-meer is *sailed into*.

As this line ('of cities <u>a per se'</u>) is written in the same ink as the line preceding, how can we be sure that Jones added this line later? Well, the first word 'of' is written twice: once with a pen whose ink catches, next with the ink running. This indicates to me that Jones read back the full sheet ending (after editing) 'did he rove his nautical eye / in the streets of the city' and emphasised the importance of London – an importance he felt both in regard to the world and personally – with the line 'of cities <u>a per se'</u>, but his nib had dried out, and thus at first scratched at the paper.

jacket, on which appears the title: David Jones' / Anathemata / Faber Lon / dinium'). The space of the page, I would argue, foisted this necessity of discovering a unity out of the deposits which were emerging onto the page as Jones wrote – note how these deposits were a combination of cultural references (to the sea-shanty about Tom Bowline, *The Waste Land* ('Phoenician sailor'), and Dunbar), personal references (to Bradshaw), and geographical and historical references (the Thames estuary as a major shipping lane). This diversion of the ship was important because it made the writing of 'The Lady of the Pool' possible; it led to new material. But it was not necessarily much of a discovery considered in its own terms. It is my argument that Jones got better at working within the limit of the page in this period, learning to be guided by it into the construction of multiple analogies. First, though – and we might recall Aristotle's remark that analogy-making takes practice – Jones got worse.

## (b) The seduction of the page: an instance of unity as semantic closure

Another draft version of 37B again reveals how the space of the page guided Jones's construction of a textual unity within that page. However, in this example it was an unsatisfactory unity: the space of the page caused Jones's text, unlike the ship of which he was writing (which has a lucky escape) to founder. The sandbank the ship escapes is Goodwin Sands, of which Jones wrote in a note, referring to the passage under our consideration. "It so happens that it was at Deal, c. 1903," Jones writes, "that 'I first beheld the ocean' and I particularly remember that sometimes, in certain conditions of weather and tide, a number of hulks were visible on the Goodwins which then seemed like a graveyard of ships" (Ana 110, note 2). This note refers to the word 'necropolis' in the line: "(the unseen necropolis banking to starboard of her)." In this part of the text, the meditative consciousness of the poem is asking how the ship managed to escape being wrecked. I believe that on this sheet (see Figure 27) we can see how the space of the page urged Jones to tie things up, but that this sometimes backfired, reducing the structural complexity and formal balance of the text to an unwanted closedness.

```
Did Allion's Grume
 is that why he & first sighted the Dodman
 Dia he touch Vectis?
in The East Road did he shelter in the Downs?
 Did he stand on toward
```

```
Did Albion's brume /
                 shroud Belerion /
  is that why he /
              first sighted the Dodman? /
  Did he touch Vectis? /
  Did he strike soundings /
             in the East Road /
  did he shelter in the Downs? /
  Did he stand on toward/<the Gull Stream>
  or keep close in, <& ride over <the shallows of> <over> the Brake
  What was her draught?
    hid [i.e. Did] his second mate swing the lead with <more than> care?
or <was> <was it>/luck, wind, current
           or oblation
   that sheered him off the hidden
   necropolis sleeving to starboard
   of her?
   Or was it she,
          sea-born, & sea-star
   (whose own, easy & free,
              the pious matlos are)
    or was <it by> poseidon's whim
  (master of the masters of lodemanage) <in the five ports>
whose/own <the> white Islands grey approaches are
    that kept her.
            from death on Goodwin
```

Figure 27 – Image and transcription of page 37B (DJP LA1/5.17)

The page commences with the first eight 'fixed' lines written in ink, in a neat hand, with regular intervals of line, and following a steady left margin; note also that Jones has already prepared his line ends for the typist here. This 'fine copy' appearance degenerates, so to speak, into a mess of rubbings- and crossings-out, uneven word- and line-spacing, a left margin which is no longer part of the text's proposed appearance at publication, and (judging by the different sizes of writing, letter formation and variations to the thickness and shade of the writing) the text was written at a number of sittings. The end of Jones's use of black ink, and the beginning of his use of pencil, marks the point at which he began dealing with new material (the next draft of the material in pencil is on 37B cont.l; DJP LA1/5.20). The eight lines written in ink involve a movement of the ship from off the coast of Cornwall to the south coast of Kent; the following nineteen lines do not involve any movement of the ship at all, but mostly dwell on the ship escaping being wrecked. This is introduced by the meditative consciousness of the poem, after mentioning 'the shallows of the Brake', by asking if the skill of the crew prevented it running aground: "did his second mate swing the lead with more than care?" The Brake is part of Goodwin Sands, upon which many hundreds of vessels have been wrecked. So, with a knowledge of how treacherous these waters are, the alternatives open up: "was it luck, wind, current / or oblation / that sheered him off the hidden / necropolis to starboard / of her?" Finally, the poem asks if it was the Stella Maris or Poseidon "that kept her / from death on Goodwin." These are the final lines at the very foot of the sheet.

The final line – one which appeared because it ties-up the content of the draft sheet into coherence or some kind of unity – was later excised. This, I believe, was because it lessened the effect of the preceding material. Jones's compulsion was to create a unity within the bounds of the sheet he worked upon, but this unity could be reductive. The last lines collapse the preceding material into a simple question: was it this or that which prevented the wreckage of the ship? Stella Maris, Poseidon, technique, luck, wind, current and oblation are not signified in any manner by the final phrase: 'that kept her / from death on Goodwin'. The inevitable result of this is that no active structure between them

can be established; the relationship is too simplistic, too similar: Stella Maris, Poseidon, technique, luck, wind, current or oblation either saved this vessel, sailing up this stretch of the channel during this particular time, or they did not. However, by deleting the four final words - 'from death on Goodwin' - but leaving 'that kept her' (on this and the subsequent draft 37B1, DJP LA1/5.21), Jones opened this passage up to ambiguity: if Stella Maris, Poseidon, technique, luck, wind, current or oblation 'kept her from death', kept means only 'prevented'; if, however, any one of these only 'kept her,' the signification of kept opens up, and a number of 'undertones and overtones' are allowed to enter the Thus there remains (as before) prevention; but this sense becomes text. subordinate to the sense of *kept* as protection, possession, and assertion of value. With the final line excised, we are free to dwell on the different ways in which Stella Maris, Poseidon, technique, luck, wind, current and oblation might offer protection, possession and an assertion of value to a tin prospector's ship - why they would want it 'kept'. We should recall, too, that the priest, introduced immediately after the opening of *The Anathemata*, uses in his rite "the things come down from heaven together with the kept memorials, the things lifted up and the venerable trinkets" (Ana 50 - my emphasis). If the reductive last line ('from death on Goodwin') had remained, the particular 'anathemata' Jones was lifting up here would have suddenly been dropped with a clang.

By contrast with this reductive unity, the following two examples, from later in the drafting process of this part of the text, reveal a successful (because unaltered) tying-up which was achieved by Jones establishing analogies between his data. In both cases, this occurs at the foot of the sheet. The following, then, suggests that the limited space of the page guided Jones's construction of analogies (within resolutely 'limited' word-forms: obsolete, macaronic, technical) which ventured to set up limitless significances.

# (c) Cornwall, Greece and Wales: linguistic and geographical analogies for cultural-historical collision

In the third case study, we will examine another passage originally written as page 37B, which performs the bifurcation of the text mentioned above. After

making significant changes to the opening line which treats of 'Albion's brume', the text veers off (like the ship itself did towards London in the first example) to explore new aspects of Jones's deposits.<sup>322</sup> Because of this veering off to a textual bifurcation, Jones later refoliated this sheet 37A1, thus opening up a new room for textual production prior to 37B. The following (Figure 28) presents the image and transcription of the sheet in its entirety.

 $<sup>^{322}</sup>$  The alteration to the line is as follows: 'Did Albion's brume / shroud Belerion' (LA1/5.16-19) becomes 'Did Albion put down his brume screen / at 49.57 N, 5.12 W and westwards to / Bolerion?' (*DJP* LA1/5.8).

californ o pensance eastering course - in the 'construct, misted, west waters

37B A1 <<del>vapour</del>> <screening brume> Did Alb <br/>
Strumous > Albion put/down his brume screen <diaphane> at 49.57N, 5,12W and westwards to Bolerion? is that why is that why the first land he sighted was eight leagues on, and, did he call it the Dodman? <Calibans of Penzance behind the neb of the horn> Did Albion's diaphene screening <screening airy> <<drifting>> diaphene densen cover < to screen > the < lizards > neb & eastward over <falling> Alaw <& confluent> & Fal? is that why, in the cliffs at in 40 fathoms water of Chop-waters from 49' 40" N, 5·20 W - his course due north-east he sighted no land till[?] he called it the Dodman? to 49'·57" N 4·40 W (the nord-light for his easterly course - in the crystal, misted, west-waters (our thalassa!) moroedd ynys Prydain!

Figure 28 – Image and transcription of 37B 37A2 (DJP LA1/5.8)

The process of the writing of the text on this sheet was as follows. The meditative consciousness of the poem begins by asking whether the late sighting of land was caused by fog (beginning 'Did brumous Albion...'). Again, this part of the text is a fine copy (late draft state) in ink, exhibiting evenly spaced lines and neat writing. However, after reaching 'Dodman?' (the final word in ink) Jones returned to top of the page and began altering the phrasing. It became messy, so he made a copy of the corrected version halfway down the page. This underwent numerous further alterations, and then a line about the rivers to the east of the Lizard appeared: '[...]to screen the Lizard's neb / & eastwards over falling Alaw & confluent / Fal'. It is true that both the Fal and the Alaw lie east of the Lizard; but, in view of the geographical exactitude Jones's text has begun to exhibit (note how Jones began using coordinates for the first time in this sheet) the Alaw, on Anglesey, seems an odd choice – every other geographical feature Jones mentions on this and associated sheets is in or off Cornwall. The Alaw cannot be part of the voyage being made by this ship. So why is it here?

In the *Mabinogion*, one of Jones's most important sources of 'deposits', Branwen, the sister of the king of Wales, sleeps with their guest Matholwch, the king of Ireland. Branwen's brother is outraged, and triggers a chain of vengeful killings when he butchers Matholwch's horses. The Welsh travel to Ireland, but after yet more blood-letting are chased out of the country. Branwen arrives back in Wales and at Anglesey – at the mouth of the river Alaw – she looks back at the coasts of Ireland and England. Here, she is overcome with grief at the desolation she deems herself to have caused, and dies. Her companions then bury her on the banks of the Alaw and carry out the King's final directive prior to his own death: to march to London to bury his head. 323

The inclusion of Alaw in a narrative about sighting land off the south coast of Cornwall is an attempt by Jones to begin developing analogical connections between his deposits. In the following final example, we will find an ancient Greek look-out boy speaking Cockney English, so we should not be too resistant to a Welsh river being moved by the poet to the Cornish coast. Indeed, this stage

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>323</sup> See Jones (trans.), *The Mabinogion* (1949) 25-40.

of the writing of *The Anathemata* marks an approximate point at which Jones increasingly collapses different times and places into co-presence, a strategy which reaches its zenith in Jones's writing of 'The Lady of the Pool', which we will examine in the following section. However, the fact that the use of the river Alaw was only an attempt is, I think, made clear by Jones deciding, after numerous attempts to develop the link between Welsh and Cornish geography (see 37A1; *DJP* LA1/5.11; and unnumbered sheet, LA1/5.12), to abandon the reference to this Welsh river altogether.<sup>324</sup>

The connection between Wales and Cornwall was developed in other ways subsequent to the writing of this draft. The cryptic connection between the Alaw and the Fal in this first draft is later made explicit: in the next draft, King Mark of Cornwall and his nephew Trystan appear (DJP LA1/5.12). The myth of Trystan and Isolde has obvious parallels with the Branwen myth in that, in both, the infidelity of a woman with an imposter leads to a political crisis. Jones knew the Trystan and Isolde myth from Malory from an early age, but his subsequent wide reading and desire to find in his Welsh heritage a common heritage for Britain led him to believe, or just to imply with hopefulness, that the myth originated in Wales, whence Jones's spelling of the title of his painting 'Trystan ac Essyllt' (1962). In The Mabinogion, Cornwall and Wales are often linked, no doubt as a result of their common Celtic cultural roots. King Mark of Cornwall appears as 'March' in 'The Dream of Rhonabwy', and Jones's awareness of this alternative name (see Ana 98, note 1) drives an attempted analogical 'fittingtogether' of his deposits through linguistic form. When Jones states that his reason for first referring to Mark as the 'horse-king' is that March (Cornish for Mark) means 'horse' in Welsh (Ana 97 and 98, note 1), he is not only establishing a relationship between Wales and Cornwall for the reader, but is also indicating to us the terms by which he built up the relationships between the two as he wrote. Calling King Mark of Cornwall the 'horse-king' is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>324</sup> See the final manuscript version for 37A1; *DJP* LA1/8.44. That Jones certainly was referring to this river is put beyond doubt by the evidence of later drafts, in which he developed the short reference to the Alaw and Fal; here (37A1; LA1/5.11) Jones refers to "Aberalaw" ('mouth of the Alaw', which fits with Fal/Falmouth), and to a 'tref' (Welsh for 'town'). In addition, Jones refers to the river Hayl, which is on the north Cornish coast (he also refers to Coffer or Coffar, neither of which I have been able to locate). Neither could the Hayl have been passed by a ship sailing off the south coast, so the presence of a Welsh river in the writing is given credence.

completely meaningless unless the relationship between Cornwall and Wales exists in some other form also. We might note further that in 'Branwen Daughter of Llyr', Alaw is described as being in Talebolion, which perhaps suggested, or was suggested by, 'Bolerion', the word Jones used for Cornwall in the first draft of this passage on sheet LA1/5.8, and which he replaced with Fal and Alaw in the second draft on the same sheet.<sup>325</sup>

Jones's method here, then, was to explore common features in the histories of two regions by finding and travelling down the fortuitous etymological and morphological conduits which can be exploited to link different languages into structures which signify wider cultural analogies. The first draft state of the text is to a degree a scattering of reminders to Jones of what he is about in this passage; the use of 'Alaw' on the draft sheet under consideration stands in, for the writerly present, for a whole interpenetrative network constructed between the *Mabinogion* and *Morte D'Arthur*; which, furthermore, is a sign for Jones of the specifically Celtic strain of the cultural complex which exists between Ireland, Wales, Cornwall and Gaul.

The role of the page in the formation of such analogies during Jones's writerly acts begins to become visible if we return to the draft sheet, and its five concluding lines. After the rivers Alaw and Fal are placed together, the ship moves nearly a degree east up the channel, though it remains off the Cornish coast – about 20 miles south-east of Falmouth. But then a shift occurs: we move from this technical representation (using coordinates) of 'his easterly course' to a poetic description (again, in parenthesis) of the "crystal [metaphor], misted [a self-consciously literary locution], west-waters [alliteration]", and then to a parenthetical phrase within this main parenthetical passage which alters those waters in two ways: "(our thalassa)" (Jones's underlining). As has been suggested previously (and as we shall see in more detail in the following chapter) the tentativeness of Jones's analogy-making – the way he creeps up to his already-written text and places an analogical twist upon it – seems to require this parenthetical poetics; the parentheses here are as much an indication of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>325</sup> See Jones (trans.), *The Mabinogion* (1949) 29, note 1.

Jones's makerly fear of heavy-handedness (the dreaded 'excessive rhetoric', perhaps) as of a firmly intentioned effect.

In this specific instance, first the waters are made the possession of an Englishspeaking 'us'; second, by the use of the Greek word for 'sea', those same waters, the English Channel, are pushed into some kind of relationship with the Mediterranean. 'Our' is not spoken by the look-out boy of the ship (who we will meet in the next case study), for these waters are not his (besides, in this early draft, he has not yet been given a voice). And yet such a possessive statement does not sit comfortably within the meditative consciousness of the poem hence, I think, the parentheses around the phrase: they mark the tentative trespass of a different voice into the text. This shift in the register of the poem indicates, I believe, an explicit surfacing of the values of the author of the poem, whose 'anathemata' are here being constructed. The interpolation of a version of Jones's own voice belies the importance which he attached to establishing cultural historical connections, in this case between two ancient regions – Greece and Cornwall (the crew of the ship, we soon discover, have travelled to Cornwall because they are tin prospectors; Cornwall was mined for tin in British prehistory). Through Jones's desire for a connection through time to the present, the reader is drawn in as one member of Jones's 'us', and thus our present enters the structure of this part of the poem also.

This penetration of Jones's desire into the poem brings forth the final line of the sheet: "moroedd ynys Prydain!" This Welsh phrase – 'the seas of the isles of Britain' – incorporates a third way of referring to the 'sea' in as many lines: we have English ('west-waters'), Greek ('thalassa') and Welsh ('moroedd'). The exclamation in Welsh belongs to Jones, and to the look-out boy. But it also belongs, in a sense, to the historical imagination which, for Jones, provided a way of looking at the world which gives it value: it belongs to the way he wants us to think; he wants this sense of value to belong to the people of 'our thalassa'.

The single Welsh element which had apparently inexplicably entered the text earlier in Alaw was thereby brought by this phrase into a logical coherence with the rest of the sheet. In this final line to the sheet, the identity of a speaker as both individual and multiple was established, which is structurally homologous with the separate/together, single/multiple structures of time (ancient and modern) and place (Greece, Cornwall and Anglesey) which it also assisted in establishing. The important thing is that, whilst three different languages are being used to refer to the sea, it is the same area of sea to which all three are referring: place is the necessary nexus at which cultures intersect through time. (This is perhaps the reason why Alaw is abandoned in the text: it cuts against this logic.) It may be useful to note that the only way in which Wales and Greece are present in this passage is through the use of Welsh and Greek words. Indeed, visible beneath the 'our thalassa' of this draft sheet we can see that Jones had previously written 'our See' but later rubbed it out, presumably because the use of the German for 'sea' would have been at variance with the meeting of Greek, Cornish and Welsh cultures with which Jones here concerns himself. When Jones does use German See in The Anathemata, it is in the context of a movement up the North Sea: "out of our mare / into their see" (Ana 97), and thus is logically coherent.<sup>326</sup> By using those other languages, the meeting of Welsh, Cornish and Greek ancient cultures is re-called.

The complexity of the poetry functions analogically for the complexity of this meeting. By disrupting geographical order through his use of the Alaw, the apparent homogeneity of our contemporary British culture is interrogated and dismissed: geographical and linguistic meetings function analogically for cultural meetings in British history. We have witnessed this characteristic way of working in the previous chapter: a macaronic poetics performatively incarnating history in the present. But here, the page performs an active function in the process of establishing such connections; the pressure of the approaching page-end forced Jones into making a unity-in-analogy of the emerging strands laid out across the page so far. The macaronic poetics is made to function within a larger analogically motivated poetic structure.

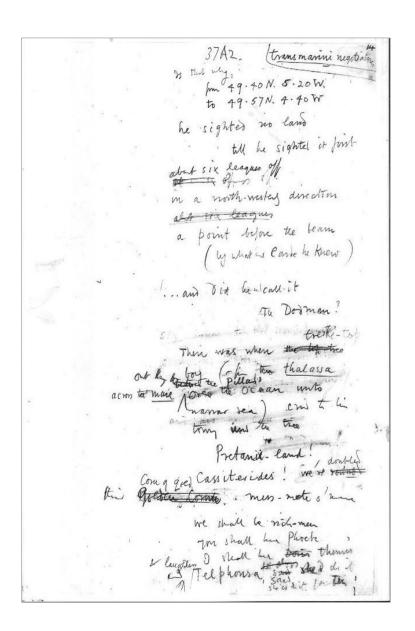
The final example we will look at exhibits the same characteristics in its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>326</sup> Jones wrote this passage as part of the first foliational order, page 5 continued 22; *DJP* LA1/8.42.

development. That it was written last, and that it exhibits the most complex set of analogical relations of the sheets examined, indicates, I feel, that it was in the writing of these passages that Jones was learning both the possibilities of an analogical poetics, and the possibilities which the page offered for compelling the construction of such poetic structures in the making of the text.

# (d) Ancient Greece and Modern Britain: finding analogy in voice

In the first draft material of another sheet foliated 37A2 (Figure 29) the look-out boy, having previously only shouted three words in Welsh upon sighting land (as in the above example) is given a short monologue.



37A2 transmarini negotiations Is that why, from 49·40N. 5·20W. to 49.57N. 4.40W he sighted no land till he sighted it first about six leagues off <del>[illeg.]</del> in a north-westerly direction about six leagues a point before the beam (by what as Carde he knew) ....and Did he call it the Dodman? Then was when the top-tree <trestle-top> boy (from the thalassa <across the <u>mare</u>> <<out by>> <<del>between</del> the Pillars> over the ocean unto narrow sea) cried to his towy under the tree Pretani-land! Cassiterides! we've rounded < doubled > <their> Golden Cornu < Corn of gold> mess-mate o'mine we shall be rich-men you shall have Phoebe

I shall have <del>Doris</del> Themis and <& laughless> Telphousa<<del>'ll always</del>> said she'd is do it

<said she'ld do it> for tin

Figure 29 – Image and transcription of 37A2 (DJP LA1/5.14)

In this draft, the word 'thalassa' appears again, but in such a way that it no longer crosses cultures: 'the boy from the thalassa' is the boy from the Mediterranean. His shout, this time in Greek-English instead of Welsh – 'Pretani-Land!' – indicates again that the land sighted is the British Isles (see note 1, Ana 102). As we saw in the previous analysis, this shout in its Welsh equivalent ('moroedd ynys Prydain') marked the end of an earlier draft. Working on from this fixed point of geographical and textual reference in this later draft, both the origin of the ship in ancient Greece and its sighting of Cornwall are emphasised through the look-out's call 'Cassiterides!', (from Greek,  $K\alpha\sigma\sigma(\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\zeta')$ 'kassiteros', meaning 'tin'). This first connection of the ship's journey with a purpose, prospecting for tin, is secured with the look-out boy's further shout: 'we shall be rich-men'. He goes on to claim two Greek goddesses for the crew's carnal use, but then qualifies this by saying 'and laughless Telphousa said she'ld do it for tin!'

Again, it is my belief that Jones discovered the line about Telphousa, just as he had discovered the line 'moroedd ynys Prydain!', because of the pressure of the limit of the page: a tension arose in the process of writing because of the physical progression down the page, a tension which demanded some kind of resolution in unity. The final line is squeezed in at the bottom of the page by Jones because it *had to be*: this line was required in order to bring the preceding images or words of the text on this sheet together into an analogical unity.

Let's look at the line in its first state, before Jones began altering it.

'and Telphousa said she'd do it for tin!'

Here (assuming that we are assigning tin its prehistorical value), the look-out boy is saying that the crew will be able to have their way with Telphousa because they will be rich (just as Phoebe and Themis will now sleep with them also). But why Telphousa in particular? Rene Hague remarks in his *Commentary* that, by persuading Apollo to build a shrine away from her spring, Telphousa forced him

to fight and kill the Pytho, for which he then punishes her.<sup>327</sup> The reference to Telphousa would therefore seem to indicate that the look-out boy will be duped. Accordingly, for Hague, Telphousa is in part being used by Jones because she is a type for deception.<sup>328</sup> The way Hague presents Telphousa reveals a crucial element in looking at the genesis of Jones's writing within the space of the page: "she was deceitful and unscrupulous ('said she'd smile / for tin!' – the schoolboys [sic] money)". 329 Here, the look-out boy is using a phrase which Hague implies was a playground standard: 'doing something for tin' is doing something for 'schoolboys' money', not for just anyone's money. He is young, inexperienced, and so Telphousa, we can imagine, will find him easy prey for his 'tin'. But also, schoolboys' money, like tin now, is worthless. I believe that this Victorian/Edwardian boys' phrase, 330 which the limit of the page forced Jones to conceive, performs an important function for Jones by bringing numerous divergent actions, times, and cultures into an analogical relationship, and thus tying-up the content of the sheet into a whole.

The following diagram (Figure 30) shows how several major relationships in the text depend upon this final phrase:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>327</sup> Hague (1977) in relation to *Ana* 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>328</sup> Deception is not mentioned as an aspect of 'femaleness' in Jones's account of his reasons for referring to these three mythological figures in particular: "These names of the three sweethearts of the matelots each connote various aspects of femaleness: the earth, the seasons, the fates, the sibylline art, the menstrual cycle, the moon, so the tides, the huntress, the mother." (*Ana* 104) He goes on to associate Telphousa in particular with Delphi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>329</sup> See Hague (1977), in reference to *Ana* 121. Perhaps out of squeamishness when Jones begins thinking about publication, Telphousa, having been ostensibly willing to 'do it for tin' in the first two drafts (this version, and the version on 37A2; *DJP* LA1/5.15), is from the third draft version (37A2; *DJP* LA1/8.45) to publication (*Ana* 102) only willing 'to smile for tin'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>330</sup> George Du Maurier (1834-1896) wrote in 1860 (aged 24) in a letter to his mother of an illustrating commission: "You see it's altogether out of my line but I do it for tin of course, and have to force my nature." Du Maurier (1952).

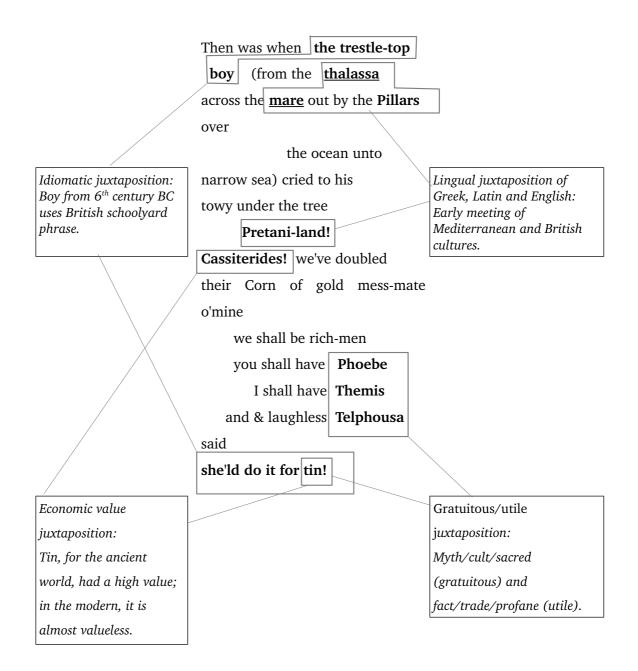


Figure 30 – Analogical relationships set up on page 37A2 (DJP LA1/5.14)

The final line of the page brings the separate movements of the text into a single fabric by being contemporary words spoken by an ancient character, by introducing a metaphoric aspect to a previously only literal sense of 'tin', by profaning the sacred (and thus being very much Jones's kind of 'anathemata'), and by embodying the duality of the utile and gratuitous with a word for a metal whose ancient and modern values are opposed. 'Tin', the final word of the passage, binds everything together: it is the conclusion which the space of the page forced Jones to make. In his *Commentary on* The Anathemata *of David* 

*Jones*, Rene Hague notes that these lines were some of David Jones's favourite from *The Anathemata*; indeed, he underlined "said she'd smile / for tin!" twice in self-approbation in a note to Hague as he prepared the commentary. Jones, I believe, liked these lines in particular because they performed the unifying function which the limit of the page had foisted upon his writing as a necessity.

In this examination of the part of the manuscript where Jones opens up the second foliational order to take in a growing network of insertions (from 37A onwards) I have made a case for understanding the space within which Jones worked as an active participant in his construction of unities within the text of The Anathemata. This function of the page in Jones's process of composition participated with his insertional method, each egging the other on as new insertions bred new pages, whose space bred new insertions, and so on. Their common element is that both provided the freedom to write through the imposition of limits – the limit between fragments being the necessity of leaving and returning to the same point in the text; the limit of the end of the page performing a surprising function wherein the text resolves itself as Jones writes: it loops round upon itself as 'page' to become a unit, a diversity in unity. The two are neither the same, nor at odds; but, entwined with one another, they produced a patterning in the text as it emerged.<sup>332</sup> The Thomist logic which informed the making of The Anathemata produced from a simple formula (paradox, duality, aporia) a highly complex organism which repeats itself through each strata of its form. These two major influences upon the form the making process took were of differing magnitudes: Jones's textual fragments emerged in much smaller units than the amount of text the sheets of paper upon which they were written could contain. So, like two simple, regular rhythms in different tempi, these two attributes to Jones's making process combine to form a single complex and irregular pattern. The textual space of the fragment-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>331</sup> Hague (1977) in reference to *Ana* 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>332</sup> In some cases, the two overlap in real genetic terms. Jones quite often left a space at the centre of a page and placed firmed-up draft material at the top and bottom. In such instances, he was preparing the conditions for the quasi-free associational method by experimentally placing a space between parts of his text which was expected to generate a writing. (See, for example, *DJP* LA1/5.75 where the gap remains unfilled, perhaps because the sheet was lost.) This method requires further examination, but there is no space for such a detailed analysis here.

insertion and the material space of the page intersected with one another in every draft effort, and over and over again in different draft efforts working on the same passage, to the effect that the pattern becomes too complex to untangle from the text as published – which indeed is an essential attribute of the method, for if it did not produce a complex object it would have been discarded as a faulty method. In other words, the fragmentary method in combination with the idiosyncratic use to which Jones put the space he worked within enabled the history of culture Jones experienced in a co-present 'dapple' to emerge as form. As we have seen in the development of Jones's method in these four case studies, the common instrument or theme of such an emergent text increasingly became analogy. In the following section I will examine the making of 'The Lady of the Pool' in order to show where this concern with analogy eventually led David Jones.

# III. The Analogical Making of 'The Lady of the Pool'

### (i) Multiple enmeshment in Elen Monica

Jones's increasingly analogically oriented poetics from 1945 onwards culminated in the creation of Elen Monica, the speaker of 'The Lady of the Pool'. In this long central section of *The Anathemata*, Elen functions as the locus for an enormous number and variety of analogical strains. However, this was not how she was at first conceived. Jones wrote the following to Desmond Chute in March 1953:

It must be remembered that none of these ideas were planned. None of the ideas were purposely arranged. They came naturally as the work proceeded. The Lady of the P. was first thought of as a London woman in conversation with a sea-captain, a thing that must have happened many times since the first Roman port of London was founded.

(IN 71)

In its earliest development, the structure of Elen's monologue was simple: Elen makes her lavender-seller's cry, informs whoever might be listening that lavender signals the end of summer ("that bodes the fall-gale westerlies / & ice on slow old Baldpate"), and then seems to engage directly with the captain as she dwells on the weather that morning ("was rawish fog on Lower Pool / at past four this morning[...]"). After just six lines, reflections on the season lead Elen to give the captain some advice: "Lorks you ancient man / you'd best weigh[...]" – here, she is advising him to weigh his goods for the payment of customs duties so that he can leave before the weather turns. She then concludes at the foot of the page – the page again compelling a writerly wrapping-up – with a return to her lavender-seller's cry. 333

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>333</sup> The left half of the bottom of the sheet is missing. However, it is still possible to make out the ends of the final two lines, squeezed in at the foot of the page: "[...] flower / [...] there's a good soul." (37P1; DJP LA1/5.93)

Gradually, as Jones made a multitude of small insertions to each draft and the monologue grew, Elen, her language, and her particular surroundings in late-fifteenth-century London began to take on more and more associations. In the end, she became a number of figures concurrently:

the Lady of P is herself an amalgam of *many* figures – from a waterside tart of sorts to the tutelary figure of London, as, say, was Aphrodite of the city of Thebes or Athena of Athens. Certainly she is Britannia at one point.

(IN 69)

The figures of which Elen is an amalgam, though, are themselves multiple. In the course of Elen's description to the sea captain (now arrived in London and disembarked) of two brief meetings with a freestone-mason (one of her previous lovers), he calls her by the names Flora Dea, Bona Dea and Augusta Trinobantum, which as Jones's glosses indicate constitute historically specific signs (whether mystical, mythological or linguistic) for Rome and London. In turn, Rome and London – whilst likened to the female body in *The Anathemata* (as "our twin-hilled Urbs" (*Ana* 127) and "seven-breasted Roma" (*Ana* 75)), thus bringing them back to Elen – also operate as figures for the ships Elen describes, particularly the *Mary*, which in turn is a figure for the Church and Christ.

One of Elen's sexual encounters "in especial" (*Ana* 131), establishes this model of multiplicity: it occurs on Elen's name-day, which refers us to Flavia Julia Helena, of whom Jones writes the longest note of his entire poem (*Ana* 131-2, note 3). In this note, Jones summarizes the figures for whom Helena has become a type, noting that, in addition to the associations connected with her sainthood, "there has gathered around her a separate secular body of legend of much beauty but of exceptional contradiction and tangle deriving from Welsh sources." Again, we see Jones's deployment of the key term 'tangle', this time in relation to his standard repository of cultural value in myth: Wales. Jones goes on to write:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>334</sup> Flavia Julia Helena would appear to be the very genetic source of Elen's name. Helen of Troy is mentioned on *Ana* 128 (written on page 37P4A), 141 (37P5L) and 149 (37P5N-O), but no association is made with the speaker of the monologue. She announces her full name on *Ana* 167 (37P4-5), which the foliational code reveals was written earlier than any of the parts which include Helen of Troy, but immediately before the identification of the Roman Helena as the source of Elen's name-day.

"Not so often has one historic person gathered to herself such a diversity of significances" (*Ana* 131, note 3).

The importance of Flavia Julia Helena as a kind of original of Elen as amalgam is clear if we look at the way Jones treated the note which describes her as the poem neared publication. When The Anathemata was set in page proofs in Spring 1952, Jones was asked by Faber's reader in a marginal note: 'Please cut 8 lines of this footnote, as page is long'. Jones responded to this instruction further down the margin: "The 8 lines will have to go overleaf where fortunately there is just room for them. It is one of the few notes that I cannot cut. D.J.' (DJP LA3/6.131). Jones was wrong about the amount of space on the following page: in order to achieve the transference of these eight lines, the printer had to remove all the spare space between the text and notes, but also to squeeze the words of note 2 together in order to relineate it from three to two lines. Even this was not enough: Jones also had to remove the page references from note 3 in order to create another free line (see Ana 132). This note, occupying some 350 words, merely identifies another piece of Jones's 'data' which Elen incorporates in her monologue. So why was it so important that nothing was cut from this note?

I would suggest that this note's 'tangledness' had to be presented in full in order to guide the development of a strategy of reading for the reader. It is the copresence of "beauty" and the "exceptional contradiction and tangle" of cultural-historical data in Flavia Julia Helena which primarily motivates Jones's interest in her. That beauty and tangle are intimately connected – that the most beautiful might well be the most tangled – was a Thomist conception, as indicated by Jacques Maritain's statement:

art, as ordered to beauty, never stops...at shapes or colours, or at sounds or words, considered in themselves and *as things*...but considers them *also* as making known something other than themselves, that is to say *as symbols*. And the thing symbolised can be in turn a symbol, and the more charged with symbolism the work of art...the more immense, the richer and the higher will be

For this neo-Thomist, the continual deferral of an endpoint to such symbolism – each thing symbolized always turning into another symbol – creates the highest order of beauty. The most adequate system in which such a network of symbolism can be generated is the analogical system.

Jones's note on Flavia Julia Helena begins by stating the facts of her political life as wife of Constantius Chlorus and mother of Constantine the Great, and by her association in the Christian calendar with the finding of the Wood of the Cross. Three relations are stated, therefore, but no relationship between them. When Jones moves on, we are given some of the specific instances of the 'tangle' in Flavia Julia Helena which stems from the Welsh cultural data: here, "she is variously the daughter of King Cole, of Eudaf of Arfon, and of Eudav of Cornwall, the Roman roads in Wales bear her name, she is wife of Constantius, she is the wife of Macsen Wledig (Maximus)[...]" In presenting Flavia Julia Helena's 'symbolisms' in quick succession, Jones sets up some possibilities. Being both the (historical) wife of a Roman leader and the (mythical) wife of several Celtic leaders, an initial analogical node is established which might guide a tentative and experimental analogy-making between the conqueror and the conquered. Jones does not do so in regard to these items of data, but the possibility of doing so leads him, I think, to a more analogically oriented group of 'data' as he continues to write: "she is Helen of the Hosts, she is builder of the Wall of London; it was as hard to look upon her because of her beauty as it is to look upon the sun when brightest, and so on." Jones's list of data takes on a definite analogical turn here. In 'The Dream of Macsen Wledig' in the Mabinogion, Flavia Julia Helena is called 'Elen of the Hosts' after advising Macsen (her husband) to build a network of roads to improve Welsh defences. So, from this figure signifying national defence is generated another: the builder of the Wall of London. The differences are clear - a country is substituted for a city, roads are substituted for a wall – but the relation of (H)Elen to the defence of a community is analogous. Again, following this, Elen as the builder of the Wall of London leads Jones to her manifestation as a kind of Welsh Helen of Troy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>335</sup> Maritain (1930) 57.

in being so beautiful she cannot be looked at. London, as Jones notes, was known as Troy Novaunt, or New Troy; and Troy appears in *The Anathemata* as "mother of forts / hill of cries / small walled-height" (*Ana* 56). The analogical relations have a simple basic structure: as Helen is to Troy, so is one version of Flavia Julia Helena to London, and so also is another version of Flavia Julia Helena to Wales. But the specific networks of cultural-historical data which are appended to these three figures set up the possibility of the creation of an enormously complex network when further similarities and differences are interrogated: how are the Welsh defensive roads similar to/different from the wall of London, and both of those to the wall of Troy? The wealth of historical and mythical material underlying these figures makes the pursuit of analogies irresistible; indeed, if art is a 'fitting together', the formation of analogy can be seen to be an exemplary makerly function.

Jones, of course, does not start pursuing such further analogies here; indeed, the simple analogical structure which guides the generation of his list is a function operating in the background. However, when Jones discovers the real Helen of Troy immediately after describing Flavia Julia Helena in her terms, a further shift takes place which places these analogical relations into a sub-set of a larger cross-cultural analogy. "In these stories [of King Cole, Eudaf of Arfon, etc.] she [i.e. Flavia Julia Helena] takes on something of her classical namesake and stands for the beauty of Britain beguiling the emperor and directing the powerstruggles; her family conquer Rome for Maximus, she is indeed almost Britannia herself" (Ana 131, note 3). From a sub-set of Flavia Julia Helenas (wife to several leaders, builder of roads and walls) we move up one analogical plain to find the amalgam Flavia Julia Helena analogically similar to the dominant analogue Helen of Troy. And then immediately after, Britannia is also implicated. This mythic structure is hierarchical, but subverts its own hierarchy, turning its system inside out by finding (horizontal) analogies between figures who have just been placed in a vertical system. It is a system in flux, constantly re-shaping itself depending on which node informs out current analogy-making.

Thomas Dilworth presents an analysis of the multiple symbolisms which are at

play in the figure of Elen Monica in *The Shape of Meaning in the Poetry of David Jones* (1988). Dilworth argues that, in taking in a number of historical and mythological individuals (such as Flora, Chloris, Helen of Troy, the Virgin Mary) and in recalling a number of sexual encounters, the symbolism of this central section of *The Anathemata* participates in the suggestion of "cosmic marriage, the poem's unifying archetype". This 'cosmic marriage' throughout the poem "involves subordinate archetypal couples and a special emphasis on the woman, who emerges through particular women (divine and human) to represent the earth, the ship, the city, and mankind as the bride of God." Thus, for Dilworth, Elen is at once London, England and Mother Earth. The means by which the poem is found to achieve such effects by Dilworth is through the incorporation in Elen of multiple historical and mythological figures, and literary allusions. By taking in these figures and allusions, "she transcends the fleeting ontology of time and embodies the city's historic and prehistoric past and, through deliberate anachronism, its historic future." historic future."

Dilworth's experience of Elen, the particular lavender-seller of mid- to latefifteenth-century London, as a type (for many mothers and female lovers, for London, for the Church) and as an archetype (for 'Mother Earth', for 'cosmic marriage') is only possible, I would argue, because of the analogical mechanics of the text. The figure of the woman "emerges through particular women (divine and human) to represent the earth, the ship, the city, and mankind as the bride of God' (my emphasis). We have explored this relationship between the particular and the universal in Chapter 3, and we found that Jones's means of generating a universal significance was to concentrate on the particulars of his data. The process of making such analogical correspondences is also clearly similar to the emergence of the 'breakthrough fragment', as examined in Chapter 1, and which was the major way in which Jones built his text throughout all of its stages of making. In both cases, analogical correspondences lead to the aggregation of symbolism in the text. There is, however, one crucial difference. The breakthrough fragment is conceived when a commonality is discovered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>336</sup> Dilworth (1988) 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>337</sup> *Ibid.* 217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>338</sup> *Ibid* 216

between two widely separated orders of knowledge, and the result of that conception is the growth of the text under the guiding principle of that double actuality. Jones's later method involved the same kind of doubling, except that in Elen it becomes triple, quadruple, and so on, and each of the elements brought into the amalgam is itself patterned with multiplicity. To compare Jones's method here with his earlier method, as discovered in the opening chapter of this thesis, there was no activity of 'stodgeing on' after the 'breakthrough': every addition to the text had to be an analogical breakthrough which increased the tangledness of the text.

In one part of Thomas Dilworth's examination of 'The Lady of the Pool', he quotes a passage in which Elen recalls a tryst with a freestone mason following a storm, which ends thus:

An' in this transfiguring after-clarity he seemed to call me his  $\dots$  Fl—ora  $\dots$  Flora Dea he says  $\dots$  whether to me or into the darks of the old ragstone courses?

(Ana 130-1)

In his analysis, Dilworth concentrates on the name which the freestone mason uses to address Elen:

in sexual excitement and release, she has become the goddess Flora. Her transformation seems especially influenced by Botticelli's *Primavera*, which depicts the metamorphosis of a quite ordinary nymph into the goddess Flora through the sexual attentions of Zephyr – the change being achieved in a 'gale of passion'. In Botticelli's painting, Zephyr blows passionately on the nymph Chloris, from whose mouth come flowers that fall onto the dress of Flora depicted beside her. The flowers from Chloris's mouth join the floral-print pattern of Flora's dress. It is a visual metaphor for metamorphosis, pivoting, I think, on a pun on the *ora* (a form of the Latin for 'mouth') out of which Flora comes. Jones verbalizes Botticelli's visual pun in Elen's tentative articulation which ideogrammically depicts the metamorphosis: 'Fl-ora...*Flora Dea*.'<sup>339</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>339</sup> Dilworth (1988) 218.

If we look at a draft sheet for this passage, we find that an earlier version (written in ink) has been eradicated and a new version written over it. However, we can still read the earlier version. The development from the earlier to the later is interesting in the context of Dilworth's analysis.

in this transfiguring after-clarity he called me his Flora . . . Flora Dea he says

an' in this transfiguring after-clarity he seemed to call me his . . . Fl–ora . . . . Flora Dea he says

(DJP LA1/5.130)

Jones's action here – splitting Flora into Fl–ora – supplements the already existent complex of Elen Monica and the mythic figure Flora with the presence of a specific Flora, the one which Botticelli painted. Any correspondence between Elen and the mythic Flora is tightened up by the specificity of this reference.

But also, by focusing upon the mouth as the node of the correspondence between Elen and Flora, a set of correspondences from other parts of the text is arranged around that node: Elen later likens the freestone mason's fondling of the wall to the way in which a minister kisses his text at the conclusion of the Gospel (*Ana* 133). As Brittania, she makes the captain to whom she speaks kneel and kiss her hand (*Ana* 145). The speech of the Welsh boatswain of the *Mary* is likened by Elen to that of St John Chrysostomos, whose "tongue *could tell!*" (*Ana* 154). Elen recalls her parish priest "twisting his cock's egg tongue round the Vulgar lingua" (*Ana* 165) at Mass. In addition, the sudden inward expression of desire Elen makes for the freestone mason following a hostile vocal outburst involves a simultaneous shift in the rhythm of her speech from a drilled-out declamation, to a mellifluous lilt: "What rogue's cant is this? I said. Whereas inly, I for love languished" (*Ana* 133). This activation of Elen's tongue, I feel,

participates in the sensuous effect which Dilworth detects in the whole section's preoccupation with sexual love, though he does not remark on the mouth as analogical 'node'. The recurring presence of the mouth in these different contexts leads us to begin exploring possible ways in which Elen, Britannia, Flora Dea, the Mass and St John Chrysostom might be related, which sets up the possibility of the typological and archetypological reading Dilworth undertakes. Elen, becoming an amalgam of many allusions, in this specific instance via the repeated image of the mouth, is able to become their composite, and so a type or archetype.

The analogical encyclopaedic structure of the text manifests itself through the number of different nodes which we experience in its reading. We can take 'mouth' as an organising image, and experience the text's other images in an arrangement around that node. But equally we can also take Jones's use of the words of the *Vidi aquam* – where water (blood) issues from the right side, 'a latere dextro', of the temple (the coming Christ) – to describe the leaking of water out of the wall at the Lower Pool, Rotherhithe, and the damage to the Mary (Ana 130 and 139), as an image which organises Elen, London, the ship and Christ into an analogical correspondence. Or we can take the dense use of technical terms for parts of a medieval ship (Ana 137-8) and the liturgical language Elen deploys as the organising principle of the experience of the text around the node 'made things', which expresses a love of made-ness. There are numerous different correspondences set up within the text to the end that they are interchangeable, each becoming a symbol for the others which in turn symbolise that original symbol. No one image or figure predominates.

So, Elen is Helen of Troy, Britannia, the Virgin Mary, Flavia Julia Helena, the Lady of the Lake, Aphrodite, Athena, Flora, Chloris; London is Rome, Troy, Jerusalem, the New Jerusalem; the freestone mason is Christ; the ship is the Church.<sup>340</sup> But these orders of correspondence are not kept separate: the poem sets up an encyclopaedic, synthetic interconnected network by asserting analogical correspondences between Jones's different deposits. It does so by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>340</sup>See Dilworth (2008) 145-56 and Dilworth (1988) 217-25.

using words which refer to Jones's deposits as kinds of intertextually operative metaphors. Thus, the text crosses the implied taxonomies of 'person', 'city', 'deity', 'object' and continually asserts that Elen is London is the ship is the Church is Christ, and so on in a vast unending process of semiotic deferral. Each node of this encyclopaedic network leads us to experience its 'data' in a different shape. Taken together, these give the text its 'dapple': the text's analogical structure discovers and embodies Jones's experience of cultural history. As Jones wrote, "the interpenetration backwards & forwards & up & down of all the images historical, legendary and mythological (both the Xtian Mythos & the non-Xtian) must be taken as the main subject of the section" (IN 71). interpenetration is the 'subject' of 'The Lady of the Pool' because the analogical experience of the history of culture is a reality. Jones's account of this stage of the writing of *The Anathemata* to Saunders Lewis, already quoted above, reveals this concern with a different kind of poetic 'realism': "I think perhaps the main thing was that I saw or felt the necessity of using the material less 'realistically' – less of a 'narrative' – no less 'real' but using the *materia poetica* in such a way as to make the work more evocative and recalling - with more overtones and undertones" (TL 20). Analogy, for Jones in the writing of 'The Lady of the Pool', was the means by which he approached the real.

In a sense, then, we can find in Jones's analogically tangled text the same kind of ontological interrogation as that which Aristotle and St Thomas conceived in the notion of *analogia entis* and language's dependence on analogy for the engagement with metaphysical orders of being. Jones's text, in being analogically structured, is formally isomorphic to his experience of culture. As Jones wrote in the Preface, if one is dealing with the deposits of one's country, "one is trying to make a shape out of the very things of which one is oneself made" (*Ana* 10). The construction of multiply enmeshed analogical correspondences in 'The Lady of the Pool' was Jones's approach towards the literary representation of a particular kind of experience of reality, one in which every part already contains within it a reflection of the whole. Jones's text, like *Finnegans Wake*, exhibits (or at least strains to exhibit) recondite correspondences between widely divergent realms of culture. Jones and Joyce

shared an encyclopaedic conception of the way meaning and value operate. In the next section we will see how the analogical method, pushed by Jones beyond a certain point in the latest stage of the pre-typescript making of *The Anathemata*, appeared to be taking his text into the territory of the *Wake*.

# (ii) Analogical non-sense: interrogating the limit-point of a poetics of correspondences

Elen, who describes herself as "unversed" (*Ana* 135) is continually saying much more than she knows. Thomas Dilworth has noted how Elen's erroneous interpretation of her lover's exclamation 'REDDITOR LVCIS AETERNAE' is, within the text, an assertion of a greater truth. These words ('restorer of eternal light') were inscribed on a Roman medal which depicted Constantius who, landing in London, is welcomed by a kneeling woman, who has subsequently been seen as one of the many instances of Flavia Julia Helena being converted into myth (see *Ana* 134, note 1).

When the mason calls out 'REDDITOR LVCIS AETERNAE,' Elen silently responds, 'Let's to terrestrial flesh, or / bid good-night' (*Ana* 134). Apparently she interprets his Latin as liturgical, thinking perhaps of the *lux aeterna* that symbolizes Christ in requiem Masses. In view of St Helen's role and the destiny of Roman Europe, Elen is more correct than her more learned mason might surmise.<sup>341</sup>

Elen's unknowingness increases the analogical complexity of 'The Lady of the Pool' because there are two discourses functioning at once: that of the speaker, and that of the poem. Guided by the example of Flavia Julia Helena, we are led into the inevitable readerly recognition that *every figure* within Elen's monologue is free to be interpreted analogically, and often in a number of different ways as we negotiate the distance between Elen's and the text's knowledges.

However, the question as to what the specific associations are within the text

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>341</sup> Dilworth (1988) 220.

raises a problem: when Jones uses a particular word, or presents a particular image, or describes a particular thing or event, how do we know what its specific analogues are? Writing at the time he did, Jones compensates for the problem of 'unshared backgrounds' by glossing his poem, but the glosses are far from comprehensive. In a section in which such correspondences are the whole subject of the writing, how do we know where to begin in our analogy-making, and where indeed to end? Elen as a speaker limited by her ignorance is most dramatically so when recalling the boatswain on the Mary, whose Welsh she cannot fathom. In this part of *The Anathemata*, Jones's making and our reading of the text become remarkably similar processes of playful and bemused experimentation. I want now to turn to the latest part of 'The Lady of the Pool' to be written in order to suggest that Jones interrogated the limit-point of his analogical poetics.

In a letter to Desmond Chute, Jones described the root of Elen's interpretation of the boatswain's boasts thus:

From page 149 to 154, the L. of P. (owing to 'the bo's'n from Milford' (Wales) being the bo's'n of *The Mary*) is reminded of the late medieval Welsh tradition of Madoc's supposed journey to America, & that provides her (and myself) with an occasion to have a smile at various Welsh traditions.

(IN 71)

Jones's statement is not entirely accurate: he remembers it, but Elen is entirely unaware of Madoc. When Elen states that the biggest of the boatswain's boasts (the one 'to put the cap on all') was "that his Maddoxes, Owenses, Griffins and Company was a type of sea-king and very lords of admorality as had held to a course west by south till a new-found stony land were on their starboard", those 'Maddoxes, Owenses, Griffins and Company' are her version of what the boatswain really said: Madoc, son of Owain Gwynnedd. Whilst this specific reference is lost on Elen, it is retrievable for us with the use of Jones's note. But why would Jones want to occlude such references from Elen's comprehension?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>342</sup> Rene Hague identifies this erroneous version of the twelth-century mythic Welsh figure in his *Commentary*, almost certainly with Jones's help. See Hague (1977), in regard to *Ana* 150.

#### What does this achieve?

In the Welsh tradition to which Jones refers, Madoc is supposed to have sailed from Wales to America in the twelfth century, and so is an appropriate figure for a boatswain from Milford to boast about. Jones, we should emphasize, is not 'having a laugh at', but 'having a smile at'. There remains the sense of disparagement, and of drawing attention to difference, but there also enters into this attitude to Welsh an affectionate approach, a welcoming of the language by and into the host language English (an entry which occurs throughout the poem, of course). 'The Lady of the Pool', we should bear in mind, is probably the least macaronic section of the entire poem; only liturgical Latin features in Elen's monologue, which makes her historically plausible as a late-fifteenth-century woman. However, because her monologue incorporates a number of re-cycled stories she has heard from a number of lover-sailors, other languages do enter briefly. Elen describes her primary source for these tales, the captain of the Mary, as a "re-teller" himself (Ana 144); and one of his re-tellings is of the stories of the Welsh boatswain, which means that Welsh does enter 'The Lady of the Pool', though it does so in a form mutated by Elen's version of the boatswain's words. The 'smile' at the Welsh is motivated by Jones's love of a language from which, because his Welsh father made him speak English at their Brockley home, he remained an outsider throughout his life.

From an early stage in the writing of the boatswain's boasts, the perceived beauty of the sound of the Welsh language underlies Elen's re-telling, and is the reason why his boasting is redeemed for her: "Twere *too* much! / Yet, / you could not choose but hear / for, as parson says of Chrysostom, / his tongue *could* tell" (37P5OA; *DJP* LA1/5.154). The material form of Welsh is foregrounded by Elen's description in this early draft, but it is still only described. The linguistic meeting of Welsh and English in this chain of tale-telling has not yet begun channelling the form of the writing. However, its description at this draft stage opened up a space within which Jones could play. Gradually, over the course of a number of drafts, Elen's experience of the unfamiliar Welsh words of the boatswain enters the poem. In the final manuscript version, the one sent to the

typists, the high-point of this incursion of Welsh into Elen's monologue appears as she describes the boatswain's oaths. As with her version of Madoc, son of Owain Gwynnedd ('Maddoxes, Owenses, Griffins and Company'), Elen's lack of comprehension of what the boatswain is referring to leads her throughout the passage to give the nearest phonetic version she can to his words, and ends in nonsense. In the latest insertion to the passage, marked in the left margin below, this nonsense is dealt with in a different way.

and then, /

vow by their devil's Davy Gatheren |1| that Trojan Brutus learned them to fly 'em thus from halliards of papyrus in the Third Age of the World. |2|

How so be that, /

he sweared by the Tree of Chester / |3|

[Last insertion prior to type--script<sup>343</sup>]

by a certain Jessy Mowers and by the owls, with many darroes an' dammoes, Dukes and Jews and b' their god's great athlete, Samson, and by Cassandra, as I take to be Welsh for Delilah, though these two mortal women seem scarce sorted, yet truly both was wheedlers.

and by Our Lady of Penrice /
the Welshman's blesséd sibyl, |4|
by Tylows and Bynows unvouched of the Curia, |5|
by fizt Nut |6| the Welsh fairy, by a <the> holy
pillar of a Lacy or Lizzy |7| or some such,
by the rigmaroled wonders of a most
phenomenal beast called the Troit |8| or
such like, by a <elf-sheen> woman contrived of sweet
posies, |9| by Arthur Duke of the Britains,
his three Gaynores |10| and his Pernels besides,
by Gildas the Wise and by Wild Merlin
by the blessed <marvel> thorn of Orcop and by
the four fairly flowers that be said to blow
wherever a' Olwen walks in Wales |11|

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>343</sup> This part of Elen's monologue appears in the typescript (*DJP* LA2/1) as an integral part of the text (i.e. not as an insertion), so there must have been a MS sheet which superceded *DJP* LA1/9.31.

In this preparation for his boast, the boatswain swears by Christ, by the devil and damnation, then by an assortment of early Welsh saints, and then by elements from Welsh mythology as received from *The Mabinogion*. Elen appears to manage to convey come of the references to us with comprehension: Arthur, Gildas, Merlin, for example. However, Jones has to guide us towards the identification of those references she doesn't get in his note: "The Lady of the Pool of London is here giving her cockney version of: *Iesu Mawr*, Great Jesus; *y diawl*, the devil; *daro*, colloquial for dammit; *damnio*, damn; *Duwcs*, colloquial for *Duw*; *Duw*, God; *Samson*, St Samson of Dol; *Cas Andras*, *andras* is colloquial for the deuce and *cas* means hateful" (*Ana* 151, note 4). In these cases, Elen lists her closest Anglicized approximation for the boatswain's words, and makes clear the effect of their 'unshared background' on her lack of comprehension: "or some such...or such like" (*Ana* 152), she says to the captain.

Throughout this passage, the boatswain's words are approximated to English morphemes, some of which correspond to graphological *OED* lemmas (or encyclopaedic lemmas, in the case of proper nouns), and some of which do not. In logical terms, David Jones is breaking down the sound of the boatswain's words into phonemes, and reconstituting them with a set of both lexical ('Jessy', 'owls') and non-lexical ('darroes and dammoes') graphemes which are deemed best to represent Elen's spoken idiolect. The result of this reconstitution is, for Elen, nonsense, and for us, a kind of deferred sense, though one which can be easily cleared up by Jones's note.

Jones's treatment of the annotation for this passage as he was in the process of writing it reveals, I think, that he was consciously working at the limit-point of his analogical poetics. Beneath an early draft for the inserted passage we have been examining, one which first incorporates the saints 'unknown of the Curia' – the ones Elen hears as 'Gubbies, Tylows and Bynows' – Jones has written the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>344</sup> The only differences, other than the five inserted lines, are: (1) a line break inserted after 'Third Age of the World'; (2) the insertion of 'most' between 'Welshman's' and 'blesséd', and the capitalization of the first letters of 'Blesséd' and 'Sibyl'; (3) the addition of an apostrophe after the 'a' in order to stand for 'an' preceding the newly inserted 'elf-sheen'; (4) the replacement of 'fairly' with 'fay-fetched'.

following:

Cf. St. G<C>ybis, Heulo, St Beuno & <St> Samson abbot of calday, all 6<sup>th</sup> Cent Welsh saints not in the universal calendar.

Our Lady of Penthys in the Rhondda.

(DJP LA1/5.190)

This example of Jones including a note to his text on the same sheet as the text to which it applies is almost unique. This is, I feel, no coincidence: these notes are for Jones himself, not for us. Here, Jones can envisage his text becoming meaningless even to him; the signified, but also, ludicrously, the original signifier itself (that is to say, that originally spoken by the boatswain in Welsh) has here repositioned itself within the glossarial apparatus of the text.

In the latest part of the passage to be written (as indicated above) Elen attempts with very limited knowledge to make analogical associations. Here, she is puzzling out meaning from the mostly obscure sounds she hears. The familiar name of Samson causes Elen to explore an analogy between Cassandra in the Greek tradition and Delilah in the Judeo-Christian tradition, which she only succeeds in suggesting through their both being 'wheedlers'. When Elen momentarily interrupts her listed reportage of the boatswain's oaths in order to state that she takes Cassandra to be Welsh for Delilah, the gulf between her utter lack of comprehension and the actual signification intended by the boatswain is filled with an intermediate sense: she introduces a different way of experiencing these misheard oaths. In truth, if Elen takes Cassandra to be Welsh for Delilah, then no element of the Cassandra of Greek myth should detain her, because she was never implied by the boatswain's words. But in making such a deduction, and in stating that 'both was wheedlers', Elen brings the two together with the effect that the reader cannot help but experience the suggestion (and perhaps pursue it) that such wheedlers' existence in the Welsh mythological tradition indicates a real connection between these two widely separated cultures.

But the differences of Elen's and the boatswain's understanding of meaning also

implicitly commentates on the text's ways of meaning in general. It is only in the passage which Jones wrote last - the insertion - that Elen starts placing the Anglicized versions of the boatswain's words into relationships with each other. When the boatswain's 'St Samson of Dol' becomes for Elen the Samson of the Old Testament, the boatswain's oath-objects begin to be placed tentatively into a shape. Any shape which exists for a (hypothetical) Welsh mind between Duw ('God'), St Samson of Dol and Cas Andras ('the hateful deuce') is knocked down and then a new shape built out of 'Jews', Samson and Cassandra by Elen. Elen does this by tracing analogies between classical Greek and Old Testament myth whose values are measured by her own 'English' experience of culture in latefifteenth-century London. In other words, Elen takes a seemingly random set of data given to her by the boatswain and attempts to make a shape out of it using the knowledge she has acquired through its 'just lying about the place or site' of the artist, Jones wrote in the Preface: "You use the things that are yours to use because they happen to be lying about the place or site or lying within the orbit of your 'tradition'." (Ana 34). It would seem, then, that Elen is here beginning to speak her own 'anathemata' within Jones's written Anathemata.

Elen's rudimentary analogy-making echoes our own predicament in puzzling out correspondences in this passage, and indeed throughout the whole section. Her account of the boatswain from Milford's oaths seems therefore to draw attention to the way that the text requires us as readers to become Elens, interpreting its golden words (where it is Jones's tongue which could tell) from within the terms of our own contingent experience of the history of culture, and the terms of the text itself. Elen's unknowing analogising is an enactment of the predicament of the reader of the 'obscure' text.<sup>345</sup> The multitude of possibilities which the text presents to its readers is bewildering; and Elen Monica's own bewilderment indicates that Jones might well be having a smile at us, his readers, in this part

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>345</sup> The major criticism of *The Anathemata* in review was its obscurity. Jones was dismissive of this judgement in a letter to Jim Ede: "In a sense *The Ana*. is the least 'idiosyncratic' or 'obscure' of writings *as far as data* is concerned at all events. Now one would expect professional literary critics etc. to see all this straight away, wouldn't one?" (*DGC* 156). But he knew that, just because his poem was rooted in written history, that did not mean that the experience of it was not obscure. As he wrote to Harman Grisewood: "I *nearly* asked you, a bit back, what K[enneth] C[lark] thought of *Ana*. but I felt for *certain* that his reactions would be as you say. I think also that B. R. [Herbert Read] found it much the same, 'obscure'." (*DGC* 159) I think, therefore, Jones was well aware of the kind of reception *The Anathemata* was likely to get.

of his poem. Furthermore, in view of Jones's reliance upon his own notes to this passage as he was writing it, he must surely have had a smile at himself for making a poem which, despite being the shape of himself, threatens to slip over the edge of his own comprehension.

#### (iii) Analogy-making as gratuitous readerly making

This leads us to a crucial observation of the role of analogy in *The Anathemata* as a poem about making. The analogical relationships which are made apparent through Jones's use of notes throughout *The Anathemata* lead the reader to explore analogical ways of meaning in words, phrases or images which are not glossed. The only partial presence of notes leads to the recession of a discernible authorial intention; the text takes on a life of its own; the reader reads in freedom. This 'freedom', though, is only as free as the context of the rest of the text allows.

This is one of the characteristics of *Finnegans Wake* which Umberto Eco explores in his essay 'Joyce, Semiosis and Semiotics'. In this essay, Eco notes that the puns of Joyce's last work act in a similar way to metaphors; they lead the reader to make connections between domains which had not before been experienced as bearing any relation – they are the nodes of analogy-making:

A metaphor substitutes one expression for another in order to produce an expansion (or a 'condensation') of knowledge at the semantic level. The Joycean pun obtains analogous effects, but through two new procedures. On the one hand, it modifies the very structures of the expression: a pun such as *scherzarade* in fact produces a word which did not previously exist in the English lexicon. On the other hand, it produces a metaphor *in praesentia* because it does not annul one term, substituting it with another, but unites three preexisting words (*scherzo*, *charade*, and *Scheherazade*), in a sort of lexical *monstruum* (metaplasm), and in so doing it obliges us to see similarities and semantic connections between the joke (*scherzo*), the enigma (*charade*) and the narrative

Jones's representation of Elen's representation of the boatswain's boast tends toward the same linguistically driven analogy-making, except that Elen, as we saw above, is already trying to make the analogical connections, if ineffectually. As Eco continues his investigation into the way in which the *Wake* makes meaning as we read it, he makes it clear that the interpretation of Joyce's puns or portmanteaux is dependent on the context which the rest of the text provides. Eco finds that each component part of Joyce's portmanteaux is decoded by the (albeit 'ideal') reader's reference to other elements within the text. So, 'neanderthal', 'meander', 'tale' and 'tal' (German for valley) are only retrievable from the *Wake*-ese portmanteau word 'meandertale' (Joyce's description of the book he is writing) because the rest of the text conditions the reader for the undertaking of that retrieval through association.

They [the associations] actually produce the puns which define the book. The book is a *slipping beauty* (and thus a beautiful sleeper who, in sleeping, generates lapsus by semantic slippages, in remembering a flaw, and so on), a *jungfraud's messongebook* a psychoanalytic lie, a virginal trick, a young message, a dream and a confusion, and so on and so on, a labyrinth in which is found *a word as cunningly hidden in its maze of confused drapery as a fieldmouse in a nest of coloured ribbons*, and thus at last a *Meandertale*.

The pun-lexeme *meanderthaltale* becomes, in the end, the metaphoric substitution for everything that can be said about the book that is said by the[se] associative chains indicated.<sup>347</sup>

A summary conclusion Eco draws from this is: "([...]every text, however 'open' it is, is constituted, not as the place of all possibilities, but rather as a field of oriented possibilities)."<sup>348</sup>

'The Lady of the Pool' as a whole can be seen to exhibit this kind of analogical enmeshment through encyclopaedic nodes in the text – though, in contrast with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>346</sup> Eco (1990) 139-40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>347</sup> Eco (1990) 142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>348</sup> Eco (1990) 142.

Joyce's method, they are less likely to be mediated by strictly linguistic similarities. The notes Jones provides, exemplified by that which concerns Julia Flavia Helena as the locus for multiple associations, guide us towards this reading strategy. When Elen hears *Iesu Mawr* ('Great Jesus') as 'Jessy Mowers', this seemingly rural English name (particularly in respect of the act of 'mowing') encourages us to explore possible analogical structures which converge in it. The conditioning which the text performs upon us as readers leads us – or me at least – to experience in 'Jessy Mowers' a pulling together into interpenetration of other ideas, images or actions of the poem: the origin of agriculture ("first barley mow"; Ana 58); Jesus as man-the-maker (at the Supper, Christ uses "tillage fruit / man's-norm"; Ana 230); Christ as winnower at the Last Judgement (see Ana 208). Such commonalities lead us to construct the larger themes of the text, and then to continue relating new experiences of the text back to those posited The Eucharistic bread in the Cenacle appears throughout *The* themes. Anathemata, in combination with the Cross and the bread of the modern-day Mass, and with whose efficacy it is theologically identical. The Crucifixion is described as taking place "On Ariel mountain / on Flail-floor Hill / (here the articulated instrument of wood and here the / bruised flesh for the wheatoffering)" (Ana 187), and also as being erected on "his wheat-hill, sticking the Laidly Worm as threats to coil us all" (Ana 127). The Eucharist is instituted in "the upper cave of bread" (Ana 242), where Christ says "I am your Bread" (Ana 83). And again, in the Eucharist, we witness the wheat "Of Ceres / from the reserve-granaria" (Ana 203) - and, in conjunction with the wine of the Eucharist, that "of Liber, poured / of Ceres, broken" (Ana 230). So, the nonexistent, misheard name 'Jessy Mowers' - signifying nothing, if detached from the rest of the text, to Elen or us; and signifying only 'Great Jesus' if we look at the notes - participates in the analogical weaving of the text because that text has prepared us for this kind of analogical readerly experience of its component parts.

However, might not the readerly strategy we are guided towards by the figure Flavia Julia Helena license us to go further? 'Jessy Mowers', in being followed immediately "b'their God's great athlete, Samson", might be read as Jesse

Owens, who had won four gold medals at Hitler's Olympics in Berlin in 1936. Such an extrapolation would then lead us to place Christ ('Iesu Mawr'), Jesse Owens ('Jessy Mowers') and Samson ('God's great athlete', a phrase which encourages us to think of Owens) in analogical relationships with one another. Jones, who was sympathetic towards Hitler and Germany up to and during WWII, was of course horrified when knowledge of what happened at the Nazi death camps spread across Europe, and so could conceivably be referring to Owens. 349 'God's great athletes' – Samson and Owens – are individuals whose common feature is that they have become signs for resistance movements against the oppression of empire – and in this they are like Christ too. And yet, unlike in the perception of 'Jessy Mowers' as an invented name in which numerous sacramental characteristics associated with bread and agriculture which appear throughout the poem converge, there is no preparation made in the rest of the text for the experience of this name as even partially a sign for Jesse Owens. Thus the latter, though it might be suggested in some ways, is not experienced as a sufficiently legitimate component of the analogical structure of the text.

Nevertheless, if analogies are continually sought by the reader, such illegitimate analogies need to be experimentally constructed before they can be discarded. And here is, in my opinion, the central reason for Jones's development and deployment of an analogical poetics: the sorting of legitimate and illegitimate analogical connections by the reader, whether the judgements are erroneous or not, involves judgement, empirical selection, the exercise of the practical intellect – it is makerly. I believe that the reason why the construction of analogical structures beneath Elen's words became the very subject of 'The Lady of the Pool' was that Jones saw or felt that the puzzling-out of analogies is the most makerly procedure which a reader can undertake.

In 'Metaphor, Dictionary, and Encyclopaedia', Umberto Eco provides a compelling view of the way in which metaphors are interpreted. Eco's main critical point is that metaphors founded on analogy by proportionality, in contrast with those

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>349</sup> See Harman Grisewood's account of Jones's reaction, reproduced in Dilworth (1989) 159.

founded on analogy by attribution, can only be understood if a person organises his or her knowledge in the format of an encyclopaedia rather than a dictionary, and applies it synthetically rather than analytically. In an examination of each of the four exemplary metaphors Aristotle provides in the *Poetics*, Eco suggests that the first two – 'this ship of mine stands here' and 'indeed ten thousand noble things Odysseus did' – can be decoded using an analytical, dictionary-like organisation of knowledge.<sup>350</sup> Such an organisation is likened by Eco to a Porphyry's Tree, where a familiar taxonomy of knowledge is referred to and a solution found to the metaphor by travelling down the analytically organised branches of the Tree. By contrast, to interpret the metaphor of the third type – 'he was a lion' – we need to recognise the implicit analogy which underlies it: 'this particular man is to all men, as the lion is to the rest of the animals'.

Eco suggests that Aristotle's third and fourth types of metaphor are of the same kind. The correct interpretations of 'he was a lion' and 'the cup of Ares' require their location within a structure of analogy by proportionality, though the fourth type of metaphor requires greater cognitive flexibility in problem-solving. To interpret 'the cup of Ares', we need to establish the analogical domains in which 'cup' goes with 'Dionysus', and 'shield' goes with 'Ares'. Eco concludes that "the metaphor of the fourth type, in order to be understood, clearly needs encyclopaedic properties, such as round and concave, war and peace, life and death. Even though each of these pairs of properties can be arranged into one Porphyrian tree, all together cannot and *more* trees are required at the same time."351 But in the construction of multiple Porphyry's trees to meet the demands of the analogical metaphor, there is no preconceived and determinate shape which the mind follows: "A componential representation in the form of an encyclopaedia...is potentially infinite." We must therefore experiment with different nodes of the encyclopaedia of our knowledge and see where it takes us. Interpreting the meaning of the metaphor 'the cup of Ares' results in the experimental negotiation of similarities and differences: "metaphors set up not only similarities, but also oppositions. A cup and a shield are alike in their form (round and concave) but opposite in their function (peace vs. war), just as Ares

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>350</sup> Eco refers to *Poetics*, section 21: 1457a31-1458a16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>351</sup> Eco (1984) 261.

and Dionysus are alike insofar as they are gods, but opposite with regard to the ends they pursue and to the instruments they use."<sup>352</sup> The assertion of similarity in difference in such analogically-founded metaphors therefore results in the experience of a meaning which is fluid and open-ended.

Jones's data, and its meaning and value, was most certainly organised in his mind in the format of an encyclopaedia, hence the differential 'shape' which arose in Jones's mind depending on its current stimulus. This observation need not detain us. What I want to concentrate on in Eco's essay is the inescapable necessity of there being a *process* in the construction of meaning by analogy or metaphor by proportionality – a process which, in particular cases, is unending.

In attempting to interpret the *kenning* (an Icelandic riddle-metaphor) 'the house of the birds', Eco suggests that we will first compare houses with birds and find that they are fundamentally incompatible. The mind's reaction to such an impasse is represented by Eco thus:

[t]he domain of the encyclopaedia is widened...New Porphyry's trees are tried out...Frames or settings are superimposed...This is a case, then, of a metaphor that is 'good' or 'poetic' or 'difficult' or 'open,' since it is possible here to continue the process of semiosis indefinitely and to find conjunctions or contiguities at one node of a given Porphyry's tree and dissimilarities at lower nodes, just as an entire slew of dissimilarities and oppositions are found in the encyclopaedic semes. That metaphor is 'good' which does not allow the work of interpretation to grind to a halt..., but which permits inspections that are diverse, complementary, and contradictory – which does not appear to be different from the criterion of pleasure cited by Freud to define a good joke: thrift and economy, to be sure, but such that a shortcut is traced through the encyclopaedic network, a labyrinth which would take away too much time if it were to be explored in all its polydimensional complexity.<sup>354</sup>

The cognitive function operative in decoding a metaphor by proportionality

<sup>352</sup> Ihid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>353</sup> See for example my analysis of Jones's letter to William Blissett in Chapter 1.

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid*. 266.

which Eco describes here is manifestly one always in progress: analogical mappings are 'tried out' in a process which could go on 'indefinitely'; there are 'conjunctions or contiguities' and 'dissimilarities and oppositions' in tension with one another. In Elen Monica's monologue, the complex of analogical domains which we are led to map onto one another is immense. There is no possibility of even enumerating them, let alone 'solving' the analogical structure of the text. The ideal reading of the text, then, would be for it to be experienced as continual cognitive making by the reader, where analogical domains and elements are involved in a rapid kaleidoscopic movement of mapping and unmapping, numerous elements being compared at once. David Jones's making of the central section of *The Anathemata* was, I would argue, fundamentally oriented upon leading the reader into an infinite process of the making of meaning. He wanted his reader to partake of the same act of art by which he produced the work – he wanted to foster a readerly 'fitting together.'

#### Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored Jones's development of an analogical poetics in its broadest genetic context. We began by looking at analogy as the foundation of the Thomist system of thought, that which enables the discovery and expression of unity within and between the diverse elements and orders of being. Although Jones nowhere stated that he was aware of this central role of analogy in Thomism, I believe that his attraction to the Thomist system, being founded on the discovery of diversity in unity – the 'tangle of being' as Jones described it – which analogy allowed, led him to the development of a poetics which asserted the turning of everything into everything else, and which as a result expressed the fundamental unity of man's cultural life behind its multifarious regional and local manifestations. In the second section I traced Jones's development of the analogical poetics in the context of the material conditions of writing. Working as he had as a visual artist, Jones developed his text within the bounds of the page, finding its borders both stimulative of new material (or at least its necessity) and of his groping toward an eventual 'shape' to that material – the desire to unify the diverse elements of such emerging Jones, I argued, came to see the assertion of analogical material. correspondences through puns, metaphors, and allusions as the means by which an open unity could be set up within his text. This realisation led, in turn, to Jones's attempt to write a sequence which took this technique as its primary focus, and which took this eventual form as its whole subject. Thus, this chapter has traced the presence of analogy for *The Anathemata* in the movement from foundational idea, through experimental process, to eventual form. I then sought to place that eventual form in the context of the reader's experience of the poem, and suggested that an analogical poetics was the innovatory endpoint of Jones's making because it subsumed makerly activity within the experience of the poem: the reader is most makerly when puzzling out analogical correspondences. Thus we see another kind of 'making of *The Anathemata*: that which the reader is led to perform. This entry of the reader into our discussion is peculiarly appropriate in the examination of the later stages of the making of

*The Anathemata*. In the final chapter of this thesis we will explore how Jones's sense of the future reader of his poem influenced its process of production as a result of the text's shift from manuscript to type.

# **⋄ 5** ⋄

# 'One might have gone on & never got any of it out':

Completing the incompletable work, 1950-52

At the beginning of 1950, David Jones began to consider publishing some of the writings he had produced over the 13 years preceding. After definitively excluding all the Roman and Welsh material written up to 1945, which had been clinging to the final page of his working manuscript for the previous five years, Jones sent his 197-page manuscript for typing.<sup>355</sup> A year and a half later, after making two large strata of insertions to his typescript and correcting the rest, Jones met T. S. Eliot for lunch on or just before 1 October 1951 and handed over his corrected typescript.<sup>356</sup> By the end of November, Eliot wrote to Jones to offer a 10% royalty publication deal (see *DJP* CT1/2). After Jones accepted these terms, the completed typescript was sent to the Shenval Press to be set in galleys. In January 1952, impressions were taken from the galleys, one copy going to Faber's reader, and another to David Jones himself.

Having completed the corrections to the galley proofs and returned them to the Shenval Press, these corrections were incorporated into the page proofs in April 1952. These, again, were corrected, and in June, Jones received final revised

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>355</sup> Jones's direct quotation on page 73 of his typescript of part of Virgil's Eclogue IV (the so-called Messianic Eclogue) is taken from E. V. Rieu's translation in *The Pastoral Poems: A Translation of the Eclogues* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1949), which he was given as a gift by Helen Sutherland on 18 January 1950. So, the manuscript was typed no earlier than that date.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>356</sup> In a letter of that date, Jones describes taking his "manuscript" to Eliot. Jones had been working on the typescript for at least the previous six months, and the first galley proofs were ready for proofing within four months. I think it likely therefore that Jones gave his typescript rather than manuscript to Eliot, and referred to it as his manuscript for ease of reference (see *DGC* 152).

page proofs, sewn and bound in paper. Incorporating further corrections in August 1952, these pages were then set for octavo printing. The process – from the moment Jones sent his manuscript to the typists, to the publication of *The Anathemata* – took two and a half years.

Near the end of that period, in August 1952, Jones wrote that he saw his poem as much more unified than at the time he wrote the Preface, wherein he expressed doubts about his achievement (Ana 33). When he wrote the Preface, in June 1951, he had made almost all the eventual alterations to his typescript and was preparing it to be handed over to Eliot. The only difference, then, between the text in mid-1951 and August 1952 was that the same words had been altered from a typewritten existence, with a multitude of small handwritten alterations and large typed insertions on a mixture of typing paper and carbons, to being type-set in pages, with headers, page numbers and notes on the same page – and all of these on book-sized pages exhibiting regularized margins, which, at the revised page proof stage, were printed on publication-quality paper.<sup>357</sup> That is to say, whilst the language of the text – the lexicographical material of the text's semiological structure - remained the same, the bibliographical material form of the text, in altering, assumed a role in its semiological structure which impacted on the text's effect. This material shift, which began to occur when the manuscript was first typed, introduced a new consideration in the making of *The Anathemata*.

I believe that an important effect of the shift from manuscript to typescript was the foregrounding of the reader for Jones. In this shift, the aura of the private which clings to handwriting was replaced by the sense of the public voice pertaining to the typewritten script, the precursor to publication ('publish', from L. *publicare*, 'to make public'). Although Jones continued to make insertions of varying magnitudes to his poem after it had become a typescript, and then a set of galley-proofs, and then a set of page-proofs, its typed and then type-set form acted as a conduit to the form which those insertions took. No longer was Jones

 $<sup>^{357}</sup>$  The galleys (*DJP* LA3/1-2) were on heavy paper (probably necessary because of their size – about three times the length of a normal page, though the same width). The first page proofs (*DJP* LA3/3-6) were on cheap, thin paper.

making insertions which followed the thematic and syntactic furrow formed for them by the pre-existent text (as identified in the early stages of the making, in Chapter 1); neither was he solely placing new material in analogical juxtaposition with his text (as he did in the latter stages of the making, as identified in Chapter 4). His typescript insertions exhibit a consciousness of the presence of the reader – they exhibit a kind of watched-ness.

In the first section of this chapter, I take as a starting point the dramatic increase to the number of annotations to the poem which Jones included after it had moved out of manuscript. This attests, I think, to the reader becoming a palpable presence for him. I propose that when Jones's poem entered type, his experience of it was divested of his authorial role. This enabled him to see how his text needed to be presented. Such presentation did not involve altering the lexical structure of the text so much as organising the spatial disposition of that pre-existent structure. Space, I will argue, is a kind of true 'narrator' of *The Anathemata*: over and above the voice of the meditative consciousness and of the various speakers in *The Anathemata*, the spatial arrangement of the text superintends all the nuanced juxtapositions, in terms of both form and content, which Jones sought to set up in his poem. I explore three different scales of spatial arrangement – the line, the verse/paragraph, and the section – and suggest that an integral element to Jones's use of space is that it enabled what he called the 'twisting' of the text.

In the second section, I begin by asking why it might have been that Jones continued to produce fresh additions to his text after publication, and to write them in one of his published copies of *The Anathemata*. This leads me to the judgement that the making of *The Anathemata* never really ended. This in turn leads me to two questions which might seem to be mutually exclusive: Was Jones's making unending because making was the primary activity which ascribed meaning? Or, was he simply dissatisfied with the work he had produced? In order to assess the relationship between these two questions I place his additions to this copy of *The Anathemata* in the context of the opposition between publication as the production of a utile mass-produced-for-

sale object, and the gratuitous making which produced that text. In the end, I think we see the answers to the two questions become intimately connected.

# I. Spatial Poetics: Twisting the Text

## (i) Considering the reader

What is the difference in meaning between handwriting and type? To imagine an admittedly unsophisticated example: if one morning I received a handwritten letter from my bank and a typed letter from my wife, I would under almost every conceivable circumstance feel that things had gone topsy-turvy. Such associative conditionings are an active participant in the way writers treat their writing, and their effects are various. After the collection's publication in May 1907, James Joyce presented Nora Barnacle with a handwritten version of Chamber Music for Christmas 1909.<sup>358</sup> On one of the manuscript sheets of The Waste Land, Ezra Pound writes that he will have to wait for it in typescript in order properly to be able to assess its value.<sup>359</sup> David Jones gave copies of *The* Anathemata to friends covered in his handwritten notes, sent letters to close friends using manuscript sheets from his poetry, and was willing to give manuscript sheets to friends who were interested in his writing.<sup>360</sup> In the difference between handwriting and type, then, we find a complex of issues, including the opposition of private and public exchange (and so signs of intimacy), impressions of the objective and subjective voice, competing conventions of reading, anxieties in relation to individuality and authority, and scales of authorial presence in a kind of differential aura of the written.

In *The Study of Modern Manuscripts: Public, Confidential and Private* (1993), Donald H. Reiman classifies two of the three types of manuscript of his subtitle

<sup>358</sup> Ellmann (1982) 260 and 307-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>359</sup> Beside an excised passage originally opening 'Death by Water', Pound has written: "Bad – but cant *[sic]* attack until I get typescript." Eliot (1971) 54-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>360</sup> See Jones's comment to Desmond Chute that he was going to erase the words from one of his drafts which were on the reverse of the sheet he had written the current letter on, but he decided not to (*IN* 41). In a letter to W. F. Jackson Knight (*KFP* 23 December 1950), Jones remembers having promised to send some of his manuscript to him.

## according to the following criteria:

*Public* manuscripts include...formal compositions prepared for publication or other transmission (such as lectures, sermons, treatises, histories, poems, and novels)...Public manuscripts record texts that their authors expect or hope will be made accessible to a multiplicity of readers whom the authors do not know...*Private*, or *personal*, manuscripts, on the other hand, are addressed to specific people, selected in advance, whom the writers know – or hope – will take personal interest in them. Some documents may be intended only for the eyes of the writer (e.g., a private diary or aide-mémoire) or for the eyes of one other person (e.g., a love letter)...A category of private manuscripts important to students of literature but also relevant to other fields is the rough drafts and intermediate revises that represent stages in the gestation of a written text between its original inception and its wider publication.<sup>361</sup>

Of importance here is the implicit recognition that the writing of a work of literature produces private manuscripts at first, and then later on a public manuscript. The question I think we need to ask here is: To what extent does the material division correspond to a conceptual division in the mind of the writer who produces those manuscripts? And the answer I would submit is: Not at all. Manuscripts are either private or public, or contain evidence for a temporal shift from the former state to the latter. A good example of this is identified by Daniel Ferrer at the beginning of 'Reflections on a Discarded Set of Proofs' from *Ulysses*, in which he describes what the inscription of 'Bon a tirer' (a formula which states: 'Ready for printing') upon a manuscript achieves: "The institution of the 'Bon a tirer' has a great importance for genetic criticism, for it marked historically the simultaneous birth of the modern text and its counterpart, the pre-text, the authorial working manuscript. It established a disjunction between the private sphere of creation and the public sphere of the printed text."362 So, a manuscript which is at one moment private might at the next moment become public. But Joyce's feeling for his manuscript just prior to writing 'Bon a tirer' as compared with, say, two years prior to writing it are likely to have been different. The feeling of 'public-ness' which attaches itself to a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>361</sup> Reiman (1993) 38-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>362</sup> Ferrer in Hayman and Slote (1995) 50.

manuscript, I would argue, is one which gradually grows.

This gradual transition from private to public is likely to involve a shift in the self-reading and editorial strategies of writers. In relation to Jones, it is important to note that his 'final manuscript', which was sent to his typists, was produced as a private manuscript in spite of its public function. This much is clear if we consider a number of aspects to the material evidence of the 'final manuscript'. First of all, up to three different foliational orders are contained on the sheets of this final manuscript. This means that sheets drafted as early as 1945 formed part of a reading copy which was still being drafted and corrected some four to five years later. Second, whole blocks of text have been deleted on some sheets in the final manuscript because the same passage exists within a different foliational order on either the preceding or subsequent sheet in the manuscript. This occurred as a result of Jones's disorderly fragment-insertional method, which introduced multiple discontinuities and repetitions as Jones transferred the locus of his writing from 'textual stream' to 'paginal unit' (as explored in the previous chapter, and in chapter 1). These crossings-out of repetitions were necessary because, again, the text was gradually being cobbled together from the last (but not 'final') copies which Jones produced at widely different times. Third, the marking-off of line ends which Jones undertook on the sheets which constitute this final manuscript (denoting that these lines are 'verse' for the typists) has been carried out to a huge number of earlier draft versions which do not form part of this 'final' manuscript. We can therefore conclude that the 'final', and so public, manuscript of The Anathemata was assembled from private manuscript sheets.

This is important because it provides the context for an understanding of why Jones's way of reading and treating his text occurred *after* it entered typescript: no dedicated 'fair copy' manuscript was prepared by Jones for those typists. I believe that Jones worked in this way because handwriting for him was *always* private. Jones was probably unable to produce a fair copy manuscript precisely because the hand-written-ness of such a document would vocalise its contingent state, and so invited alterations which would make it no longer a fair copy

manuscript. The transition to typescript seems, then, to have been a *cause* rather than an effect of the text's move towards publication.

In view of this, it should not surprise us that in the writing of *The Anathemata*, the shift from the handwritten to the type-set had a profound effect on the way the book's making proceeded. The main reason for this is that, when the typescript, galley and page proofs were made up, Jones became at least partially estranged from his text as his – in terms of its writtenness. The typographically rendered condition of the text led Jones to experience the text as a made thing rather than a being-made thing; he was inescapably led to experience his text in a different way: as a public artefact. This in turn led him to reflect on what the reader required in order to experience the text in a certain way. This is the reason why subtitle, preface, epigraphs, illustrations, and the theme-oriented notes (and not the strictly data-oriented ones) were only written or attached to the text after the typescript was made. With the transposition of the text from handwritten to typed came a consequent shift in Jones's perception of the fundamental nature of his text: from one written to one read: from 'his' to 'theirs'. From this point onwards, the reader – or the idea of the reader – is a continual presence in the process of the making of *The Anathemata*.

Interviewing him as part of the *Poet Speaks* series in 1966, Peter Orr investigated with Jones the presence of the reader during the process of writing.

PO: Is the idea of communication to a large audience important to you in your writing, or don't you think about it?

DJ: No, I don't see how you can possibly think about it. I never think about it at all when I am doing the stuff because you only say, either in words, or if it's a visual thing, drawing, what seems to you to be appropriate to that particular form and content.

PO: When you're writing you don't think, 'Oh yes, this might not be understood, we must make it clearer'? Or do you simply do that by adding an apparatus of notes?

# DJ: Yes, rather by the latter method[...]<sup>363</sup>

Throughout this thesis, though particularly in the first two chapters, I have maintained that Jones's writing process was rooted in his experience of his text as a reader. However, this reading had always been mediated by an experience of that text as a private artefact.<sup>364</sup> What is considered 'appropriate to that particular form and content' is decided in a reciprocal interaction of the reader engaged in writing. Once the text entered print, however, that readerly role was relocated: Jones was asking himself not, 'What effect is this having on *me*?'; but, 'What effect will this have upon *them*?' The more the writing visibly resembled a book, the more Jones was able to treat his text as if he was not its writer. Print placed Jones in the position of no longer 'doing the stuff'.

This is registered in Jones's preoccupation with his notes after the manuscript was typed. Whilst editing and making networks of insertions to his typescript, Jones added 63 completely new notes, and added substantive content to 36 notes; at the same time, he deleted only five notes completely, and deleted a substantive part of only 10 notes.<sup>365</sup> In other words, when Jones's poem went into type – when he felt the reader approach – he felt an equal and consequent need to supplement his text with a very great deal of further annotation: the reader, he realised, needed to be more firmly shepherded through the text.

After the galley proofs of *The Anathemata* were printed, however, it seems that Jones was asked to reduce the number and size of his notes by the Faber reader: at this stage Jones removed part or the whole of 24 notes. In every case except one (the note on 'Plygain lights' on LA3/1.61), it is the concluding part of the note which he deleted, whether removing the concluding 330 words from the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>363</sup> Jones, referring to his own identification of some critics who call notes "pedantic", counters that "it seems only mere politeness." Orr (1966) 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>364</sup> Such a 'privacy' in regard to his works can perhaps be detected in Jones's attitude to selling his paintings. Regarding the watercolour *Vexilla Regis* which Jones sold to Jim Ede's mother, William Blissett noted in 1959 that "he [Jones] wishes he had kept the picture, as he needs his main 'things' around him." Blissett (1981) 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>365</sup> I use the word 'substantive' to denote data or the interpretation of data, but not pronunciation. Data and its interpretation in a note add measurably to the semantic effect of a reading of the poem; knowledge of pronunciation, although important for the form of the poem, does not.

500-word note on 'old Roma / the yet efficient mid-wife of us' (*DJP* LA3/1.21), or of a single final sentence only, as in the case of the note on the Teutonic Cimbri venturing into Italy in 103 BC (on *DJP* LA3/1.59); (most of the deletions are of between 60 and 100 concluding words). These deletions are made because, after presenting the data in relation to his poetic text (the textual source, the year of a particular event, brief details of the event, etc.), Jones tended to feel a compulsion to interpret the significance of each individual piece of data, which was already happening in – indeed was the job of – the poetic text which such notes glossed.

This post-manuscript process of continual elaboration, qualification and interpretation in glosses was apparently ended at the galley proof stage, then, under the direction of the Faber reader. However, Jones also added, or added substantively to, 15 notes in the galley proofs, additions which the Faber reader could not prevent from going to the printer. Once the pages were set from these revised galley proofs (and perhaps Jones was using a bit of cunning here) the deletion of large swathes of material from the notes would no longer be possible: such an action would leave numerous blank spaces between the poetic text and the notes. In *The Anathemata*, blank space is of course a dominant feature; but it is not accidental blank space. Although Jones's use of space had been a feature throughout the making of *The Anathemata*, it was when his poem entered type that the potential for introducing a new strain of opposition in his text became his dominant way of working. The spatial structures of the text in the form of the free-verse poetic line, the verse or prose paragraph, and the section division, were manipulated by Jones in order to set up resistances within the text. These resistances Jones referred to as 'twistings'.

### (ii) 'Twisting' and 'turning'

'Twisting' and 'turning' were key terms for Jones. When *The Anathemata* was barely begun, Jones wrote to Jim and Helen Ede in relation to Prudence Pelham, the woman he had been in love with since the mid-1920s: "Dear Prudence got married *very sudden* the other day to a man called Guy Branch...I love her very

very much and our friendship has meant everything to me. So naturally, however much this may be a 'good thing', I've naturally had a twisting, trying to get all the tangled delicate emotional bits and pieces tied up and sorted out" (DGC 91). Jones recognised that this particular kind of 'twist' had a long tradition. In Book 18 of the *Odyssey*, Penelope is made even more beautiful by Pallas Athena as she sleeps. "This," wrote Jones to Grisewood in 1956, "was all in order to give the suitors an extra twisting" (DGC 169).<sup>366</sup> Love, or desire – which as we saw in the Introduction is a primary motivation for the gratuitous act (the tying of ribbons, the giving of chocolates) – may begin as a solely pleasurable thing; the 'twisting' occurs when pleasure is experienced at the same time as, and is indeed the source of, pain. For Jones, an end to the 'twisting' caused by Prudence Pelham's marriage was only obtainable through getting all the emotional confusion it caused 'tied up and sorted out'. This was of course the very opposite effect which Jones wanted to achieve in his poetry: the un-tied up and un-sorted out tangle and mess was an integral element to his subject. Thus the necessity of introducing the 'twist' to his text, as we shall soon see.

This notion of twisting was related to Jones's wider conception of specific moments of time as 'turns'. The manuscript Jones had typed in 1941, and which was to open his long poem *The Book of Balaam's Ass*, concludes with a lamentation on the sterility of modern architecture (cf. *Ana* 49-50) in which his contemporary London is described as being "at the turn of a civilization" (*RQ* 210). The term used in this Spenglerian condemnation of the modern West is used throughout *The Anathemata*, though usually in relation to the events of the Passion: the Last Supper is described as taking place "after the vernal turn / when in the Ram he runs" (*Ana* 52); the crucifixion as taking place "on this hill / at a time's turn / not on any hill / but on this hill" (*Ana* 53); the supper or crucifixion as occurring "at the turn of time / not at any time, but / at this acceptable time" (*Ana* 58). But Jones also described the moment when fire was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>366</sup> Jones is referring to the following part of Book XVIII of *The Odyssey*: "It was now that Athene, goddess of the flashing eyes, put it into the wise head of Icarius' daughter Penelope to appear before the Suitors, with the idea of fanning their ardour to fever heat and enhancing her value to her husband and her son...Athene carried her scheme a step further by making Penelope so drowsy that her whole body relaxed and she fell back sound asleep on the couch where she was sitting. The great goddess then endowed her with more than human gifts in order that the young lords might be overcome by her beauty...Her appearance staggered the Suitors. Their hearts were melted by desire, and every man among them prayed that he might hold her in his arms." Homer (1948) 203.

first intentionally made ("the Easter of technics") in this way: "What ages since / his other marvel-day / when times turned? / and how turned!" The reason why it is 'his other marvel-day' is that this description immediately follows the description of the Willendorf Venus, the making of which marks a 'turn' for man which is gratuitous. Here, in the case of the 'Easter of technics', it is 'other' because motivated by the utile consideration of the provision of warmth. Moreover, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September is described as taking place at "About the turn of the year" because the end of summer on the 12th, and the Ides of Autumn on 13th September, are "at the turn" itself (Ana 165). The proximity of this particular Feast to the end of Summer, I would argue, further encouraged Jones to use the word 'turn' in this context, for he described the Cross as that upon which the whole world turns. Finally, every successful making involves 'turning a corner', as Jones described in a letter of 1938 (DGC 83 and 84) and in his 'Absalom Mass' fragment (see RQ 115; DJP LR5/1.327).

There is something in Jones's conception of moments in time which is intimately connected with some sense of a 'turning'. At that moment everything becomes different, whilst outwardly remaining the same; objects or actions take on a new function as sign, or signs take on a new signification. There is in the very structure of the poetic line in Jones's work a sense of hanging on the image at the end of the line, and then a drop to a following line which complements the preceding line. Of course, this is by no means a formal attribute unique to Jones. However, it is important to remark that Jones's lines of verse are mostly discrete units which are subtly modulated by what follows; enjambement is quite rare in Jones, making it all the more powerful. This much is obvious if we look again at one of the passages already quoted above. On page 53 of *The Anathemata* (see Figure 31) the syntactic and perspectival 'turns' of the text are coincident with its spatial turns as verse:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>367</sup> 'Stat crux dum voluitur orbis' Jones hand-writes at the foot of *DJL Ana* #2.242.

out of time, before all oreogenesis

on this hill

at a time's turn

not on any hill

but on this hill.

Figure 31 – Detail from Ana 53

Here, as elsewhere, the reference to a 'turn' in time seems to necessitate a repetition, as if the poem were replaying that turn in time over and over again, trying to find out its secret. And it is the occluded nature of that turn which seems to make it so powerfully attractive to Jones. The shift from pleasure to pain (love), from culturally alive to culturally dead (contemporary civilization), from a world prior to and after Christ's salvation of man (crucifixion), from preman to man (the first gratuitous making), from Summer to Autumn (12-13 September), "from a muddle to a clarity" (every successful making) – all of these are similar in that they involve, for Jones, an outwardly imperceptible 'twist' or 'turn' in time.

The spatial twists Jones deployed in his poetry are of the same order: the words remain unchanged, but the effect of those words is altered by their relative spatial disposition. In a poem whose title-concept propounds the reality of a number of dualities in tension (as explored in Chapter 2; see also *Ana* 27-9), the attraction of setting up such 'twisting' structures becomes apparent. The moment of a 'twisting' is the moment at which it a thing becomes concurrently its own opposite: it is the dialectical turn prior to synthesis – it is manifestly 'anathematical'.

After Jones had returned his final set of page proof corrections to Faber and Faber, he described to Harman Grisewood in a letter of August 1952 what would be the published form of the poem. Whilst negotiating the illustration of his book under the pressure of financial restrictions and a characteristic dissatisfaction with his work in reproduction was clearly a difficult process, Jones approved of one of his illustrations in particular: "I think the Merlin

picture is a good idea as it gives the right twist to that 'Mabinog's Liturgy' section" (*DGC* 153-4). I will now attempt to unpick the way in which Jones's illustration twists his text.

The beginning of 'Mabinog's Liturgy', which faces 'Merlin-Land' (*Ana* 184-5; see Figure 32), reintroduces the device by which Christ's Passion is dated in relation to historical events (which was departed from in the course of the second section, 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', on *Ana* 91).

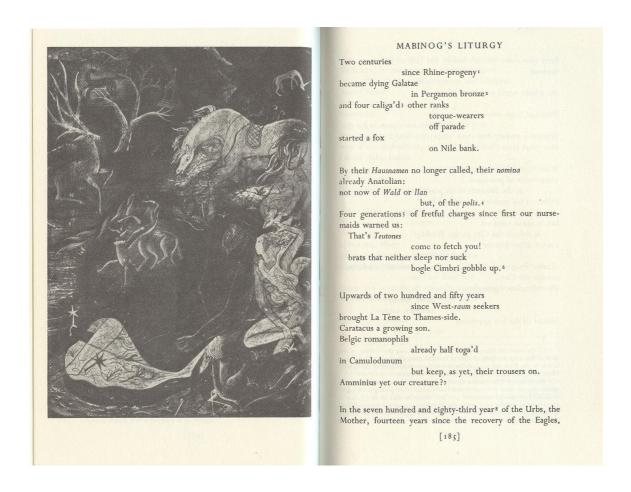


Figure 32 – Ana 184-5, including 'Merlin-Land' (1931)

The very first item of data which appears in 'Mabinog's Liturgy' is the bronze original of the stone sculpture 'The Dying Gaul' (see Figure 33), which depicts a defeated Celt warrior: "Two centuries / since Rhine-progeny / became dying Galatae / in Pergamon bronze".

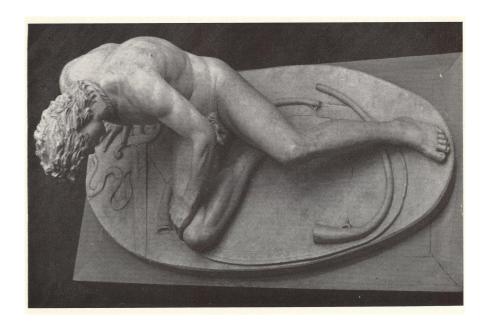


Figure 33 – 'The Dying Gaul', reproduced opposite DG 56

Within a page, the text has traversed those two centuries and reached the time of the Passion itself (that which it has been steadily approaching with the dating conceit throughout the poem so far), but it is the political apparatus of Roman Judaea which the text at first dwells upon. "The seven hundred and eighty-third year of the Urbs" is, as Jones points out in his note, the year of the Passion (34 AD) as dated from the founding of Rome; the absence of spaces between "Tiberius Claudius Nero Caesar" attests to the power and (for Jones) the homogenizing effect of the Roman Empire – the very power that defeated and killed the Celt in the opening image. Following the identification of these general characteristics of the Roman Empire, Lucius Ælius Sejanus, the commanding officer of the Roman army, appears (*Ana* 186-7), and a visual poetics of the utile is deployed (boxed in the quotation below) to emphasize the Roman political and bureaucratic power-structure of which Sejanus is a part.

Lucius Ælius Sejanus

senior officer, combined command
(Castra Praetoria). Chief law-officer (criminal jurisdiction)
outside the City.

Co-ordinator of groupings:

civil, military security, secret.

Holder of the key portfolios

place-giver and power-channel.

Venerated in image on the legionary *signa*his weather-eye on the Diaspora.

Joint-Consul Prime Minister cosmocrat

in his apex year.

(Ana 186-7)

So, facing Jones's 'Merlin-Land' illustration, and on the following page, is presented in the text the utile power which licensed the crucifixion of Christ. Shortly after this passage, there comes a shift towards emphasizing the sacramental attributes of the act which will occur "On Ariel mountain / on Flailfloor hill" (Ana 187): the poem begins to switch sides, dwelling at first on the "Blossom'd Stem", and then digressing to the moment of Mary's conception in "that germinal March". From a particular emphasis on the possibility of life growing out of death ("d' sawn-off timbers blossom / this year?...Can mortised stakes bud?") the poem moves into a meditation on the Virgin (with interludes about Christ) for the rest of the section. The language used, in addition to the use of references to the liturgy of Mary, presents the Virgin in the guise of multiple linguistic, geographical, mythological and historical Welsh figures (Ana 195-201, 210-219), and Virgil's Virgin of the Fourth Eclogue (Ana 213, 219). Flowers blossom throughout the section (Ana 188, 190, 191, 192, 205-6); there is a focus on richly embroidered ritual clothing (Ana 193, 198-9); stars and night are repeatedly mentioned (Ana 189, 193, 194, 195, 199, 205, 206, 215, 216, 220, 221); animals kneel at the byre (Ana 206); Argos the dog (from the Odyssey) appears – "Let him come gently", says the witch, "See! he would reach to lick / the trickling blossoms / by the ancient stone" (Ana 192); and Christ (as Jones's note identifies) appears as Arthur, "the Director of Toil" (Ana 197). Dominating all of these images is the relationship between Mary and Christ, and the dependence of Christ's coming upon Mary's fiat mihi: "It all hangs on the fiat" (Ana 214) says Marged the witch to her two sisters, these three being the speakers of the latter half of this section.

The text of 'Mabinog's Liturgy' praises Mary, and offers a kind of literary *pièta*, a pictorial and sculptural tradition which has always transposed Mary's maternal care for the Christ-child on to images of his dying adulthood. Jones presents the anachronism thus:

Not Lalla, lalla, lalla

not rockings now

nor clovered breath for the health of him as under the straw'd crucks that baldachin'd in star-lit town where he was born, the maid's fair cave his dwelling.

(Ana 194)

The drawing 'Merlin-Land' 'twists' the text summarized above in several ways. The main figure in the drawing, echoing the Gaul who appears at the very beginning of the section by appearing to be dying, emphasises the destructive action of empire described immediately afterwards. However, the movement of the text makes both these figures types for Christ, or Christ types for them. The scattered, fragmented images in the text of glimmers of life (flowers blossoming and stars shining in the night) and of man's making (in the embroidered clothes which Christ and Mary wear) are brought together in the illustration in the sense that they are all three in the drawing, but also in the sense that they are all three indicated by *the very same marks within the drawing*. (See Figure 34)

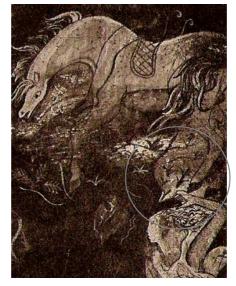


Figure 34 – 'Merlin-Land', detail

Above Arthur's and the woman's head, beneath the belly of the prancing horse, are a number of blooming plants. These, however, also appear as the (arthistorically traditional) stars of Christ's divinity and Mary's role in bringing forth the incarnation. Moreover, they also appear as the embroidered pattern on the veil which the female figure beside Arthur has above her face (a star and a flower are brought together, though without this kind of inscriptional identity, on the embroidered cloth in the very foreground too; see Figure 34, above). Arthur's dogs and horse prance around him, which counterpoint the text's "breathing animals-all / do kneel" (Ana 206). Our experience of the movement of the text from empire to Mary's relationship with Christ turns Arthur in the illustration into Arthur/Christ, and so the interaction of the female figure with him turns the illustration into a kind of *pièta* and an image of the resurrection at once. Thus the movement of the figure of Arthur/Christ becomes dualized: he is both falling and rising, dying and resurrecting. This in turn prepares a reciprocal action in relation to the figure of the Dying Gaul in the text facing the illustration, which, in becoming subsumed into the figure of Christ, is also symbolically resurrecting: Jones's poem is resisting the effects of Empire – Jones writes of poetry as resistance in his Preface (see Ana 21-2) - by re-calling the Dying Gaul, but also 'twisting' it into the Resurrecting Gaul.

This interpretation of the twisting effect of the combination of text and illustration which Jones identified is only intended as an indication of one possible strand which stands for a general fabric of 'twisting' which the illustration introduces to the text. The co-presence of stars-flowers-embroideries in a single pictorial image is, I think, justification for making such an assertion. The illustration is telling us to read *everything* as multiply signifying, just as the figure of Flavia Julia Helena was used by Jones in a note to direct our reading of Elen as a locus of analogy, as discussed in the previous chapter. The effect of this is to twist the images of the text into making a co-signification of ostensibly negational states. Thus the Jonesian 'twist' or 'turn' modifies a thing from a singular state into a tropological one: 'trope' from Gr.  $\tau p \acute{o} \pi o \varsigma$ , 'a turn' (*OED*).

So, whilst the use of the word 'twist' in relation to works of literature would

conventionally refer to a temporal movement within the narrative movement of the work — it turns away from its expected course to some completely unexpected outcome — in Jones's use of the word the moment of a 'twisting' is the moment of the introduction of a co-presence of conflicting states, which of course was one of the major requirements of Jones's 'anathemata'. We will soon turn to an examination of the different ways in which Jones applied 'twisting' structures to his text through modifying the spatial organization of an unchanging text. First, though, I want to explore Jones's sense of how textual space operated as a means of signification.

#### (iii) Visual-verbal possibilities: Space as punctuation

All printed poetry must, of course, be spatially arranged. In the modernist period, the conventions of that arrangement became increasingly contested. The recession of recognizable forms in modern poetry was matched by, and connected to, an equal recession of recognizable visual forms because prosodic form had always superintended spatial form. If a poet was liberated from conventional prosodic form, why should he or she not be liberated also from conventional spatial form? Thus we see a combination of prose poetry, free verse and concrete poetry attack prosodically conventional poetry in the modernist period.<sup>368</sup>

Between 1914 and the end of the decade, T. S. Eliot became one of the foremost English language poets whose work resisted conventional verse forms. He was deeply indebted to the French Symbolists in this respect, but grew exasperated by the theorisation, ostensibly after the Symbolists, of a free verse in which the rejection of conventional verse forms seemed to extend to the rejection of form altogether. In a part of *The Music of Poetry* (1942) which David Jones marked

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>368</sup> David Jones's work is neither concrete poetry, nor pattern poetry. Concrete poetry, which emerged in the 1910s and '20s, and again in the 1950s and '60s, presents words which are not syntactically related to one another (see Bradford *The Look of It* (1993), Chapter 7, which excludes concrete poetry from a 'sliding scale' of visually-verbally double patterned poetry on these grounds). Pattern poetry, which has existed in Western and Eastern cultures for millennia, is iconic; that is, the 'pattern' of a poem signifies through constructing a visible resemblance to a thing in the world. A good example of this is George Herbert's 'Easter-Wings', in which the lineation of the two verses makes the poem resemble two pairs of wings.

(approbatively) with four marginal crosses, Eliot writes:

As for 'free verse', I expressed my view twenty-five years ago by saying that no verse is free for the man who wants to do a good job. No one has better cause to know than I, that a great deal of bad prose has been written under the name of free verse.<sup>369</sup>

This is the editor at Faber and Faber writing, and his exasperation with those who would be published by him is palpable. For Eliot, 'free verse' does not mean freedom from rules; it means freedom from *conventional* rules. This becomes apparent if we turn to 'Reflections on *Vers Libre*' (1917), the essay written twenty five years earlier which Eliot mentions:

The most interesting verse which has yet been written in our language has been done either by taking a very simple form, like the iambic pentameter, and constantly withdrawing from it, or taking no form at all, and constantly approximating to a very simple one. It is this contrast between fixity and flux, this unperceived evasion of monotony, which is the very life of verse.<sup>370</sup>

In Eliot's description, the life of poetry is dependent upon a contrast between what *is*, and what is *implied* – between the abstract and the actual. If the modernist poet finds that conventional forms (like the iambic pentameter) must be relinquished, he or she must be involved in producing the second class of poem which Eliot identifies: one which is formless, but approximates toward a form. But this means that the poet begins with nothing, and the form of each poem must be developed out of its unique self. One of Jones's descriptions of his method of writing articulates both the mysteriousness of this process, and how it is the necessity of the formal contrast which Eliot describes which dictated the form *The Anathemata* took – switching between prose and verse – during its writing: "I...seem," he wrote to Desmond Chute, "only to proceed at all by what is (I suppose) a *prose method* breaking out, where the tension demands it, into a *quasi-verse method*" (*IN* 48; my emphasis underlined). The tensions in Jones's text operate at a number of different scales: between consecutive lines, in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>369</sup> David Jones's annotations to T. S. Eliot's *The Music of Poetry* (1942) 26; David Jones's Library, NLW. <sup>370</sup> Eliot (1975) 33.

patternings across numerous lines, in patternings within and between paragraphs/verse-paragraphs, and – the largest – between the text and its section divisions. We are almost ready to begin our analysis of the spatial 'turnings' or 'twistings' in Jones's text. First, though, we should explore Jones's conception of the interaction of sound and sense.

At one point in the Preface to *The Anathemata*, Jones first describes how the space of the poem functions, and then reveals its subordinate position to the ideal aural existence of the text:

Whilst marks of punctuation, breaks of line, lengths of line, grouping of words or sentences and variations of spacing are visual contrivances they have here an aural and oral intention. You can't get the intended meaning unless you hear the sound and you can't get the sound unless you observe the score...the spacings are of functional importance; they are not there to make the page look attractive – though it would be a good thing should that result also.

(Ana 35-6)

In this description, the spatial organisation of the text serves its aural form; space, then, would appear to be a kind of guide to rhythm and stress. T. S. Eliot's description of the function of space in *The Waste Land* after he had sent his manuscript for printing reveals a similar concern: "I shall rush forward the notes to go at the end. I only hope the printers are not allowed to bitch the punctuation and the spacing, as that is very important for the sense." We of course recognize the influence of punctuation on the construction of sense, but how might spatial disposition function? Are they the same thing?

When Jones wrote in an undated draft letter that "It's all very difficult to get the feeling one wants visually & aurally," he signalled a division between the visual and the aural, rather than the subordination of the former as a sub-category of the latter (*DJP* LO1/4.133). This indicates that the visual disposition of the text might have a separate function to the aural function; that it is not a mere participant in the aural 'score' of the text. If the visible marks of punctuation are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>371</sup> Letter of 19 July 1922 to John Quinn, quoted in Eliot (1971) xxiii.

aurally motivated, then the spatial punctuation – the marks of an invisible punctuation, if you like – might be used to set up an opposing structure. Two different punctuations – from Latin *punctus*, 'the action of pointing' (*OED*) – might be made to set up a *counter* point.

One significant example of the makerly procedures attached to these two punctuational functions can be found in the typescript to *The Anathemata*: once it was brought out of manuscript, Jones went through his poem and systematically removed every single comma which ended a verse line. Here, Jones was making his text more syntactically ambiguous, and so more semantically 'open'. But there is more to the removal of these commas than what appears to be a change in attitude to the text. If we look at *In Parenthesis*, we see that the use of punctuation at the ends of lines is partially but not completely done away with. In the following examples, from *In Parenthesis*, I have placed the punctuation marks we would conventionally expect to find at the ends of lines in square brackets to the right of the line-ends.

[A] They learned me well the proportions due –

by water [,]

by sand [,]

by slacked lime.

(IP 81)

[B]

The chrism'd eye that watches the French-men [,]

that wards under [,]

that keeps us [,]

that brings the furrow-fruit,

keep the land, keep us [,]

keep the islands adjacent.

(IP 82)

[C] He watches where you lift a knee joint gingerly, to avoid low obstacles,

with flexed articulation poked
from young leaves parted

— and plug and splinter

[,]
shin and fibula

[,]
and twice-dye with crimson moistening
for graggled bloodwort and the madder sorrel.

(IP 171)

[D] You can hear him,
suppliant, under his bowery smother
[;]
but who can you get to lift him away
[,]
lift him away
[ - ]
a half-platoon can't.

(IP 178)

As examples A-C show, Jones did not use punctuation at the ends of the lines of *In Parenthesis* when enumerating the items of a list of things or attributes of a thing. He does use commas, though, when shifting from one manner of predication to another (as in [B], where the 'chrism'd eye' that already 'wards', 'keeps' and 'brings' is pleaded to, to undertake another type of 'keeping'; i.e. the comma marks a shift from observation to supplication). Example [D], might therefore appear to be inconsistent. However, the punctuation has been suspended in order deliberately to destabilise the syntax of the passage, a necessity of this final Part 7 in which the battle in Mametz Wood takes place. Here, with men dying all around Private John Ball, discursive disjunction equals psychological disjunction equals cosmic disjunction. This final example shows that, for Jones at the time of writing *In Parenthesis*, the non-use of punctuation was connected with intensity of effect.

As the manuscript of *The Anathemata* shows, Jones was at first punctuating his second poem in much the same way as he did his first. Jones only crossed out all the commas at the ends of verse lines after his poem entered its typed form because (so I believe) he realised that the words on the page needed to be free to impose their own spatially motivated punctuation on the reader's experience

of the poem. The deletion of these commas, then, set up the possibility of earrhythm versus eye-rhythm tensions. This contrapuntal effect was not only operative at the level of the individual line; I believe that Jones used spatial punctuation on much larger scales too. The following three parts of this section examine how this spatially motivated counterpoint – a formal 'twisting' – was set up at three scales in the text: at the levels of the line, the verse-paragraph, and the section.

#### (iv) Contrapuntal patterning with the space of the line

As we read *The Anathemata* in its published form, we find that the sound and sight rhythms are predominantly in concert in the passages narrated by the meditative consciousness of the poem. Jones's line endings coincide with the aural form indicated by their syntax in either a declamatory or interrogative mode. Here is an example which I selected at random (Figure 35):

Figure 35 – Ana 92 (detail)

The line divisions correspond with pauses to the enunciation of the passage, even if it were presented to us as prose. True to Jones's description to W. F. Jackson Knight: "Punctuation: pause a tiny bit at the end of *each line* (other than the bits written as prose)" (*KFP* 11 October 1952). This aural pattern – these breath-pauses – are not reliant on this particular lineation, as we find if we reconstruct the same passage in a prose form:

Not again, not now again till on west-portals in Gallia Lugdunensis when the

Faustian lent is come and West-wood springs new (and Christ the thrust of it!) and loud sings West-cuckoo (Polymnia, how shrill!) will you see her like if then.

Jones's unusual spatialization of these lines is only justified if there is a difference of effect between it and this prosed version. Certainly, the pauses we make in this prosed version are less distinct, the halts and recommencements in reading less crystalline. So, how about if we organise it as verse, following a more conventional left margin – does this produce the required crystalline rhythm?

Not again, not now again till on west-portals in Gallia Lugdunensis when the Faustian lent is come and West-wood springs new (and Christ the thrust of it!) and loud sings West-cuckoo (Polymnia, how shrill!) will you see her like if then.

The passage which I (genuinely) selected at random loses all of its rhythmical patterning in this version: it has been turned into a very dreary bit of poetry in comparison with its original. (The only thing to be thankful for is the presence of the two parenthetical passages as a partial break from the rhythmical monotony.) What does the arrangement of the text as published achieve? The clue, I believe, lies in the parentheses.

If we return to Jones's version as published, we see that the spatial organisation of this passage sets up a series of overlapping discursive orders which are absent in the two faux-arrangements above.

in Gallia Lugdunensis

when the Faustian lent is come
and West-wood springs new

(and Christ the thrust of it!)
and loud sings West-cuckoo
(Polymnia, how shrill!)
will you see her like
if then.

(Ana 92)

The reference to Gallia Lugdunensis, a province of the Roman Empire in Gaul, sets the place; the reference to 'the Faustian lent', Spenglerian for the period of Gothic and Romanesque architecture which flourished in this part of France, sets the time and the subject of the passage. The alternation to the indentation of the lines quoted here urges us to feel the rhythm of the second, fourth, sixth and eighth lines as contrapuntal echoes of the first, third, fifth and seventh respectively. The passage appears as a kind of internal dialogue within the meditative consciousness of the poem; our own voice as we read is divided into two. This to a degree matches the content of the passage: 'Christ the thrust of it!' answers 'West-wood springs new' (building a complex of Spring, Easter and cultural rebirth); 'Polymnia how shrill!' answers 'loud sings West-cuckoo' (building a complex of divine song – Polyhymnia is the muse of the divine hymn - and the medieval lyric, in referring to 'Sumer is icumen in'). 372 But it is the degree to which this occurs that is important. Had the second and eighth lines been also presented in parentheses, the effect would have failed because the echoing set up by the spatial arrangement of the passage would have been too completely and neatly concurred with. As it is, the two types of punctuation, the visible mark, and the relative spatial position, are not allowed to coincide completely, but must come together and then part.

Whilst the lines indented to the right are experienced as kinds of parenthetical answers to the statements in the lines to the left, there is also another patterning at work. The line 'and West-wood springs new' is echoed by 'and loud sings West-cuckoo' in terms of rhyme ('new' and 'oo'), and in terms of the repetition of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>372</sup> Jones's spelling of cuckoo as 'cucoo' on *DJP* LA1/4.76 (see Figure 37) supports this interpretation. 'Sumer is icumen in', if we are reading this part of *The Anathemata* with Spengler in mind, implies the succession of a cultural Spring with its Summer. This is indicative of a culture already moving towards its decline, which is of course where Jones's lines lead us: the 'if then', hanging on the bottom of the passage, is a bathetic ending to such a passage with such richly patterned lines.

'West-' and 'springs'/'sings', and the opening 'and'. This echoing of the third by the fifth line cuts across the other echoing structure we have identified. But, in addition to this, the second echoing pattern contains a sub-pattern of resistance, where the position of 'West-' and 'springs'/'sings' is inverted in the second line. Moreover, in the lines indented to the right, the actual parentheses around the fourth and sixth lines mark them apart both logically and in readerly effect from the quasi-parenthetically voiced second and eighth lines. The spatial organisation of these eight lines, then, whilst not being resistant to the aural effect of the passage as guided by its syntax, is a means by which multiple rhythmical correspondences can be set up between different pairings of lines simultaneously, one which would have been occluded by the overly linear rhythmic repetition set up by a steady left margin. This sets up a twisting in the text, where the experience of its linear course is set in counterpoint against a patterning of trans-lineal correspondences which opposes that linear experience.

A brief description Jones made in a letter to Desmond Chute reveals that the spatial layout of his typeset text often produced different effects to that produced by the manuscript, though not necessarily detrimentally:

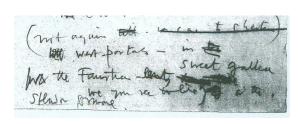
Some or nearly all the broken lines were written & rewritten many times in various arrangements on the page. Many were again slightly altered on the printed page – because what seemed to do the required trick in handwriting did not come off in typescript or print but sometimes it came off *better* when printed, which was a mercy. On the whole I'm satisfied with the arrangement, or at least it works better than I had expected.

(IN 67-8)

Whilst the spatial layout of the poem on the page had certainly occupied Jones throughout the drafting process, the true test of the work was only possible when it was presented in print.

If we look at the five extant manuscript versions of the same passage examined above, we find that the earliest drafts (Figures 36 and 37) are by necessity not engaged with the spatial arrangement of the words: there are too many

crossings out and insertions disrupting any possibility of administering a spatially motivated effect; Jones was concentrating on content at this stage.



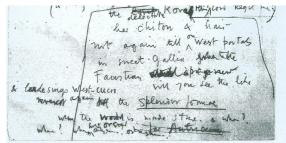


Figure 36 – First draft (DJP LA1/4.75)

Figure 37 – Second draft (DJP LA1/4.76)

In the third version (Figure 38), a fine copy, the lines follow a firm left margin, except for the line 'when the Faustian wood springs new" (later divided into two clauses; and as a result, two lines) which is indented slightly.

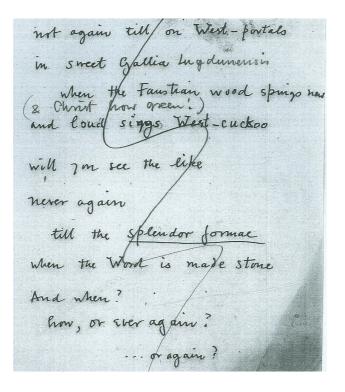


Figure 38 – Third draft (DJP LA1/23.121)

In the fourth version (Figure 39), the same firm left margin is followed, with the exception of the now divided 'Faustian lent' line – except that two newly inserted lines have been indented nearly a half-line along the page, the apparently germinating event which allowed for the construction of the deeply-indented

alternating pattern of the final version.

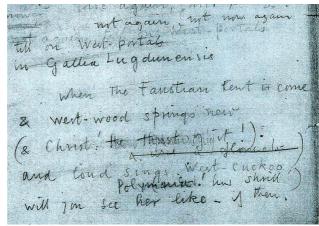
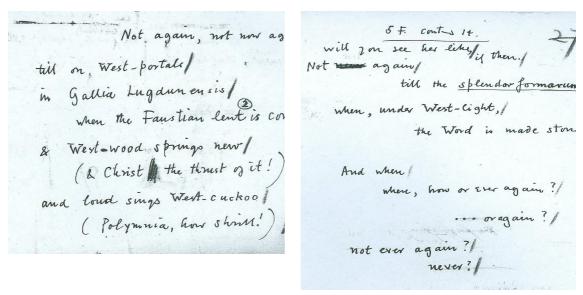


Figure 39 – Fourth draft (DJP LA1/8.30)

However, in the final manuscript version – the fine copy in ink which was sent to the typist (Figure 40) – whilst the indentational pattern occurs in the same sequence as in the published text, the degree of indentation is tame by comparison: the indentations are only of the length of Jones's handwritten 'and', whereas in the published version the indentations are over four 'and's long.



*Figure 40 – Fifth draft (DJP LA1/8.31-32)* 

The formal 'twisting' we find in the published version is here largely if not completely suppressed – or, to be more accurate, not yet discovered. Clearly, when the text was typed, that typed condition pointed towards the possibility of

a new structure for the lines, and Jones acted accordingly. We can therefore see how the generation of 'twisting' effects in the text was entirely spatially motivated – no alteration to the words was required to bring it about.

Of course, Jones did not describe the effect of these particular lines as 'twisting'; as far as I know, he made no statement in specific regard to them. However, if we return to the boasts of the boatswain from Milford examined in the previous chapter, we find, with the help of a description Jones gave in a letter to Desmond Chute, that the use of patterned line indentation was intentionally implemented in order to effect a 'twist'. Below (Figure 41) is the form of the passage as published.

#### THE LADY OF THE POOL THE LADY OF THE POOL Had made fast Frogs in the Sleeve apart, bear away for the Forelands. a hove hawser for the first of the fathering tars of old mother An' then, cap'n, for our English home-land beauties. Troas to tie-up at the Downgate.1 Without mention of the usuals Had conned their ship as: scurvies, cockroaches, melancholies, pent frenzies and for them as put Jonah by the board and were the man at the open mutinies. steer-tree<sup>2</sup> in the Saving Barque that Noë was master of. that should mend 'em, a-voyaging in his Muslim book, the priest, when not mum as a muffled oar, posing such as: Sirs, And not content with ships of glass, voyaging islands and like old fablings must aver consider nautics, is it in itself a good? recent instances of islands that be males and females:3 what The Redriff mate drove by this to venial retorts of rumps an' genitals, and a carry on! thence to such mortal blasphemies as might've brought down But, to put the cap on all: the heavens and echoed in all the havens as there are from that his Maddoxes, Owenses, Griffins and Company was a type of sea-king and very lords of admorality as had held to a Gothland to the capes of Trastamara. course west by south till a new-found stony land were on The boatswain, from Milford, for each circumstance finding antique comparison. their starboard and south-south-westing in the offing of a As though: wooded shore fetched up in a vineyard, 4 with a whole coghe were with them in the ships when they cast off at the rape load of mountain squires such as may be dabsters with a of Helen. coracle in a' estuary and as can handle the bulled oar of Were dozing under his pent-house lid in the Downs roadstead, when, Bang! bang!! there were Julius: stood-in for the South Fore-\*\*Called also the Dowgate, situated where the Walbrook fell into the Thames (Cannon Street Station stands on the site), the earliest of all the ports and quays of London, and in Roman times the principal if not the only one. Troas used as the female personification of the Trojan thing, cf. Britannia, etc. a Cf. The Towneley Play of Noah ... tent the stere-tre and I shall asay the depnes of the see ... .' 3 A phenomenon reported by Marco Polo. 4 Cf. the eleventh-century Norse voyages to Stoneland, Woodland (Markland) and Wineland (perhaps Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and New England respectively) and cf. the legend of a Welsh twelfth-century transathatic voyage. Though this story of Madoc may be regarded as a legend given currency in English in 1581, nevertheless it may reflect something of the Welsh contacts of four hundred years previously with the Irish-Norse of Dublin and with the Norse settlements in Wales itself, contacts which were particularly close between 1000 and 1150. Idea and myth no less than techniques of war and material barter would be involved in these interchanges. land Light. See song, Spanish Ladies \* See song, Spanish Ladier v. '.' ... until we strike soundings in the Channel of Old England; from Ushant to Scilly is thirty-five leagues' and v. 4 'and then bore away for the South Foreland Light'. \* An English friend of mine living in Italy asked his Italian servant, who had been to the cinema, what picture he had seen. The reply was, a naval battle 'in the old time', and a further query as to whose battle, evoked 'Bang, bang, bang, perhaps Julius Caesar'. The film in question dealt with Lady Hamilton and the hero of Trafalgar, I think it important to put this on record because it provides a concrete modern example of the attitude of the Old Masters who felt no anachronism in putting Herod or Darius or Joshua into medieval platemail. The same unconsciousness of period was still operative in this man of the Riviera di Levante in c. 1930. Riviera di Levante in c. 1930. barter would be involved in these interchanges. [150]

Figure 41 – Ana 149-150

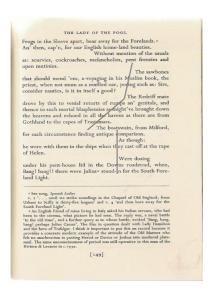
Jones explained his reasoning behind the visual arrangement of this passage to Desmond Chute:

With regard 149, 'As though:' is used to prefix a *list*. The Welsh boatswain spoke *as though* he had been in Aulis harbour when the expedition sailed for Troy, & he spoke *as though* he had been dozing in his deck-house when Caesar came, and *as though* he had made fast a rope when the Trojans came to Britain...I wanted the words 'Were dozing,' 'Had made fast,' 'Had conned their ship' (150), to be given a *special emphasis* & the *pattern* on the page was intended to convey this. This pattern is more or less continued, 'And not content,' [']must aver,' [']But to put the cap on all,' 'and then,' 'How so be that' (151). It was all intended to give a certain twist to that feeling."

(IN 80 – Jones's emphases)<sup>373</sup>

In the text as published, the phrases Jones mentions are indented two-thirds of the page along from the the left margin, though the remainder of the clause which they begin follows conventional prose margins to right and left. These line indentations perform a logical organisation of the narrative. Prior to the account given by Elen of the boatswain's boasts, her introduction of the three different characters aboard the *Mary* (the sawbones, the Redriff mate and the boatswain) are indented differentially at the beginning of new lines. Following the focus being established on the boatswain, there is a common indentation of the beginnings of the items of the list which Jones mentions ('As though...', 'Were dozing...', etc.). The difference to the indentation of the line 'But, to put the cap on all:' indicates and emphasizes a shift which is already there in the narrative: here, we reach the climax, the part of the story 'to put the cap on all'. Thus, the spatial organisation of the page assists the transmission of the narrative; it is manifestly a punctuation which works on a broader scale than the recognizable marks of punctuation within the passage (see Figure 42).

Numbers in brackets are Dilworth's editorial interjections identifying page numbers in *The Anathemata*.



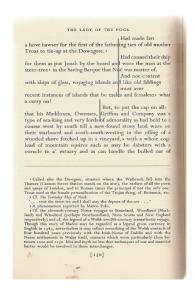


Figure 42 - Ana 149-150 with lines marking indentations

This spatial layout assists the reader in seeing the narrative priorities of this part of Elen's monologue; the spatial organisation of the lines stands in for an absent framing narrative voice to guide our experience of Elen's rambling account.

However, what of the 'twist' Jones mentions? The spatial organisation of this passage disrupts a perfectly well-formed prose syntax in two ways. First, each of the boatswain's implied boasts (first introduced by the subordinating 'As though') is presented as a separate sentence, even though they form a list introduced by 'As though:'. Second, the indentation of these separate sentences as quasiparagraph breaks emphasises this first disruption. The clauses are divided, as they need to be by some kind of mark. But the division, being made with full stops rather than semi-colons, is excessive; the syntactically subordinate is brought by the visual and punctuational form of the passage into a position of equal dominance to the clause which introduces it ("the boatswain from Milford, for each circumstance finding antique comparison"). Whilst the encroachment of the full-stops and leading capital letters is part of this effect – and, significantly, it was an effect Jones added only at the typescript stage after the spatial organisation of the page was already established (see page 56; DJP LR2/1.212) – it does not in itself, I would argue, produce a 'twisting'. In order for a 'twist' to enter the text, it must exhibit competing formal priorities.

If we remove the indentations from the text, the effect is very different: we end up with a passage which presents only a succession of different images without any connection between them being implied.

The boatswain, from Milford, for each circumstance finding antique comparison. As though: he were with them in the ships when they cast off at the rape of Helen. Were dozing under his pent-house lid in the Downs roadstead, when, Bang! bang!! there were Julius stood-in for the South Fore-land Light. Had made fast a hove hawser for the first of the fathering tars of old mother Troas to tie-up at the Downgate. Had conned their ship for them as put Jonah by the board and were the man at the steer-tree in the Saving Barque that Noe was master of. And not content with ships of glass, voyaging islands and like old fablings must aver recent instances of islands that be males and females: what a carry on! But, to put the cap on all: that his Maddoxes, Owenses, Griffins and Company was a type of sea-king and very lords of admorality[...]

Yes, the syntax is disrupted by the punctuation, but it is only *disordered*; no alternative pattern is set up. Thus, this prosed version does not exhibit the 'twist' which Jones's spatialised version exhibits. The indentation which Jones exacts upon his text reorients the text from being experienced as presenting a succession of images to imposing an organizational principle upon the reader which posits a kind of equivalence between each image, but also presents each as an isolated entity, and one at odds to the syntax: the subordinate images come to overpower the originary image of the pseudishness of the Boatswain from Milford, and against which the syntax places them in a subordinate position.

The rhythm of the ear and of the eye are set in opposition against one another. The result is not a muddiness of syntax, but a crystalline rebel syntax, turning subordinate into dominant clauses, and so symbolically destabilising all logical organisation. This is a theme which runs throughout 'The Lady of the Pool', and indeed *The Anathemata*. At one point in her monologue, Elen recalls the destruction of a ship as the destruction of a syllogism. The text reads: "And up went their powder-bin, aft of midships...that *re*-distributes their middle for 'em – now where's their premises?" (*Ana* 147-8). And Jones glossed this: "Cf. how in

syllogistic debate the term called the 'distributed middle' is the term shared by the major and minor premisses, is the 'key-stone of the argument'" (*Ana* 148, note 1). Elen's unknowingness, because it enables her to speak larger truths than her knowledgeable interlocutors are themselves aware of (as identified in the previous chapter), participates in this pattern of split logic. Thus, the twistings of the text into exhibiting a dualized syntactic logic in the boatswain's boast can be seen to participate in a symbolic resistance movement against the utile 'world-orderers' whose imperialistic logic refines the dapple of native cultures out of existence.<sup>374</sup>

### (v) Making space: 'twisting' and the verse-paragraph

Jones's manipulation of the spatial arrangement of his text in sub-paragraph groups achieved a similar effect to that achieved by his spatial arrangement of individual lines. The insertion of blank line spaces between – and so creating – paragraph-verses allowed the construction of two opposing discourses set in a twist against one another.

When Jones went through his typescript, he made sure to include directions for the printer setting the galleys to include an exact number of blank line spaces at various points through his text. Over the course of the 198 pages of the typescript, Jones reinforced the spaces already included in the text by the typist on sixty-five occasions in red pencil. In addition to this, he also newly inserted lines of space between previously continuous runs of text in 28 parts of the typescript. When the printer received Jones's typescript, the compositors set it, including all the space, and Jones and the Faber reader received one set of galleys each.<sup>375</sup> After the Faber reader had proofed and made comments on the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>374</sup> The non-narrativity is of course a major participant in this. For a discussion of resistance to narrative as a theme of the poem, see Deane (1987-88) 306-320. We should note also that oppositional logic is part of the explicit subject of 'The Roman Quarry'. The Celts are said (by the anti-sacramental Roman speaker) to "feed on illusion" because his Roman mode of logic – which is to say the Western philosophical canon which forms our and Jones's orthodox inheritance – cannot organise or understand the Celtic system of myth. Thus, in the eyes of the Roman conquerer, the Celts have an entirely alien experience of life: "Most like his mind's on the canteen with the rest of us – but in his mind within his mind are other eyes that see not quadrilateral shapes as ours do, but broken contours and drifting things and confluences between small hills[...]" (*RQ* 4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>375</sup> Jones's galleys are catalogued *DJP* LA3/1; the Faber reader's *DJP* LA3/2.

galley proofs, he or she stamped the reverse of the final sheet: 'PLEASE MARK YOUR CORRECTIONS ON THIS SET OF PROOFS AND RETURN TO PRINTER', and sent it on to Jones.

Jones, in the meantime, was busy correcting his set of galley proofs. Again, he emphasized the blank line spaces already present within his text and inserted new spaces by drawing a line across the page in red pencil and writing 'Space of [x] lines'. However, Jones did not transfer the corrections he had made to his own galley proofs over to the Faber reader's copy, which was the copy he was instructed to send to the printer. In regard to alterations to spelling and typographical layout, this did not really matter as these could be corrected again at the page proof stage. (Indeed, this is exactly what Jones did: he labelled the margin of his galley with the page proof numbers, and proceeded to transfer these corrections across to this latest imprint of his text. However, as regards the blank line spaces in the text, this was a significant oversight. Whilst at the galley stage, Jones might have inserted as much space as he liked, and wherever he liked; as soon as the pages were set his text became far less manipulable. There was very little room for manoeuvre, unless he wanted to pay the enormous amount of money it would cost to reset the entire text.

Of course, space exists on a type-set galley in the same way as it exists on a type-set page. When setting pages, the printer's 'spaces' – made up of the quad, clump, reglet and furniture which structure the space between the individual blocks of Monotype used – are transferred across from the galleys to the pages along with those blocks of type. So Jones wasn't in too much trouble – except for when these spaces in his text coincided with galley breaks. On such occasions, the compositor discarded the space, presumably thinking that it was part of the spacing of the text down from the header or up from the footer of the galley. Thus, the compositor who set the pages inadvertently stole space from *The Anathemata*.

I recount this only in order to show just how important this space – and these *specific amounts* of space – were to Jones. Whilst this inadvertent theft of space

from the text only occurred at three points in the galleys,<sup>376</sup> Jones's reaction to it reveals just how functionally important such spaces were. When he discovered that the end of Elen's lyrical celebration of Christ (*Ana* 157-8) had suddenly become attached to the passage which follows, instead of making do with the three blank lines he could have squeezed out of the page (by moving the line between poetic text and notes down) Jones judged that there *must* be a five line gap here. In order to create the space for these five lines, Jones entirely deleted the note which identified the source (in Chaucer and a nursery rhyme) for the concluding line to Elen's homage. In other words, the space on the poetic page wins hands down over the data identified by the notes. (See Figures 43 and 44, below.)

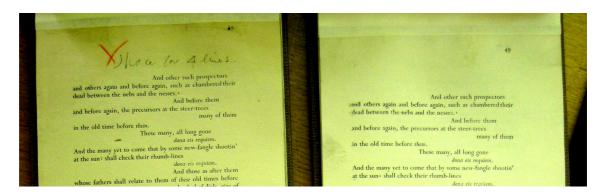


Figure 43 – Jones's and the Faber reader's galley proof, with space only marked by Jones on his copy (on the left) (DJP LA3/1 and LA3/2)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>376</sup> These three actions eliminated the five-line space between: '...all poor men besides.' and 'And other such prospectors...' (on *Ana* 158); the two-line space between '...entasis and all.' and 'At the Fisher with the ring...' (on *Ana* 160); and between '...They sting like death / at afternoon.' and 'On rune-height by the garbaged rill...' (on *Ana* 239-40). See page proofs *DJP* LA3/5 and /6, and compare with galley sheets *DJP* LA3/1.49 and .77 (where Jones has marked the space), and *DJP* LA3/2.49 and .77 (where he has not).

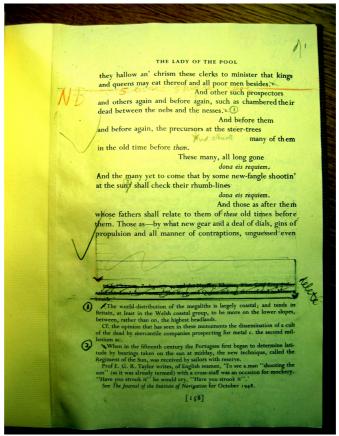


Figure 44 – Page proof showing the deletion of note 1 to make space for 5 blank lines (DJP LA3/5.158)

These examples show just how important space was for Jones, though it is hard to say with any degree of certainty what the specific function of five lines rather than three following '...and all poor men besides' might be.

If we look at one particular insertion of space into a previously continuous run of text, we can see what blank space could be made to achieve in *The Anathemata*. This must first be placed in context. The dating of the Passion in relation to historical events commences on page 58 of the poem as published. Here, the place and time of the Passion, and its significance, is briefly described:

At this unabiding Omphalos
this other laughless rock
at the stone of division
above the middle water-deeps

at the turn of time not at any time, but at this acceptable time.

We then move back 2000 years to Abraham's journey from the Ur of the Chaldees up the Euphrates (as note 3 tells us):

From the year of the lord-out-of-Ur about two millennia.

And from here – or then – we move back a further 2,000 years (to 4,000 BC) to the beginning of agriculture, at least as far as Jones's data informed him.

Two thousand lents again since the first barley mow.

These three 'times' in the text are not divided by line spaces, but run on continuously. At the commencement of the next page we move back to 20,000 BC at the time of the first examples of visual art. And following this we find the first line space:

Twenty millennia (and what millenia more?)
Since he became
man master-of-plastic.

Who were his gens-men or had he no Hausname yet no nomen for his fecit-mark

the Master of the Venus?[...]

(Ana 58-9)

The spatial division of these two fragments can be viewed in two ways. First, in contrast with the preceding parts of the text, in which we move through four different times (from 34 AD, to 2,000 BC, to 4,000 BC, to 20,000 BC), which are presented in sequence without any spatial division, the passage beginning 'Who

were his gens-men...?' does introduce a space break even though this passage continues to be concerned with the moment at which man became 'man masterof-plastic', from which it is divided. From this perspective, Jones's spatial organisation is diametrically opposed to the temporal discourse of the poem. However, in contrast with this account, the line space can be seen as a kind of parenthetical opening, one which opens the text up to the examination of a subcategory from the primary category which precedes it. These two possibilities set up a tension between two different types of organisational logic in the poem. From this moment in the poem onwards, the datings of the Passion are always recommenced following a blank space of between one and five lines, which seems logical: an implied parenthesis is closed, and the next clause-space (as it were) commences. But the opening of each of these passages, always preceded by blank line space, also always exhibits some or other syntactic absence which refers back to that original moment from where the poem left off at the 'Omphalos' in 34 AD (on Ana 58). Jones seems to have wanted to create an experience of both continuity and discontinuity at once. This, I would argue, is his intended 'twisting'.

What ages since / his other marvel-day / when times turned? (Ana 60)

A hundred thousand equinoxes / (less or more) / since they cupped the ritual stones / for the faithful departed. (*Ana* 61)

Twelve hundred years / close on / since of the Seven grouped Shiners / one doused her light.[...] (Ana 84)

How long, since / on the couch of time / departed myth / left ravished fact[...] (*Ana* 86)

Directly preceding the introduction of the dating conceit with the 'Omphalos' line, Jones has included five blank spaces; prior to 'what ages since' he has included four; prior to 'A hundred thousand equinoxes', one; and prior to the last example, Jones inserted a three-line blank space between formerly continuous

```
in broad day/
as large as life/
a thing seen of many/
so they do say. (2)

They can show you the piscene. (3)

How long, since/
on the couch of time/
departed myth/
left ravished fact/
till Clio, the ageing mid-wife, (4) found her/
```

Figure 45 – Showing the insertion of three lines of space prior to 'How long...' (DJP LA2/1.108; TS 11)

Here, the inserted space divides a passage which has explored analogies between the Roman and Scriptural traditions (as Jones explains in note 4 to Ana 85) and then moved on to focus on the battle of Lake Regillus (see *Ana* 86, notes 1 and 2), from a passage which returns to dating the Passion. The inserted space either introduces discontinuity to a previously continuous discourse, or enables a continuity of a different order to arise. The fact is that the introduction of space here enables both: the text is made to exhibit two orders at once. Although 'How long, since, on the couch of time[...]' directly follows '(they can show you the piscene.)', by the operation of the space, it also directly follows (when we get to know the poem) the passage which introduces the place and time of the Passion: 'at the turn of time / not at any time, but / at this acceptable time' which appears nearly 30 pages prior to it. The spatiality of *The* Anathemata enables it to exhibit its anathemata as multiply connected at numerous different scales. What emerges from such twistings is a dappled shape in which multiply hierarchized groups of discourse cut against the linear discursive flow of the text as read.

Jones also uses 'Before' as an agrammatical opening to a number of new images

 $<sup>^{377}</sup>$  The return to the conceit signalled by lines 'Twelve hundred years / close on' is preceded by a section break.

and events which are located in time in relation to the Passion (though not in this case with reference to the specific number of years which lie between them). These uses are also preceded by blank spaces of between one and five lines (on Ana 64, 66, 67, 68, 72, 73 and 81). In both these approaches to dating the Passion, the space preceding the reintroduction of such dating operates as a connective between the present use of the conceit and all those which precede it. But in doing so, it also resolves such agrammatical expressions by referring them back to an original dominant 'clause' to which they are subordinate. Again, two opposed experiences of the text are set up, just as they were at a smaller scale in the case of the spatial organisation of individual lines and verses/paragraphs: the linear temporal experience as we read is interrupted by these formal recallings to other parts of the text. Such a recalling is only possible because of the repetition of the conceit, of course; but it is the spatial organisation which allows such a twisting to be effective. So, the blank line spaces Jones introduced to his text in such instances generated a doubly 'twisting' structure: the introduction of each new 'time' in relation to the Passion is thereby experienced as both agrammatical and grammatical, and the text is made to exhibit both linear and nonlinear orders at once.

## (vi) Large-scale twisting: the implementation of section breaks

Another twist was made to take place at an even larger scale than that achieved by the insertion of blank space into the poem: at the level of its eight sections. Jones gave titles to the sections of his poem at about the same time as the Preface was written, in early Summer 1951, a year and a half after having divided his text. So, while in the poem as published there are lexical additions to it in the form of the section titles, the divisions as first conceived did not involve such additions; they involved only the insertion of an interruption denoted by several lines of space and three asterisks (in Jones's hand on the manuscript and typescript) or a dotted line (as typed on the typescript). Whilst the location of four of these divisions remained unaltered during Jones's editorial work on the typescript (the ends of sections two, three, five and six) 378 the other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>378</sup> See typescript pages 25H (*DJP* LA2/1.146), 30 (f.158), 70 (f.243) and 81 (f.264).

four (on typescript pages 1, 9i, 20 and 73A)<sup>379</sup> were cancelled, and three newly conceived divisions inserted in Jones's hand. One of these latterly inserted section divisions was that which separates 'Redriff' from 'The Lady of the Pool'. This choice of place at the typescript stage was therefore guided by Jones's experience of reading a text which had been shorn of its makerly history (in the form of the foliational code) and its aura of writtenness (in its handwritten form). This is an important consideration in view of the unusual position of this division, to which we will return.

During the writing of *The Anathemata*, each component of the text had only been considered in itself – in its particulars – and if in relation to a whole, then only in relation to a broad conception, from 1945 onwards, of the work as 'anathemata'. When Jones received the typescript, he could begin to read his text as provisionally complete, and thus assess its form, because he could read each word, phrase, sentence, paragraph/verse, and page in relation to a known whole, not just as an isolated fragment of an amorphous body of handwritten text which, because of that non-differentiation, continued provisionally to include his experiments, but also to include a potentially enormous amount of as-yet unwritten material. When Jones wrote of his poem in the Preface, "If it has a unity it is that what goes before conditions what comes after and vice versa" (Ana 33), the 'conditioning' he referred to implies two different attitudes to his text. Whilst this 'conditioning' was a logical effect of the quasiassociational process of the poem's making (as discussed in Chapter 1), it was also an effect he experienced in the (by comparison) much accelerated pace of reading that the typescript made possible: such 'conditioning' across the poem became an experience of its eventual form as an art object. Jones's alteration to the divisions of his text was necessitated by the rise of the consideration of the form of the poem as a whole, which was itself a result of the typescript being made. And the location of these divisions, as I will now argue, was motivated by the desire to create the same kind of effect as he had achieved with his line and paragraph breaks, and through the use of larger blank spaces: to twist the text into a dualized, self-opposing structure. In turn, the common twisting structure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>379</sup> On *DJP* LA2/1.1, f.90, f.123 and f.253, respectively.

effected by these different spatial functions within the poem attest to the poem's repetition of an aporetic structure through every scale, from its minutiae up to the conceptual basis symbolized by the amphibole of its title.

In *The Anathemata*, the division of the poem into sections marks the intrusion of a determinate and post facto structure upon an organically generated and The poem had been, from the point at which the formally elusive text. experiments receded, and up to the point of its division into sections, an organic 'whole', emerging out of itself, even if that whole was experienced as (antithetically) amorphous. As with the division of any piece of writing, the division of the poem into eight sections inevitably set up two major structural experiences for readers: the effect of moving across sections in the shift from one section to the next; and the effect of moving within the bounds of an individual section, which generates the sense of a section as an at least partially autonomous or discrete unit. This in turn sets up the possibility of comparing sections to one another, and of comparing the shifts between sections to one another. Jones's one assured notion of the form of his poem as he presents it in the Preface – "If it has a shape it is chiefly that it returns to its beginning" (Ana 33) – is an important consideration in assessing the different sections of The Anathemata. I suggest that the section divisions set up resistances to this form, whilst also participating in it – in other words, that they 'twist' that form.

The following diagram (Figure 46) provides a visual representation of the places at which Jones divided his text into sections, as compared with the foliational code of the manuscript.

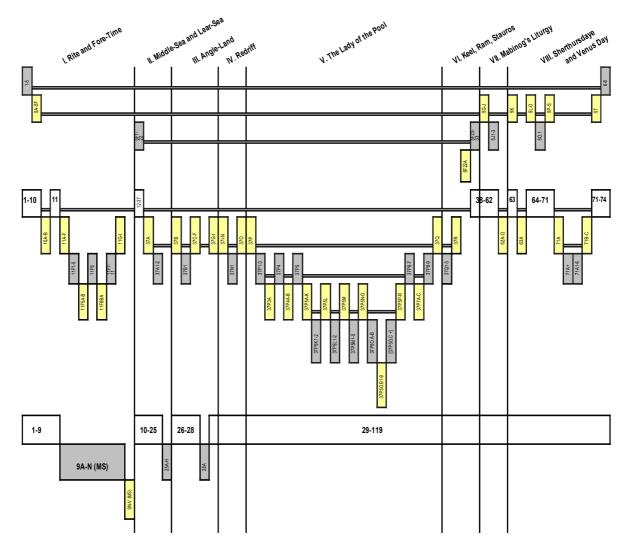


Figure 46 – The foliational structure of the manuscript of The Anathemata, as compared with the location of its section divisions

This diagram reveals how three section divisions are made at the point at which the continuation of the text involved a leap across foliational orders. In two cases, the insertion of material after the first version of the typescript had been made dictated where the section end was to be placed: the end of 'Rite and Fore-Time' coincides with the end of the 9A-O typescript insertional stratum; likewise, the end of 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea' coincides with the end of the 25A-H typescript insertional stratum. In the third case, the division of the text between 'Mabinog's Liturgy' and 'Sherthursdaye and Venus Day' also corresponds with a leap across foliational strata – from the second foliational insertional stratum (62A-O) to the first (5K). In these cases, the poem in its genetic development had digressed from the base stratum from which Jones's 'new' writing had originated. This trajectory, emphasized by the textual truncations enacted by the

section divisions, works against the 'returning-to-its-beginning' form of the poem as a whole: 'Rite and Fore-Time', 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea' and 'Mabinog's Liturgy' each build out of the first foliational order and end in the third (for the first two) and the second (for the last). To a degree, the commencement of the sections following each of these divisions (that is, of 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', 'Angle-Land' and 'Sherthursdaye and Venus Day') would seem to involve a kind of partial textual rewinding – not so much a 'returning to its beginning' as a 'rebeginning'. However, I would qualify this interpretation with the observation that, just because the opening of the next section is *genetically* prior to what precedes it, that does not mean that it will be experienced in the reading as *thematically* 'prior'. Nevertheless, it would be true to say that, as these three section breaks share in common a shift in narrative focus, voice, and form, they are, we might say, 'conventional': they emphasize a shift in the text which would have been experienced without Jones placing a break at those specific points.

By contrast, in the case of the central four divisions, whilst section breaks continue to approximate to alterations in voice, their location does not coincide precisely with such alterations in the text. These central four sections of The Anathemata – sections III to VI – all begin with the meditative consciousness of the poem asking questions in relation to the captain of a ship. Each of these sections digresses from this opening into a consideration of the journey of the ship ('Angle-Land'), or into a different voice (Eb Bradshaw's in 'Redriff' and Elen Monica's in 'The Lady of the Pool'). In the course of the second section, 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea', after dating the Passion in relation to prehistoric and historic events, the text moves into the voyage of "the caulked old triton of us / the master of us." The meditative consciousness of the poem immediately begins asking questions in relation to the sea captain: "And was it the Lord Poseidon got him / on the Lady of Tyre /...or was his dam in far Colchis bed? / did an Argo's Grogram sire him?" (Ana 96). The questions continue: "Is it the Iacchos...?", 'Was it dropped to half gale...?", "Did he hold his course...?" (Ana 97), "Did Albion put down his screen of brume...?", "Is that why...he sighted no land...and did he call it the Dodman?", "And did Morgana's fay-light...?", "But what Caliban'd Lamia...?" (Ana 100), "...will that veer?" (Ana 102). There then follows a five-page digression in the shantying voices of the sailors in which no such questions are asked, before, in only the final three lines of the section, we return to the interrogative mode: "Did he berth her? / and to schedule? / by the hoar rock in the drowned wood?" (*Ana* 108). There follow three asterisks denoting a section end, and on the page opposite is the title for section three: 'III / ANGLE-LAND'. When we turn the page, we recommence at the very top of the page in the interrogative: "Did he strike soundings off Vecta Insula? / or was it already the gavelkind *ígland*? / Did he lie by / in the East Road?" (*Ana* 110). The question we must ask is, Why does Jones divide his text in the *midst* of this interrogative episode? Why not before, or after, at more clearly narratively or discursively disjunctive points?

We might assert that this section break had to be placed here because it marks the point at which the ancient Greek voyage metamorphoses into the latesixth/early-seventh century AD voyage in the absence of any other indicator. The questioning of the meditative consciousness is unbroken, and the journey of the ship(s), from the port of Athens, through the mouth of the Mediterranean, and in towards Cornwall in 'Middle-Sea and Lear-Sea' (Ana 95-108), is continued in 'Angle-Land' from Land's End along the south coast of England, round Kent, up the east coast of England and Scotland, and out into the open North Sea (Ana 110-115). This metamorphosis constitutes what Jones described to William Hayward as one of the "sudden & unwarned of changes of occasion [which] causes confusion". Although he described such changes as "insufficiently marked" (WH 38), the section break, I would argue, is sufficient to its purposes – sufficient, indeed, in its insufficiency – in that it allows the two journeys to be experienced as one, a welcome and deliberate confusion in a poem in which transtemporal analogies are so important. Dividing the text after the meditative consciousness has returned to its interrogative mode so that the questions end section two and begin section three enables the text to exhibit two opposing states: as continuous and discontinuous. This continuous/ discontinuous form is a suitable vehicle for two voyages which should be experienced as one, and for one voyage which is really two - and so, synecdochically, every voyage: the 'argosy of mankind', as Jones calls it in his

The interrogations in relation to a sea-faring captain by the meditative consciousness, as we have already noted, also begin 'Angle-Land', the third section. They come thick and fast - there are eight questions asked in the first 13 lines, and a further four questions in the course of the next 14 lines - and then they stop (see Ana 110-11).<sup>380</sup> The section ends, without a question in sight, in the North Sea where the waters of the Rhine "mingle" with the waters of British rivers, with the poem pondering on the "fratricides / of the latter-day", i.e. World War II (Ana 115). With the commencement of section four, 'Redriff', with "Or / did he make the estuary? / was the Cant smiling / and the Knock smooth? / Did our tidal father...?" and so on (eight questions in the opening 16 lines; Ana 118), we are back where we started - an apparent repetition, at a smaller scale, of the returning-to-its-beginning of the form of the poem as a whole. However, the section break prevents this structure from being experienced; the interruption means that 'Angle-Land' can be experienced as a digression. However, the most important effect of this division is that the opening of 'Redriff' with the return of the meditative consciousness's interrogative voice marks the same re-beginning (rather than a returning-to-itsbeginning) which the divisions at the ends of sections I, II and also VII set up. A faltering, discontinuous structure is made to penetrate and resist the ungraspable eddying which the poem otherwise exhibits from man as man-themaker at its opening on Ana 49, through a multitude of fragmentary narratives and voices, back to man as man-the-maker at Ana 241.

The shift from 'Redriff' to 'The Lady of the Pool', applied at the typescript stage, operates under exactly the same terms. The opening questions of 'Redriff' recede as Eb Bradshaw's voice takes hold of the section (*Ana* 118); over the following three pages he proceeds to make a series of oaths against the (utile) proposal of compromising the quality of his workmanship as a block-maker for a higher payment (*Ana* 118-121). There follow the three asterisks, half a blank page, a whole blank page (its verso), and then the title page of section five, 'THE LADY

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>380</sup> The only questions the poem asks subsequent to this point relate to the communities which live along the coastline which the ship passes, not to the course of the ship itself, and so are not of the same kind.

OF THE POOL'. And when we turn this page, we find the return of the meditative consciousness in the interrogative mode, beginning at the very top of the page: "Did he meet Lud at the Fleet Gate? did he count the top- / trees in the anchored forest of Llefelys / under the White Mount?" The questions continue after this, but Jones has inserted five completely blank lines in between these first three and the following questions: "Did ever he walk the twenty-six wards of the city...? And was it but a month and less from the septimal month, and did he hear, seemly intuned in East-Seaxna-nasal...?" (Ana 124). The last of these questions introduces Elen Monica's cockney monologue, commencing at the top of the following page, the first four lines of which are written in italics to denote a discursive shift: "Who'll try my sweet prime lavendula...", and so on. This fiveline break (see Figure 47) draws attention to the way the insertion of the section break at this particular point – prior to the recommencement of questioning which might have been made to 'complete' the previous section by setting up (or emphasising) a structure of returning-to-its-beginning (one already there as a result of the fragmentary-insertional method) – resists the 'natural' form of the poem as exhibited in its text.

#### THE LADY OF THE POOL

Did he meet Lud at the Fleet Gate? did he count the toptrees in the anchored forest of Llefelys under the White Mount?<sup>1</sup>

Did ever he walk the twenty-six wards of the city, within and extra, did he cast his nautic eye on her

clere and lusty under kell<sup>2</sup>

in the troia'd lanes of the city?

And was it but a month and less from the septimal month, and did he hear, seemly intuned in East-Seaxna-nasal 3

(whose nestle-cock polis but theirs knows the sweet gag and in what urbs would he hear it if not in Belin's oppidum, the greatest burh in nordlands?)4

Figure 47 - Ana 124

So, Jones not only makes the section break at a peculiar place; he then emphasises this peculiarity by gesturing, with the insertion of a five-line blank space, at the place where the section break might have been expected to have gone. The insertion of this section break can be seen taking place for the first time at the typescript stage (on page 24; *DJP* LA2/1.165) where Jones also reinforces the necessity of the five-line break – the equal largest break Jones

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. the tale Lludd and Llefelys (lle-vél-iss), a legend concerning 'King Lud' and his brother in which occurs the assembling of vessels in the Pool of London. The White Mount=The Tower in Welsh tales.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Dunbar In Honour of the City of London, v. 6:

'Fair be thy wives, right lovesom white and small
Clere be thy virgins. Justy under kellis'

Clere be thy virgins, lusty under kellis'

3 East-Seaxna, 'of the East Saxons', pronounce a-ahst sa-ahx-nah. Cf. the theory that the cockney intonation derives from that of the English people of Essex; London being their capital just as it was associated with the Trinobantian Britons before them, whose tribal commune Caesar referred to as civitas Trinobantum. In this factual community-name we have the origin of the legendary city of Trinovantum, or Troy Novant, which the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth made an integral part of our national mythological deposit, whereby, through the Trojan, Brute, of the line of Aeneas, Venus and Jove, our tradition is linked with all that that succession can be made to signify; and seeing what we owe to all that, the myth proposes for our acceptance a truth more real than the historic facts alone discover.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Ragnar Lodbrok Saga

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Lundunaborg which is the greatest and the most famous of all the burhs in the northern lands.'

<sup>[124]</sup> 

directs in the whole typescript (see Figure 48).

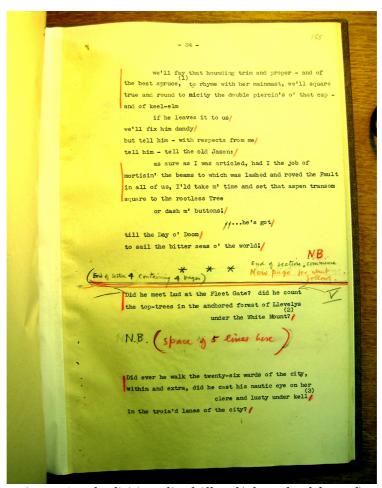


Figure 48 – The division of 'Redriff' and 'The Lady of the Pool' at the typescript stage (DJP LA2/1.165)

Forty-four published pages after the opening of Elen's monologue with her lavender-selling cry, we reach the final page and the conclusion of 'The Lady of the Pool' with the return of that cry: "Who'll have / m'living flower? / Who'll buy my sweet lavender?" (*Ana* 168). Again, three asterisks and a blank space mark the section end, and on the opposite page is the title of the following section: "VI / KEEL, RAM, STAUROS". We turn the page and begin this section with the return of the poem's interrogation in regard to the captain: "Did he hear them bawling a Frigg-day's ichthyophagous feast at the Belling Gate? (Is that why / they back-cant on Parnassus?) / Did he walk the water-lanes of the city...of cities all, *per se* / and flower of towns...?" (*Ana* 170).

So, within 'The Lady of the Pool' we do indeed find a returning-to-its-beginning, in that Elen's monologue begins and ends with her lavender-seller's cry. However, this is crossed with – or 'twisted' by – the re-beginning which is set up by the poem's interrogative mode returning once again to open the following section, 'Keel, Ram, Stauros': the fourth consecutive section of the poem to open with such interrogations in regard to a sea-captain. The effect of these rebeginnings in aggregate is to set up a conflicting structure against the general apparently formless flow of the poem's text back to its beginning. The fact of the emphasis of the repetition of such questioning which is effected by placing these four consecutive section divisions at these specific locations and not somewhere else makes the experience by the reader of such a tension inescapable; the implementation of sections leads the reader to make comparisons between those sections. Jones's fragment-insertional method inevitably resulted in these abrupt jumps into repetition, a series of interlocking 'returnings-to-its-beginnings' played out at various different scales - and these within an overarching return to its beginning. Jones's location of these section divisions prior to or after the precise points of such 'returns' set up, by contrast, a re-beginning structure in the text. It is important that we place this in its proper context: the section divisions set up visual structures in competition with the ones the text's lexical form sets up. There is no change to the content of the text (except in the section titles, which as we have already remarked were a secondary and later consideration) and yet the effect of the text alters. Thus, the division of *The Anathemata* into sections was at root the introduction of a spatial device which set up the same kind of self-oppositional twisting structures we have seen operative at smaller scales in the poem, as discussed above.

We should note that, owing to Jones's fragment-insertional method, the interrogative openings of each of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth sections of the poem (which span some 60 pages of text) have their origin in one continuous piece of writing of only 24 lines, in the earliest drafts of 37 Continued, or latterly 37B. The following is a complete transcription of 37B (*DJP* LA1/5.16) with the eventual location of the text in the published version marked in the lefthand column.

The opening of 'Angle-Land' (Ana 110)	Did he strike soundings in the [illeg.] East Road? did he shelter in the Downs? did he wait the tide
The opening of 'Redriff' (Ana 118)	did he make the Estuary  did <he> come <wait> come with the in-tide  Did he die in the pool beach  did he tie her up  at Greeland stair  or was <did> she hook[?] <sway> turn <li> at across  <across at="" the="" water="">  her moorings in the pool <in reach="" the=""> &lt;<at reach="" the="">&gt;  Did Eb Bradshaw  Did T  He he sign Tom Bowline on <ordinary[?] seaman="">  in place of the drowned Phoenician  Did Eb Bradshaw; step aboard  with the the new sheeves &amp;  the <a> mended spar?  Did <was> he ever himself as he[?] <on loose="" the="">  at Dockhead?</on></was></a></ordinary[?]></at></in></across></li></sway></did></wait></he>
The opening of 'The Lady of the Pool' (Ana 124)	Did he <he city="" the="" walk=""> Did he lust <rove> his <sigh> nautical eye in the streets of the city</sigh></rove></he>
The opening of 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' (Ana 170)	of cities a per se

The effect of emphasizing the commonality of these genetic nodes for sections III-VI, through the application of section divisions is to set up a structure in which the beginning of each section recalls the beginnings of the others. Thus, again, the linear unfolding of the text in reading is twisted by its spatial organisation into a non-linear experience which opposes it. Jones's use of space at a number of scales – line, paragraph, section – sets up a self-opposed form which is suitably 'anathematical'.

# II. "One could have gone on and never got any of it out":Publication as Interruption

Jones's references to the long poem he was writing in a number of letters through the late 1930s and the 1940s exhibit a combination of doubt as to its quality, and doubt as to whether it will ever be finished: "I can't really believe I can do it except in a limited way" (February 1938; *DGC* 83); "I see now why chaps write about 'separate' things in short poems – to wit, odes to nightingales and what not" (May 1938; *DGC* 86); "this book which I am slowly and tortuously struggling with and God knows when that will reach fruition" (March 1943; *DGC* 122); "it's a fearsome job – may be all balls – but I don't think it is" (November 1944; *DGC* 128); "I struggle on with my book – it gets more & more difficult" (*KFP* 'Summer Solstice 1945').

When the poem was being printed Jones continued to see it as unfinished and indeed unfinishable. As remarked on in the opening chapter of this thesis, the subtitle 'fragments of an attempted writing' seems to be an ironic statement of Jones's recognition that his poem was unfinished even after the publication which would tend to be taken as the seal of its completion. Thus, while *The Anathemata* was being printed for Faber and Faber in mid-October 1952, Jones wrote the following to W. F. Jackson Knight in reference to his unused work: "In many ways it is a pity it could not all have been included in this publication. But I felt it was time that these eight sections of my 'poem' should be published – or one might have gone on & *never* got any of it out." Jones still intended to return to his pre-1945 experiments after the publication of *The Anathemata* and make of them a second part: on the final page of the typescript we find the statement 'End of the First Part of the Anathemata' (*DJP* LA2/1.351) and in a note to the Preface, Jones writes "Should it prove possible I hope to make, from this excluded material, a continuation, or Part II of *The Anathemata*" (*Ana* 15, note

1).

These comments about the difficulty of writing *The Anathemata* and in regard to its published state indicate that the poem was only one successful part of a larger, as yet unrealised, whole. In the same letter to Jackson Knight quoted above, though, we see that Jones saw the published part of this larger whole as itself only partially successful, irrespective of that conceived whole: "you will at all events understand the background & the *kind* of thing it *tries* |\*| to be. [Jones's marginal note:] And it is obviously no more than a try-out" (*KFP* 11 October 1952). Either way, Jones's portrayal of his poem indicates a falling-short of what he was attempting; the implication is that if he could only have found a solution, the poem would have attained completion and wholeness. I would like to suggest that Jones felt his poem to be incomplete and flawed because publication interrupted its process of making. Paradoxically, it would seem that *The Anathemata* could only attain completion by *continually being made*.

In this section I identify Jones's ambivalent feeling for his text in its new form as a 'book', the eventuality he had been thinking about for the fifteen years prior to publication, in order to examine the apparent endlessness of its making even after publication.

#### (i) The infinite making of *The Anathemata*

As we have seen, Jones felt compelled to add still more notes to his text at the galley stage, even when the Faber reader had requested that he cut them down. This process continued at the page proof stage, at which point Jones went through his text and added six completely new notes, and supplemented 12 existing notes with new substantive material – where space allowed, of course. Jones was working within a new limit now: the incontrovertible space of the printed page. Again, after the revised page-proofs were printed and Jones received his text in a paper-bound dummy copy, he added one completely new

note and substantive material to two existing notes. This, we might think, was the last action Jones could take – indeed, the next copy of the poem he received, on 17<sup>th</sup> October 1952, about three weeks prior to publication, was the truly incontrovertible published version, cloth-bound and enclosed in the dust jacket he had designed. Any alterations Jones wanted to make at this stage would have to wait for a second edition – Faber and Faber were not about to shred 1000 copies of a hardback book because the author was fussing.

Jones did of course mark textual corrections to the first edition of The Anathemata, which were (largely) incorporated in the second edition of 1955, and then the third edition of 1972. He did this in one of his many copies of the poem, now held with the rest of his personal library at the National Library of Wales (see DJL Ana #1). Thomas Dilworth noticed some five years after Jones's death, following the transferral of the first group of his papers to the National Library of Wales, that another copy in Jones's library included a different kind of annotation altogether (DJL Ana #5). Dilworth published a transcription of these annotations, providing in some cases his own commentary on Jones's selfannotative process.<sup>381</sup> There are several particularly perplexing notes in this copy, which quote directly from Jones's own letters to Desmond Chute, even giving the date (for example, at the foot of DJL Ana #5.141). Another curious characteristic of some of the annotations, as Dilworth identifies, is that there are question marks appended to the statements which Jones had made unequivocally to Chute in their correspondence. For example, on the title page to 'Keel, Ram, Stauros', Dilworth quotes Jones as having written: "The Ancient Mariner is behind a number of forms used in this section and elsewhere in ANA. The Ancient Mariner is one of the clues to ANA? DJ to DC 3.iii.53." (DJL Ana #5.169) The quotation is, as indicated, taken directly from Jones's letter to Chute of that date (see IN 62). Dilworth's interpretation of the question marks which conclude some of Jones's glosses is circumspect. In response to another of Jones's question marks, he writes: "Why David Jones puts his gloss in the form of a question is not clear. In a letter of 12 March 1953 to Desmond Chute, he conveys this information without reservation."382 In response to Jones's gloss on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>381</sup> Dilworth (1980) 240-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>382</sup> *Ibid.* 246, in regard to *DJL Ana* #5.141.

Ana 181, Dilworth writes: "Here as elsewhere in the marginalia, David Jones writes his gloss in the form of a question. This is not necessarily an expression of uncertainty, for often where he uses the question mark in a gloss he is more assertive in a corresponding letter...In any case, he seems to be glossing as a reader of his poem, not as its author, his tentativeness possibly being in deference to the free speculation of subsequent interpreters of *The Anathemata*." 383

My explanation for the unusual form of these glosses, and their relationship to the correspondence of Jones and Chute, is quite simple: the glosses were not made by Jones. The evidence is overwhelming:

(1) The handwriting does not match. For example, the difference between the 'of' form used on the flyleaf (Jones's) and on the title-page to 'Keel, Ram, Stauros' is plain. (See Figures 49 and 50); and the ampersand on page 135 does not match the form of ampersand Jones used. (see Figures 51 and 52)









Figure 49 – Jones's 'of' (DJL Ana #5.flyleaf)

Figure 50 – Chute's(?) 'of' (DJL Ana #5.169)

Figure 51 – Jones's ampersand (DJP LA1/11.4)

Figure 52 – Chute's(?) ampersand (DJL Ana #5.135)

- (2) Paragraphs are marked off for emphasis with a double score at a 45 degree angle, a marking Jones never used in the annotation of his books;
- (3) The writing is too neat and careful (see page 96 and particularly page 169, where the crossing of the D and C suggests a customary form, and so

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>383</sup> *Ibid.* 252, in regard to *DJL Ana* #5.181.

that it is Desmond Chute writing) (Figure 53);

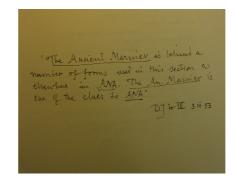


Figure 53 – The crossing of 'D' and 'C' seems to identify Chute as the author (DJL Ana #5.169)

- (4) On page 173, the author of these glosses uses the form 'USA', whereas Jones always used 'US';
- (5) The use of 'lege' meaning 'read as' (on page 184: 'lege: lalla'; and on page 176 'lege soil') is not used by Jones anywhere else; and finally
- (6) A book plate has been glued inside the front flyleaf stating: 'E LIBRIS / DESMVNDI CHVTE', presumably hand-made by Chute in Italy (he lived down the road from Ezra Pound in Rapallo).

Irrespective of how Jones came to possess this copy, we can disregard these annotations. This allows us to gain a clearer view of Jones's interaction with his published text. We can begin to do so by referring to another annotated copy in Jones's personal library, to which Dilworth does not refer.

In this copy (*DJL Ana #2*), Jones has added 22 completely new notes. This is a mark, surely, of the gratuitousness of Jones's act of making: these notes were never intended to be included in *The Anathemata* (Jones know from experience that resetting the entire typeset text was prohibitively expensive) which would tend to indicate that Jones wrote them out of the simple desire to continue making a shape out of the words of his text. The fact that at each stage of the proofing process and even beyond it Jones added a large number of completely new notes, and that he only pruned back the *interpretive* discourses he made

upon his data, gives the impression that the text had become for Jones a kind of encyclopaedia, personal to him – very much a material sign for the shape that all the mess made in his mind. In continuing to work on it even after publication, we see a sign of Jones's desire to continue asserting the value of the shape of his data over and over again, finding new facets or nuances at each reading.

This is emphatically so in cases where Jones's notes to his published text appear to transgress that discursive division between poetic text and notes. These notes at once problematise the notion of such a division, *and* the notion that a text is complete at the moment of publication. What is happening here? Plainly there is some unfinished business in the writing of *The Anathemata* – but what is that business?

One of the phrases Jones has glossed in copy #2 of *The Anathemata* is 'gens Romulum' (Ana 113), which he marks thus: 'Romulum = Romulorum'. What does this mean – that subsequent editions should be printed 'Romulorum', or that 'Romulum' should be read and understood as 'Romulorum'? In other words, is this handwritten mark part of the text, or of its apparatus? Whilst engaged in editing the galley proofs, Jones had written to W. F. Jackson Knight and queried the grammatical correctness of his use of the form Romulum. He was indeed in error, and so following Jackson Knight's advice Jones made his decision: "gens Romula it shall be" (KFP 3 February 1952). However, in another letter from Jones to Jackson Knight, dated 'Low Sunday 1935' (the first Sunday after Easter in the liturgical calendar) but clearly following up on the issues raised in this correspondence of 1952, Jones wrote the following:

By the way, I've gone back on our old *gens Romulum* after all!! I'm going to stick to it, as standing for *gens Romulorum* (Romulũm). And if any one asks about it, they will have to be content with the explanation that it is a contraction of the genitive plural.\*

\* I apologise to you...who went into the matter of *Romulum/Romula* etc. for me. I'm a bit like a dog returning to its vomit! But somehow nothing else will do in that line but *Romulum, Romulorum* understood.

(KFP Low Sunday 1935 [i.e. 1953])

In dating this letter, Jones has clearly accidentally written 1953 as '1935'; and yet, in view of *The Anathemata* having been published in November 1952, this means that he is writing about a published work as if it were yet to be finished: 'I'm going to stick to it' in regard to an already published poem implies that such a poem will only *ever* be provisionally finished. Jones wrote to Desmond Chute in February 1953 on the same subject: "Yes, that damned old *Romulum...*.So best leave it: *Quod scripsi, scripsi*. After all, one knows what one means, and can explain it if necessary" (*IN* 56 – Jones's ellipsis). In both the Jackson Knight and the Chute letters, Jones refers to a future state of his already published poem, and relates his current thinking to what form that future state might take. Such annotations imply that Jones's poem was continuing to be made in his mind, but that its published condition prohibited any substantive alteration.

Further evidence shows that Jones was still editing his poem even a full decade after its publication, as Thomas Dilworth notes: "In a list of corrigenda compiled 'For Jack & Marie Sweeney' in 1962, David Jones writes, 'Page 150, line 16, for "south-south-westing" read sow'-sow'-westing.'"<sup>384</sup> This adjustment is not of the class of 'corrections' to the use of data that Jones sent to Vernon Watkins, compiled by him from the list in the front flyleaf of copy #1 of *The Anathemata* (see *VW*). If such an alteration had been made to the text (it never was) its function would have been to participate in the characterization of Elen Monica by indicating her familiarity with sea-faring through the use of such clipped pronunciation (*Ana* 150).

The complete resistance which the published condition of *The Anathemata* raised against the adoption of Jones's continued making of his poem was prefigured in an earlier partial resistance by the page proofs. After Jones received the page proofs of *The Anathemata*, he still felt the compulsion to add new material to his poem. He acted on this compulsion with a nine-line insertion on the final page of the poem, which required the compositor to reset all the text – only a few lines – subsequent to the insertion.<sup>385</sup> Making such an insertion anywhere else in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>384</sup> Dilworth (1980) 247.

 $<sup>^{385}</sup>$  Compare the final page of the typescript (*DJP* LA2/1) with the manuscript draft insertion (*DJP* LA1/23.208-216) and the two page proof versions in which Jones incorporates this passage by hand (*DJP* LA3/5.243 and LA3/7.243).

the poem at this stage would have been prevented by the prohibitively high costs of resetting the type.<sup>386</sup> What does it mean that Jones only acted on the compulsion to insert more material to The Anathemata on its very last page? The co-incidence of this act of insertion with its specific location – one inexpensive to reset - cannot be coincidental. I would suggest that, in accord with Jones's fragmentary method, as described in Chapter 1, the compulsion to insert more material was potential on every page of the page proofs to the poem, but that the inconvenience and expense of resetting the type dissuaded Jones from investigating any of these potentialities. That the final page of his poem could be re-set without causing the compositor too much trouble led Jones to treat the text contained on that page as still vibrant with generative possibilities. Thus publication is not so much the final destination of a making as an accident which befalls that making as it pursues an ever elusive and only ever ideal destination. Indeed, Jones was able to add more glosses to his text following its publication than he was at the revised page proof stage because the constrictions of space demanded by the printer no longer applied. The only difference being that such glosses would only ever be available to him.

However, Jones did not add only glosses to his published text; nor did he simply alter existing forms (as he considered doing in the case of *gens Romulum*). The annotations in copy #2 of *The Anathemata* reveal a scale of degrees to Jones's intervention in the post-publication structure of his text. In the left margin of pages 209-215, Jones indicates for the first time which of the three witches – Marged, Mabli or Sibli – is speaking (see the example from *Ana* 215 in Figure 54).<sup>387</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>386</sup> Faber paid half of Jones's correction costs, but judging from Jones's reaction to this generosity, writers were generally expected to pay for the rectification of mistakes not identified at the typescript stage (see *IN* 40).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>387</sup> The 'OK' and 'very good' notes in the right margin refer to Dylan Thomas's reading of this passage in a BBC broadcast recorded by Douglas Cleverdon.

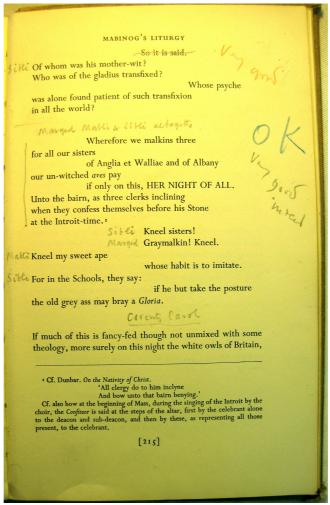
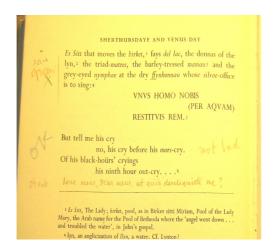


Figure 54 – Jones's identification of Sibli and Mabli as speakers of 'Mabinog's Liturgy' (DJL Ana #2.215)

Are these identifications part of the text, making it a quasi-drama? Or does Jones insert them only to remind himself? But, if the latter, doesn't this lead inevitably to the former? No subsequent edition of *The Anathemata* has incorporated these 'corrections' or 'insertions'. The status of these designations of the speaker is impossible to definitively ascertain: they lie outside both the text and its apparatus: they are removed one paratextual stage further from an already paratextually-riven text.

Such an ambiguity of textual status does not exist in the case of another addition to this copy of *The Anathemata*. On page 238, Jones has written in the margin 'chant' and then, very neatly within the realm of the poetic text itself, '*Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?*' (see Figure 55). The neatness of Jones's handwritten addition attests, I think, to the status, in the text, of this quotation from the Vulgate: it seems certain that this was an insertion to the poetic text of

completely new material. Importantly, then, it is neither a correction/alteration, nor is its textual/para-textual status in doubt: Jones signals here that he is willing to perform insurgent acts upon the very core textual being of his poem after its publication. In the same way, on page 239, at the foot of the poetic page following the printed line 'They sting like death / at afternoon', Jones has inserted: 'Agios et / Palestrina' (see Figure 56). Although this latter is admittedly in very shabby handwriting (as compared with the 'Deus meus' insertion), it is clearly poetic-textual, as the lineation and spatial disposition indicate. That these additions are on facing pages is perhaps significant; the first perhaps beckoning the addition of the other. But note also how, once again, the space of the page is compelling Jones toward the insertion of material which unifies the page as textual vignette, bringing existing material into a new set of relations.



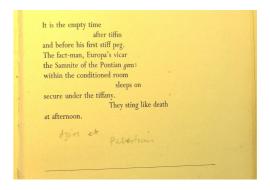


Figure 55 – the 'Deus meus...' insertion to DJL Ana #2.238

Figure 56 – the 'Agios et / Palestrina' insertion to DJL Ana #2.239

There is nothing extraordinary in a writer going over already-published work and altering it for subsequent publications. Indeed, it was something Jones noticed other writers doing – he wrote admiringly of Coleridge's attention to detail in altering a line of *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* from one edition to the next.<sup>388</sup> However, none of Jones's post-publication insertions were ever adopted in subsequent editions of *The Anathemata*? So what was he up to?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>388</sup> Coleridge changed 'the furrow follow'd free' to 'the furrow stream'd off free' in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* because he saw that this is how it appears for a person on a boat which is forming that furrow. Jones sees in this the same kind of "irrefutable evidence of his almost over-scrupulous and most meticulous care" as he saw everywhere in Joyce. *Rime* 29.

If, as suggested above, publication paradoxically introduced incompletion and attemptedness to The Anathemata, Jones's insertion of handwritten passages into his published text without any intention of making such amendments in subsequent editions might signify a gesture by Jones of reintroducing process to a product which signified the end of process. This may be so. But the fact that Jones did not return to his paintings in the same way, in signalling an important difference between the two media, also suggests the influence of another attitude which motivated such handwritten insertions. In a painting or drawing, the addition of further marks or forms subsequent to nominal completion does not clearly set up a visible differentiation between the earlier and later states: newly applied forms will likely sink into the structure of the made object, and its makerly history appear to have been continuous. With Jones's handwritten insertions to published versions of The Anathemata, however, such a differentiation is stark: there is type, and there is also handwriting. I would argue that Jones's handwritten insertions can be seen as a response to an ambivalence in regard to the published form of texts in general.

## (ii) David Jones, print, and the book

David Jones was exposed to the material conditions under which the word was printed from an early age. His father James Jones worked as a compositor, overseer and then production manager at *The Christian Herald*, the office of which David visited as a child.<sup>389</sup> He described his home environment as one which fostered an attitude which "took the printed page and its illustration for granted."<sup>390</sup> This basic familiarity with printing was supplemented during Jones's work under Eric Gill. Between 1923 and 1931, Jones illustrated 21 books published by seven different publishers. Ten of these books were published by the St Dominic's Press, established by Gill and Hilary Pepler at Ditchling in 1916, where Jones had met Gill in 1921, and thereafter trained to be a wood engraver in the early years of his intermittent residence there throughout the 1920s. Jones would therefore most certainly have seen, and

<sup>389</sup> Blissett (1981) 72, cited in Miles and Shiel (1995) 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>390</sup> David Jones, 'In illo tempore' (DG 23), quoted in Miles and Shiel (1995) 13.

perhaps even have worked, Hilary Pepler's Stanhope printing press, with its two founts of Caslon Old Face founders' type, and perhaps have been involved in binding books and pamphlets. At the St Dominic's Press, pages were set, and even ink made, completely by hand.<sup>391</sup>

One publication which Jones illustrated is of particular interest, *Aisōpou tou mythopoiou logoi hepta*, published in London by the Monotype Corporation in 1928. In being involved in the production of this edition of *Aesop's Fables*, Jones was not only illustrating a book whose entire purpose was the advertisement of the *New Hellenic Greek* typeface;<sup>392</sup> he was also working for Stanley Morrison at Monotype,<sup>393</sup> almost certainly a commission gained through Gill, who had been working on a new type set for Monotype since 1925, which first appeared in 1929 and came to be known as *Perpetua*, the type which Jones directed the printer to use for *The Anathemata*. Thus, Jones was exposed to the technical aspects of high volume printing (*The Christian Herald* and Monotype) as well as the reactionary low-volume St. Dominic's Press at Ditchling. This split experience of printing and book making leads me to suggest that Jones held an ambivalent attitude towards the book as object, one which impacted on his attitude to *The Anathemata* at and after publication.

In the account Jones gave of his childhood reading habits in the Preface to *The Anathemata*, we see the material existence of books assume a dominant place in his memory.

It so happens that whereas I did drawings from five years onwards I was very stupid in learning to read and found it hard at nine and subsequently. On more than one occasion I recall paying my sister a penny to read to me. There was in those days a children's pink paper-covered series called Books for the Bairns and one of that series dealt with King Arthur's knights (including the story of the Knight of the Sparrow-hawk) and that was the book I most liked hearing read. And then *The Lays of Ancient Rome* became a favourite. I used to try to read, or rather turn over the pages of, Jewel's *Apology*, partly I think because that was in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>391</sup> See Wilcox (1991) 43-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>392</sup> See Miles and Shiel (1995) 74.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>393</sup> See Miles (1992) 77-9.

full calf, which I thought grand. Also there was Keble's *Christian Year* with illustrations by Johann Friedrich Overbeck.

(Ana 41-2)

Jones remembers the particular volume of the Books for the Bairns series which he liked, so there is no need for him to refer to the colour and material of their binding; but his inclusion of such a detail seems to me to be part of the re-calling process – a reconstitution of meaning, in memory, from unexpected sources. Here, the material conditions of the book – the colour, feel and indeed the *sound* of it being read to him – are integral to the meaning in feeling which this particular 'data' has taken on. Not being able to read Jewel's *Apology* is no barrier to its appreciation: 'turning over the pages' and feeling its leather covers is sufficient to grant meaning to the book as an object, not as mere container of the text.

This attribution of 'aura', 'feeling' or meaning to the physical being of a nonunique object is presented by Jones as a characteristic which lessens with age. Concluding the part of the Preface which deals with his early influences, he wrote: "It would seem that whether or no 'old friends are the best', they appear, in some ways, to be stayers" (Ana 42). We find a concrete illustration of one of Jones's particular 'stayers' (though in relation to remembered conversations rather than books) in his only annotation in the flyleaf of Eliot's Poems: "p.75 C.i.f. London" he has written, referring to line 211 of The Waste Land. Jones referred himself to this particular phrase because it re-called the maritime language used by his extended Thames-side family when he was a child: "when I first read in 'The Fire Sermon' of The Waste Land the line, 'C.i.f. London: documents at sight'," Jones wrote late in life, "the poet evoked for me an echo dead central to all that world, a real bull's-eye and no mistake" (DG 20). Although Jones does not make such an explicit statement, I think we can conclude that the leather-bound books, as well as the knowledge of the quirks of regional and profession-specific dialogue, which he acquired as an adult did not exhibit such an exulted value. So what was his attitude to the book as an adult?

Jones of course already had first-hand experience of turning his writing into a book, and his attitude to the production of *In Parenthesis* seems to register this adult attitude. Nearly thirty years after the event, Jones recalled with Rene Hague the negotiations they had both undertaken with Faber and Faber in the publication of *In Parenthesis*: "Do you remember us going in 1936 to old Dicky de la Mare and wondering if they [Faber and Faber] could be persuaded to print the thing in long columns like a newspaper, in 'Joanna' type face – What a hope! – but actually it would have been jolly nice" (*DGC* 195; see also *DGC* 54). Richard de la Mare's resistance to this scheme was informed by a consideration of the necessity of conventional material forms of poetry as regards typeface and spatial layout. The "great possibilities" of *In Parenthesis*, wrote de la Mare in October 1936,

depend upon it being presented in a way not too dissimilar to the normal run of books published by such firms as ourselves...what I am saying is that it should be presented in a little less peculiar way than that Hague proposes, and that, I believe, you have approved. Incidentally, I should prefer to use a fount of type that is slightly more familiar to most people.<sup>394</sup>

Furthermore, in the negotiations with De la Mare in regard to the design of the cover of *In Parenthesis*, de la Mare wrote to Jones that "the style with the blue panel is much better for selling purposes. And we must not forget that sort of consideration altogether! But it isn't for that reason that I am asking you to change your mind, because we think the blue panel successful aesthetically and appropriate to the book itself."<sup>395</sup> Faber and Faber were a publisher which Jones undoubtedly respected. And yet the typographical and bibliographical form of *In Parenthesis* favoured by de la Mare was, in spite of his exclamatory denial, overwhelmingly dictated by commercial considerations.

In much the same way that the poetics Jones developed used the materials of the language in such a way as to step out of language's common everyday use, in having sought to print his poem in folio, in two columns, and in *Joanna*, Jones

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>394</sup> Richard de la Mare to David Jones, 13 October 1936 (*DJP* CT4/2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>395</sup> Richard de la Mare to David Jones, 10 May 1937 (*DJP* CT4/2).

testified to his desire to partake of all the gains of printing whilst remaining free of what he believed were its drawbacks. For Jones, print was inescapably the legitimate and accepted form of writing, one enabling an objective experience of the text, as I hope the opening of the preceding section of this chapter has demonstrated. But the conventions which entailed such positive attributes also entailed the dangers of the non-individualized, and so the non-individually made.

## (iii) Publication and the gratuitously made object

Through the whole of copy #2 of The Anathemata, we see Jones's postpublication penetration into the text become more and more bold. Between pages 49 and 112, only marginal glosses to the text are made: Jones is tentatively engaging with his text from the periphery, drawing attention to links between The Anathemata and In Parenthesis (Ana 49), to The Waste Land (50), to Liturgical sources (51, 53, 66), and so on. At page 113, the Romulum = Romulorum equation nudges at the poetic text itself. Then the glosses to sources continue once more. However, when we reach 'The Lady of the Pool' we find a semi-insertion at the line 'For sure this Barke / was Tempest-tost', by which Jones has written in the margin '(captain speaks)' (Ana #2 141). This is of the same order of insertion as the identification of Marged, Mabli and Sibli as speakers of the text of 'Mabinog's Liturgy': half in and half out of the text, the incursion is tentative – note, again, the characteristic parentheses, this time around '(captain speaks)'. After this textual intervention, Jones continued to gloss his sources until the definitive and full-voiced incursion of 'Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quod dereliquisti me?' and 'Agios et / Palestrina' nearly at the end of the poem on pages 238-9. The final and most emphatic post-publication incursion into the text of The Anathemata comes on its final page, where Jones has written in hastily inscribed pencil: 'EXPLICIT' (DJL Ana #2.243). If we turn to copy #1, the master copy for Jones's corrections, we find at the foot of the last page the full form of the same inscription: "EXPLICITVS:/LIBER:EST:/D.J". (see Figure 57).

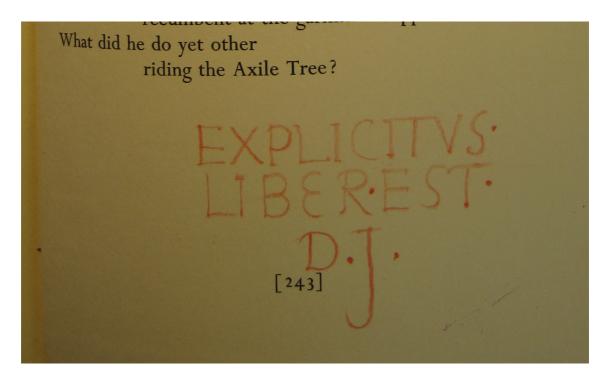


Figure 57 – The final page of The Anathemata with an inscription added by Jones (DJL Ana #1.243)

Jones's inscription, a standard formula at the end of medieval manuscripts literally, 'the book is unrolled' (see OED 'explicit') – applies completion perhaps years after publication to a work which was described as only an 'attempted writing' by its author. Jones's inscriptional act incorporates the handmade-ness of these medieval manuscripts into his poem as an element of 'anathemata' by using these particular words, but also and more emphatically through his inscription of those words by hand. As a hand-made material mark applied to a printed book, this inscription reasserts the value of the made which Jones to some degree felt his text had lost in its conversion from manuscript to book. This final inscription, when we come across it, although rudimentary, outstrips all the other far more 'artistic' inscriptions which are reproduced to illustrate *The* Anathemata simply by exhibiting the unique trace of the movement of the making hand. Thus we find a gesture which seeks to reascribe Jonesian sacramentality to the materially signifying structure of a mass produced item. The completion of the poem signified by this handwritten inscription is achieved because of that inscription's very handwritten-ness.

#### Conclusion

In the course of this final chapter, we have seen how the movement of Jones's text from handwriting to type introduced a sense of the presence of a reader to its author. This presence was a motivating force behind Jones's rigorous attention to the possibilities of the spatial layout of his text, which was becoming more and more perceptible as the text of the poem approached its eventual condition as an entity divided over the course of almost 200 pages. What comes into view at this point is Jones's opportunism: he exploits every possible means by which added signifying functions can be knitted into his text – as the example of his attention to the spatial disposition of the text reveals. Jones's 'twisting' of his text through the exploitation of its visual form brought yet another dualized device into the structure of a poem whose whole purpose was to perform duality.

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that the text was never experienced by Jones as being in a single state, nor at some definable state between the begun and the finished, but was always riven with lacunae, discontinuities, repetitions, possibilities, and each of these disproportionately across the fabric of the text. As this chapter has shown, this state continued even after publication, with Jones's many annotations indicating a writing which was still being attempted. The effect of this is to reveal a truly empirical and practically manifest view of the elusiveness of the constituent elements of the 'definitive text'. Not only do different published editions of The Anathemata contain different texts, and none of them the complete list of corrections which Jones indicated to Vernon Watkins; but also, the glosses and poetic insertions which Jones made to several copies register an ongoing generativity he felt to be still operative within the text. The definitive text of *The Anathemata*, then, is multiple. Moreover, Jones's handwritten additions to his published text were made in different ways and to different purposes. In one copy Jones marked corrections (#1); in another, he added notes and insertions to the text (#2); and on another occasion in the

same copy, Jones wrote comments in regard to Douglas Cleverdon's radio adaptation of *The Anathemata* (comments ranging from "Shocking", "intolerable" and "Bloody awful" to "well said" and "very good"). Thus the published text – just as had been the text at any stage during its making, not that such 'stages' existed – was (or is) only provisionally complete.

# ♦ Conclusion ♦

## The Anathemata as Fractal

In the course of the first two chapters of this thesis, I challenged the two dominant spatial analogies by which the form of The Anathemata has been represented: the concentric rings of Thomas Dilworth, and the unicursal labyrinth of Thomas Goldpaugh. I have opposed these analogies on the grounds that they misrepresent both the form of poem, and the process by which Jones wrote it. The Anathemata has an accidental form; its final shape and consequent effect was never intentioned during the process of its making. challenge arises from this: if we find a cause (process) and an effect (form), but without intentionality as the deterministic mechanism which links them, how might we understand that relationship? More pertinently, especially in consideration of Jones's marginal position in Anglophone writing, how are we to hope that such a re-evaluation of his achievement will spark his rediscovery? To assert that Jones just stumbled across a form will surely consign him to an even murkier obscurity – for, it is easier to say that such a form is a non-form, or the poet has no skill, than it is to find a way of evaluating the formal outcome of a process-by-chance. If this achievement, since Thomas Dilworth's discovery of Jones's method through the foliational code of the manuscript, has always been underpinned by the poet's formal intentions whilst engaged in the act of writing the poem, what else can happen when we liquidate this intentionality and this method other than that Jones's achievement, little-recognized already, will likewise be liquidated? My proposed analogy for *The Anathemata* – the fractal – will, I hope, negotiate this difficult problem.

As with Dilworth's and Goldpaugh's analogies, my proposed analogy for The

Anathemata is both dynamical and formal, and it likewise stresses the origin of the latter in the former. However, a major part of this analogy's appeal is that, whilst the relationship between process and eventual form is deterministic (form is immanent in process), it resists the attribution of intentionality (process is not consciously oriented upon preconceived form; determinism is not equal to intention). This is justified, I think, by the fact that Jones, as I hope I have made clear throughout the preceding five chapters, was being completely candid when he wrote to William Hayward that the form of his poem simply 'happened'.<sup>396</sup> The whole of the writing of *The Anathemata* was a series of experiments, not just that which produced the discarded pre-1945 work. In the fourth chapter of this thesis, I identified the necessity of in-depth knowledge in the construction of analogical correspondences between two different 'domains'. With this in mind, I hope the reader will indulge the following rather extensive account of fractals.

Fractals have their origin in set theory in mathematics. The first sets which exhibited fractal-like properties were formulated in the latter quarter of the nineteenth century. The implications of these simple sets participated in the crisis of mathematics between 1875 and 1925. As with the epistemological crisis in mathematics, science and philosophy, so the aesthetic crisis in the arts (of course, such cross-disciplinary historical co-incidence is, since Foucault, a commonplace and repeated discovery). The *Cantor point-set* was a foundational development for the emergence of fractal geometry. In this, Georg Cantor (1845-1918) established the idea of a 'limit-point', which is a number upon which an iterative function is infinitely oriented. So, if we begin with the number 1 and divide it into two, we have ½. If we then divide this in half, we have ¼. Although we approach the limit point zero, no matter how many times we feed the product of this calculation back into the same formula again, we never reach it: the (infinite) sequence generated by the function is asymptotic to the limit point.

 $<sup>^{396}</sup>$  Jones wrote to Hayward on 10 December 1957: "It seems to me, as far as I can tell, that you have got hold of the kind of thing that *The Ana* tried or, rather, happened, to be. I say 'happened' because it would be a great mistake to suppose it was a planned work – it took the shape it did as it went along in virtue of what I wanted to say and because that was the only way I knew of saying it." (*WH* 16)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> See Mandelbrot (1983) 4 and 14; and Lauwerier (1991) 25-6.

The relationship of the abstract geometrical conception of such point-sets and their visual representation is, in my opinion, best described using Koch's curve. In an address of 1904, Helge von Koch gave an example of a curve without a tangent. This is formed by taking a line, removing its central third, and replacing it with the uprights of an equilateral triangle. This can be repeated on a smaller scale on the four resultant straight lines. And this in turn can be repeated on a still smaller scale – and so on to infinity. At each stage, the length of the line increases by a factor of four-thirds (see Figure 58).

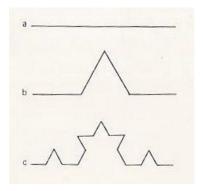


Figure 58 – The first three stages of the generation of the Koch curve

The effect, if we continue this function to infinity, is a curve made up of straight lines; a line, with fixed ends (the two ends of the original line remain unmoved) which is paradoxically infinitely long (see Figure 59).

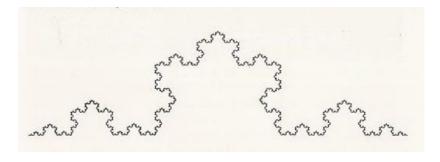


Figure 59 – An approximation of the form of the Koch curve at infinite iteration

This easily visualized self-replicating characteristic of the Koch curve is common to all fractals.

'Fractals' were only conceived of as a legitimate and discrete sub-disciplinary object of mathematics a century after the Cantor point-set was formulated. The word 'fractal', first coined by Benoît Mandelbrot in 1975, is used to describe both the numerical products of an infinitely recursive mathematical formula – the set of points generated by an equation which undergoes iteration to infinity is termed a *fractal set* – and its geometric visual representation, usually processed by visualization software on a computer.<sup>398</sup> Mandelbrot, introducing the first monograph on the subject of fractals, justifies his neologism in these terms:

There is a saying in Latin that 'to name is to know': *Nomen est numen*. Until I took up their study, the sets alluded to [Cantor, Peano, etc.]...were not important enough to require a term to denote them. However, as the classical monsters were defanged and harnessed through my efforts, and as many new 'monsters' began to arise, the need for a term became increasingly apparent. It became acute when the first predecessor of this Essay had to be given a title.

I coined *fractal* from the Latin adjective *fractus*. The corresponding Latin verb *frangere* means 'to break': to create irregular fragments. It is therefore sensible – and how appropriate to our needs! – that, in addition to 'fragmented' (as in *fraction* or *refraction*), *fractus* should also mean 'irregular', both meanings being preserved in *fragment*.<sup>399</sup>

These attributes at least superficially link the fractal to Jones's presentation of *The Anathemata* to his reader as 'fragments of an attempted writing'. But what about the more specific characteristics of fractals?

First of all, fractals are at root functionally simple. However, because of their recursive structure – where the output of the first simple calculation is fed back as an input into the same calculation, and so on and on – fractals generate hugely complex patternings (speaking numerically in the first instance, of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup> A fractal only exists in the abstract; visualization is necessarily insufficient because it is a limited, concrete sign for an infinite function: "'fractal' is a mathematical concept, and it relates to the real world in the same manner that 'sphere' relates to the shape of the Earth and 'spiral' relates to the shape of a snail shell." Stewart (2004) 12. Just as with Euclidean geometry, "all self-similar fractal curves are also unbounded and infinitely thin. Also, each has a very specific lack of smoothness, which makes it more complicated than anything in Euclid. The best representation, therefore, can only hold within a limited range[.]" Mandelbrot (1983) 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>399</sup> Mandelbrot (1983) 4.

course). So, for example, the Julia Set (A), named after Gaston Julia (1893-1978), is generated by the iteration of the following equation:<sup>400</sup>

$$x' = x^2 - y^2 + a$$
$$y' = 2xy + b$$

The simplicity of this function attains a kind of apotheosis in the equation whose iteration generates the Mandelbrot Set:<sup>401</sup>

$$Z \iff z^2 + c$$

A second characteristic of fractals is that they are self-similar. Absolutely self-similar fractals (like Koch's curve) are described as *scaling fractals*, where a formal repetition occurs identically at different scales to infinity. And yet, in even such a simple scaling fractal as Koch's curve, there is significant variation of shape: complexity emerges out of simplicity. Again, from Mandelbrot's introduction:

most fractals in this Essay are invariant under certain transformations of scale. They are called *scaling*. A fractal invariant under ordinary geometric similarity is called *self-similar*.

In the compound term *scaling fractals*, the adjective serves to mitigate the noun. While the primary term *fractal* points to disorder and covers cases of intractable irregularity, the modifier *scaling* points to a kind of order. Alternatively, taking *scaling* as the primary term pointing to a strict order, *fractal* is a modifier meant to exclude lines and planes.<sup>402</sup>

Thus the implication of the utterly irregular in the term 'fractal' is tempered by the implication of the absolutely ordered in the term 'scaling'. Here, we first glimpse an important aspect of the analogy, one which ties up with the dialectical relationship we have seen in the experience of form, where order and

 $<sup>^{400}</sup>$  Here, a and b are arbitrary numbers – in every case a fractal is produced. See Lauwerier (1991) 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>401</sup> The bi-directional arrow indicates that the result of the calculation (Z) is fed back into the calculation as z.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>402</sup> Mandelbrot (1983) 18.

disorder play against one another – and, in the process of making, where determinism and chance do the same.

Self-similarity in fractals means that a pattern at any one scale is replicated – either absolutely (in scaling fractals), or stochastically – at smaller scales to infinity, and at larger scales up to the originary form. Fractals which do not exhibit scaling – stochastically self-similar fractals – are far from un-patterned. An exhibit scaling – stochastically self-similar fractals – are far from un-patterned. Stochastically self-similar fractals are absolutely self-similar from a certain interpretive perspective if we consider that the degree of variation between repeated elements is an integral element of the repetition. If a form reappears at a smaller scale but has rotated five degrees clockwise and is internally distorted accordingly, the next time it appears at an even smaller scale, it will have rotated another five degrees clockwise, and be further distorted to the same degree. In fractals, there is always a pattern discernible in the chaos – a dapple – even if it is apparently asymmetrical; there is always a kind of 'Celticity', to use Jones's term.

Infinitely iterated mathematical functions generate an infinite sequence of numbers in which patterning can be discerned at an infinite number of levels.

Fractals are characterized by a kind of built-in *self-similarity* in which a figure, the motif, keeps repeating itself on an ever-diminishing scale. A good example is a tree with a trunk that separates into two branches, which in turn separate into two smaller side branches, and so on. In our mind we can repeat this an infinite number of times. The final result is a tree fractal with an infinite number of branches; each individual branch, however small, can in its turn be regarded as a small trunk that carries an entire tree.<sup>405</sup>

An important consideration here is that infinitely self-replicating patterns are

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> See Mandelbrot (1983) 147-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>404</sup> In one description of 'Celticity', written in a letter of 1970, Jones writes: "It is the natural genius for the 'abstract' that is the dominating feature [of Celtic art]. They borrowed motifs from the mediterranean world or from anywhere and immediately made it 'abstract' – and usually *asymmetric* – even when it looks symmetrical you find it's most subtly asymmetric in all its details." (*DGC* 228).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup> Lauwerier (1991) xii.

founded on repeated functions. When experimenting with computer software in the production of fractals, formulae and the original input can be adjusted in order to see what different patternings can be made to take place. A single function generates a vast and complex pattern which is predetermined by its quantities – there is no randomness in it whatsoever – and adjusting it slightly produces a completely different pattern. The 'shape' of – or the pattern to – a complex fractal is impossible for a human mind to imaginatively construct from the numerical figures being generated by the iteration of an equation. The only way of perceiving complex patterns which exist in sets of numbers is to generate images which spatially represent the disposition of those numbers.

The main characteristics of fractals, then, are that (a) they are self-generative from within themselves as a result of their iterativity; (b) that they are founded on the infinite repetition of a simple calculation; (c) that they are self-similar in a hierarchized set of scalings; and (d) (in specific relation to stochastic fractals) that within or between or across the scales of self-similarity, they exhibit hugely complex patterns as a result of gradual deviation from absolute self-replication, a kind of eternal turning or twisting.

The justification for the fractal as an analogy for *The Anathemata* should now, I hope, be apparent. Taking the points listed above in sequence, we can now relate each of these characteristics of fractals to the processes involved in the making of Jones's poem as discovered in the course of this thesis. In Chapter 1, we saw how during the writing of the poem, each tiny act of writing, each minuscule insertion, was motivated and informed by the already-written, and that each insertion, at the time of its writing only the finest and youngest bud of the tree of the text, later became a trunk out of which numerous branches grew, and then that each of these did the same, and so on. We also saw how the beginning and the end of the poem were established first, and that the making of the poem proceeded from within those limits – just like Koch's curve, or any other fractal. We then saw in Chapter 2 how the conceptualization of the self-opposed structure as represented by the paradigm of the amphibolic word 'anathemata' led Jones both to the process of the writing of his poem and to its

subject: the repeated lifting up of the embodiments of his aporetic conception of man. Chapter 3 addressed the context within which Jones developed an attitude towards language which drove the formation of his poetics. In Chapter 4 we saw how the process of this poetic development culminated in the possibility of the analogical poetics he sought to deploy in the later stages of the writing of his poem. Here, we saw how the structure of his 'anathemata' was not only ideally locked in an opposition exemplified by that amphibolic word, but also participated in a unified but open system as a result of the analogical interpenetration of Jones's many sources in individual images of the poem at every level of the poem. The Anathemata is manifestly self-similar: the word 'anathemata' – as title-concept, and as individual performative linguistic unit (it appears on Ana 90 and 105) - is both the largest and smallest of these selfsimilar scales. Between these, every item of 'anathemata' participates in a selfopposed structure at numerous scales. Likewise, as covered in Chapter 5, the spatially motivated 'twistings' which were applied to the text took place at the level of the line, verse-paragraph and section, setting up a structural isomorphism in the visual-verbal form of the poem. These self-similar aspects as regards both the form and content of the poem take their place within the overall analogical structure by which Jones knitted his data together, and which traverses the whole poem at every scale, imbuing every image with the expression of a significance which penetrates all these scales. In turn, everything in the poem can be experienced as participating in an open or dappled whole, one which is formed by the centrality of that analogical function in the poem. And finally, we also saw in Chapter 5 how the infinite work of the making of the poem had to be interrupted to enable it to exist in some experience-able material form, just as any visual representation of the infinite fractal function involves an interruption of that infinite process.

The terms of the analogy between the fractal and *The Anathemata* are perhaps best summarized in tabular form:

Characteristic of the fractal	Element /Chapter	Feature of The Anathemata
The iterative function causes self-generation within the terms of the outer structure.	A/1	The micro-insertional method of the making of the poem means that its outer limit is fixed, and its interior self- replicates. Each new insertion is both the outcome of prior generation, and the origin of later generation: both root and bud.
This initial – and repeated – function is simple.	B/2	The Anathemata is founded on the repetition of a simple formal structural isomorphic principle of the co-presence of apparent opposites: the sacred/profane, the high/low, the gratuitous/utile, etc.
This repetition sets up a repetition in stochastic self-similarity at numerous scales which is able to generate images of astonishing complexity and, hopefully, beauty.	C/4	The word 'anathemata' – as title-concept, and as individual performative linguistic unit – is both the largest and smallest of the poem's self-similar scales. Between these are numerous 'anathemata' which participate in the same structure at every scale. Despite this repetition, <i>The Anathemata</i> retains a dappledness because its analogical poetics produces a diversity in unity.
The iterative function which produces the fractal set is infinite, and so must be interrupted in order to be experienced visually.	D/5	The making of <i>The Anathemata</i> – because self-replicating and self-similar – was oriented upon infinity. Even after publication, Jones felt the desire to add to his work. But publication was a necessary requirement to enable the experience of poem, even if that meant it would only ever be 'attempted'.

Fractals have been applied to many phenomena in many disciplines in the past thirty years; for example, the structure of the universe, the structure of matter at the sub-atomic level, coastal and cloud formations, the stock market, weather systems, Brownian motion, turbulence, the growth of cities, neuroscience, and so on. Their value, in these respects, lies in the provision of a modelling system which is highly complex, one which finds patterns within phenomena whose functions appear to be chaotic. Mandelbrot, writing of the self-generation of fractals from a simple original form, signals the kind of application which it is hoped they will one day undertake: "Eventually one reaches something that is qualitatively different from the original building block. One can say that the situation is a fulfilment of what in general is nothing but a dream: the hope of describing and explaining chaotic nature as the cumulation of many simple steps." Ian Stewart holds – or held – the same kind of view:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>406</sup> Mandelbrot, in Stewart (2004) 61.

Until recently it was fair to say, as I did in *From Here to Infinity* in 1996, that: 'The contribution of fractals to our understanding of the natural world is not so much one of technology as of what used to be called natural philosophy.' Fractals provide a unified point of view on certain kinds of complexity and irregularity in the natural world, and open a path for a mathematical attack. They act as an organizing principle, not as a computational tool like calculus or linear algebra or numerical methods.<sup>407</sup>

Although Stewart may have changed his mind, it is not because fractals have ceased to provide this kind of view, but because other efficacious applications have begun to be instituted.

Here, if we take a step back and consider the historical development of the notion of the fractal, we find the trajectory of its development to be an issue with which The Anathemata concerns itself. Fractals, before they acquired the name, had *no* application. The making of set theory, and later of fractal images, can be seen to be a fundamentally gratuitous act: pure mathematical play. It was only after their conception as 'fractal' that they began to be applied to the world as modelling tools. From the perspective of *The Anathemata*'s philosophy of man, Mandelbrot's description quoted above becomes indicative of the apparently ineluctable gravitation in Western culture towards the assertion of value only through inscribing human action within a discourse of utility. David Jones's creation of the conditions by which the process of the making of *The* Anathemata could progress without his knowing where it was going – where a formal determinism could function under the aegis of non-intention, a kind of makerly chance - is therefore a kind of performance of resistance in the production of an art work whose subject is that same resistance. The dominance of this method-by-chance, continually suspending or deferring intention, is the mechanism by which a gratuitous making was enabled, the transaction of which is a continual declaration of the core value of being human because, in Jones's view, that activity constitutes and defines humanity.

But there was another aspect of chance at play in the making of *The Anathemata*:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>407</sup> Stewart (2004) 12.

the chance that the eventual form which stemmed from this method might be unsatisfactory. Throughout the period in which Jones wrote *The Anathemata*, he only began to express a degree of satisfaction with his poem two months prior to its publication. 408 Prior to this, for all Jones knew, or believed, the work he was engaged upon might have been about to collapse, just as his pre-1945 work had. The second major analogy which Jones used in relation to art (after the Eucharistic one) was military, which I would argue has its source in his feeling for art as a high-risk activity. The risk entailed in an exemplary gratuitous making, one without a guiding principle, one proceeding by 'inner necessity' the way Jones experienced his own making of The Anathemata (see IN 24) - is that only complete chaos (or, on the other hand, only a reductive order) will result, which is the work's undoing. (We should bear in mind that it took Jones 15 years to write *The Anathemata*; the risk involved in such an activity was that this time might have been entirely wasted.) The military analogy for artistic risk is already implicitly present in *In Parenthesis* in John Ball's first experience of enemy shelling, which we encountered in the opening chapter of this thesis: "Then the pent violence released and consummation of all burstings out; all sudden up-rendings and rivings-through - all taking-out of vents - all barrierbreaking – all unmaking" (IP 24 – my emphasis). If, for Jones, a made object is successful to the degree to which it gives pleasure - as he wrote in the Preface, "I believe in Poussin's dictum: 'The goal of painting is delight', and...it is one of my few convictions that what goes for one art goes for all of 'em, in some sense or other" (Ana 34) – the continually present risk that it may not give pleasure is also an essential part of the makerly act.

The fractal, whose material form can not be foreseen in its abstract numeral form, also functions as an effective analogy for this facet of the makerly act. If fractals can give aesthetic pleasure, an important additional consideration is that they might very well *not*. The complex visual shape generated by a repeated simple function is unpredictable; the variety of the appearances of visual representations of fractal functions means that, while the form of the aesthetic object is fully determined by that function, the connection is not motivated by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup> As quoted in Chapter 5: "It's got more unity than I feared it would have a year or so back." (*KFP* 15 August 1952).

intention (see Figure 60).

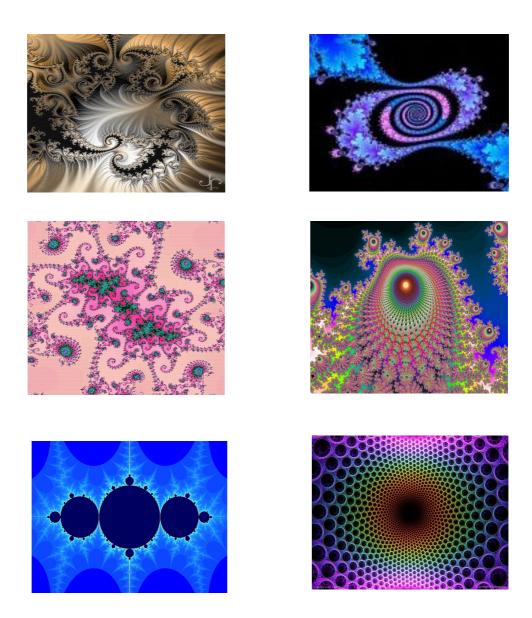


Figure 60 – Julia-set and Mandelbrot-set fractals

In both the visual representation of the numeral fractal set, and in the making of *The Anathemata*, the aesthetic quality of the overall pattern which arises is a game of chance: even if that overall pattern is predetermined, it cannot be preconceived. The visual representation of the fractal function may please, but equally it may not. In several senses, the visual generation out of the fractal function is entirely gratuitous: it is the most objective of aesthetic objects in that neither technique nor self-expression nor formal intention can be involved; as aesthetic object, it serves no purpose; its form is free in that it is unforeseeable. Thus the fractal is an effective analogy because it stands for both the form of the

poem and the process by which that form came into existence, and it does this without recourse to an intentionalist critical paradigm, under whose terms meaning and value can be most readily assigned to a work.

A view of the fractal process and form of *The Anathemata*, then, enables us to evaluate Jones's achievement because it foregrounds the poem's unintentioned end, whilst at the same time placing the notion of form-by-accident within a framework which is able to assign specific meaning and value to non-intention. Thus the difficulty which unintentional form poses for the evaluation of *The Anathemata* is neutralized, and the process by which it was made – gratuitousness – is reinscribed within the poem as not only its subject, but also as its entire organic being. Astonishingly, the unity of *The Anathemata* might be seen to be not only thematic and formal, but also genetic. It describes, it praises, it performs and it has its origin in gratuitous making. As such, whilst being a unified and powerful celebration of the history of humanity from its very inception, *The Anathemata* also asserts itself as a "rear-guard detail" (*Ana* 49), continuing a tradition at least 35,000 years old in defiance of utile modernity.

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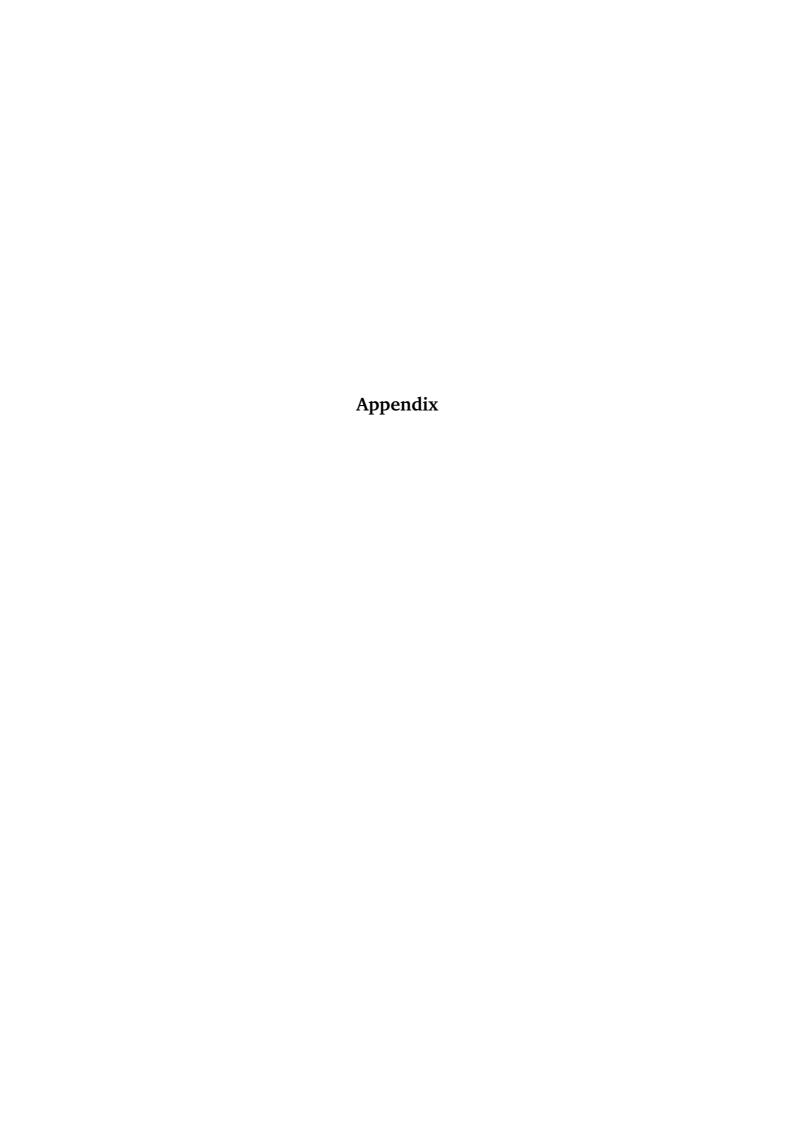
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## Appendix 1

The two archivists who catalogued the 'David Jones Papers' at the National Library of Wales – Philip Davies and Daniel Huws – constructed five tables (for files LA1/3-7) which assign a letter to each of the different types of paper which Jones used in writing *The Anathemata*. Their idea, never carried out, was to obtain the same data for the paper upon which Jones wrote his letters in order to be able to date the manuscript drafts (Jones always dated his letters). I am indebted to them for this suggestion. I have continued their work by obtaining such data for Jones's letters, and for the paper upon which he drafted his 'experiments'. The following tables present this information.

Table 1.i contains paper-type data, arranged in chronological order, for letters Jones wrote between Spring 1935 and the end of 1952. Whilst most of the paper Jones wrote on held the potential to be classified in reference to whether it was wove or laid, its length and width, and (for laid paper) the measurements between its chainlines, I have only included data for paper which is watermarked. This is because the variety of paper types was so large that paper without watermarks could not be discriminated from other types with adequate accuracy. This data was gathered from letters from Jones to Jim Ede (now held at Kettle's Yard Gallery, Cambridge), to W. F. Jackson Knight ('Knight Family Papers', 'MS 75', University of Exeter), to Tom Burns, *The Times*, the *Catholic Herald*, *The Tablet* and numerous other correspondents (various files in the 'David Jones Papers', National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth), and to E. C. Hodgkin, Cecil Collins, Helen Sutherland and Ben Nicholson (Tate Archive, Tate Britain, London). The sample is by no means comprehensive, but as far as I am aware includes all the letters Jones wrote now available in British public archives.

Table 1.ii synthesises the data from Table 1.i into a form which can be used in the dating of Jones's manuscript sheets. The result of this is that 27 different types of dated paper can be

referred to in an analysis of the manuscript material of *The Anathemata*.

Table 1.iii presents the same data for the whole of the manuscript of *The Anathemata*. The tables include for each sheet the catalogue reference number in the 'David Jones Papers' (*DJP*), the paper code, the foliational order number(s) which Jones has given, and the page(s) in *The Anathemata* which contain(s) the draft material. Davies and Huws assembled this data for LA1/3-7, and I present it as they organised it, with the exception that I have constructed a new coding and subsume theirs within mine. Data for LA1/8 and 9, LR1/1, LR4/1, LR5/1 and LR6/1 was gathered and collated by me.

Broadly speaking, the results of the paper-data analysis, corroborated by Jones's references to his writing in letters, enabled me to ascertain the dates on which they were written, and so their order of composition. However, because of the lack of paper-type data for many of the sheets, and the reliance upon only a small number of letters for some paper types, I was relectant to construct a complete genetic history based on this data. The data became useful for certain localised examinations, and I refer to it in the course of my thesis as appropriate.

Appendix 1.i - Paper-type data for letters written by David Jones between 1935 and 1952

Date	Addressee	Sent from	Folio#	Watermark	L/W	1 . 5.	Width mm	Paper – notes	Location	Reference
7-Mar-35				[OVAL WITH CROWN ATOP; SITTING						
		E		FIGURE WITH CROWN AND SCEPTRE	.	007.5	000 5		101	
7 14 05	HSE	Fort Hotel, Sidmouth		HOLDING FLEUR DE LIS? BRITANNIA?]	L	327.5			KY	L.14.1977/1
7-Mar-35			2	"PIONEER / FINE"	L	327.5	206		KY	L.14.1977/2
11-Mar-35				[OVAL WITH CROWN ATOP; SITTING FIGURE WITH CROWN AND SCEPTRE						
	HSE	Fort Hotel, Sidmouth	1	HOLDING FLEUR DE LIS?]	L				KY	L.15.1977/1
11-Mar-35				[OVAL WITH CROWN ATOP; SITTING						
				FIGURE WITH CROWN AND SCEPTRE	.				101	1 15 1077/0
40.1.05			2	HOLDING FLEUR DE LIS?] [OVAL WITH CROWN ATOP; SITTING	L				KY	L.15.1977/2
12-Jun-35				FIGURE WITH CROWN ATOP, SITTING						
	HSE	Fort Hotel, Sidmouth	1	HOLDING FLEUR DE LIS?]	L				KY	L.16.1977
8-Feb-36				"Century / [in circle around a lion] LION						
	HSE	Fort Hotel, Sidmouth	1 1	BRAND MANUFACTURE / White W"	W	324	203		KY	L.25.1977/1-2
8-Feb-36			2	"Century / [in circle around a lion] LION BRAND MANUFACTURE / White W"	w	324	203		KY	L.25.1977/3-4
12-Feb-36	HSE	Fort Hotel, Sidmouth	1	"BASILDON / SUPERFINE"	L	324			KY	L.26.1977
2-Jun-36	HSE	Fort Hotel, Sidmouth	1	"BASILDON / SUPERFINE"	L	325			KY	L.29.1977
1-Mar-37				[OVAL WITH CROWN ATOP; SITTING						
	HSE	Contiletel Cidensouth		FIGURE WITH CROWN AND SCEPTRE		323			KY	L.33.1977/1
1-Mar-37		Fort Hotel, Sidmouth	1	HOLDING FLEUR DE LIS?]  FOVAL WITH CROWN ATOP: SITTING	L	323			NY	L.33.1977/1
1-Mar-37				FIGURE WITH CROWN AND SCEPTRE						
	HSE		2	HOLDING FLEUR DE LIS?]	L	323			KY	L.33.1977/2
29-Mar-37	HSE	Fact Hatal Older and		"Century / [in circle around a lion] LION	\.A.	004			101	. 04 4077
40 1 07		Fort Hotel, Sidmouth 3 Glebe Place,	1	BRAND MANUFACTURE / White W"	W	324			KY	L.34.1977
10-Jun-37	ECH	London	1	"BEN JONSON / BOND / WHS BS"	w	265			Tate Archive	TGA958/2
26-Jul-37		"Train / Sidmouth -						Poor quality		
	HSE	London"	1	"BEN JONSON / BOND / WHS BS"	W	265.5	175	writing paper	KY	L.36.1977/1
26-Jul-37			,	BEN JONSON / BOND / WHS BS"	W	265.5	175	Poor quality writing paper	KY	L.36.1977/2
19-Oct-37		Eastnor / staying at		BEIN JOINSON / BOIND / WITIS BS	V V	200.0	173	writing paper	KI	L.30.191112
13-001-31		Colwyn-Crescent /								
		Llandrills-yn Rhos /							101	
1001=	HSE	Denbighshire		"The New / Smooth Ivory"	W	323			KY	L.37.1977/1
19-Oct-37				"The New / Smooth Ivory"	W	323			KY	L.37.1977/2
14-Sep-38	ECH	Rock Hall, Alnwick	1	"The New / Smooth Ivory"	W	326.5			Tate Archive	TGA958/2

Appendix 1.i - Paper-type data for letters written by David Jones between 1935 and 1952

BERYL DE		4 IITh a Navy / Crea ath hyamil				DJP	CF2/26
20-Oct-38 Loete		1 "The New / Smooth Ivory"	W				
20-Oct-38		2 "The New / Smooth Ivory"	W			DJP	CF2/26
11-Apr-39 HSE	Fort Hotel, Sidmouth	1 "BASILDON /SUPERFINE"	L	323	202.5	KY	L.41.1977/1
15-Feb-40 JONES		1 "The New / Smooth Ivory"	W	327	199.5	DJP	CF1/12
30-Jun-40 TFB	3 Glebe Place, London	1 "BASILDON / SUPERFINE"	L	323	Bound *	DJP	21797E
30-Jun-40		2 "BASILDON / SUPERFINE"	L	323	Bound	DJP	21797E
30-Jun-40		3 "BASILDON / SUPERFINE"	L	323	Bound	DJP	21797E
28-Aug-40 TFB	3 Glebe Place, London	1 "The New / Smooth Ivory"	w	325.5	Bound	DJP	21797E
28-Aug-40		2 "The New / Smooth Ivory"	W	325.5		DJP	21797E
28-Aug-40		3 "The New / Smooth Ivory"		325.5		DJP	21797E
28-Aug-40		4 "The New / Smooth Ivory"		325.5		DJP	21797E
28-Aug-40		5 "The New / Smooth Ivory"		325.5		DJP	21797E
28-Aug-40		6 "The New / Smooth Ivory"		325.5		DJP	21797E
28-Aug-40		7 "The New / Smooth Ivory"		325.5	Bound	DJP	21797E
4-Sep-40	3 Glebe Place, London	1 "The New / Smooth Ivory"				DJP	21797E
4-Sep-40		2 "The New / Smooth Ivory"				DJP	21797E
14-Sep-40		[L graph paper; green squares 63.5 = 10 7 squares]	L	330	Bound	DJP	21797E
14-Sep-40	3 Glebe Place, London	1 "The New / Smooth Ivory"				DJP	21797E
14-Sep-40		2 "The New / Smooth Ivory"				DJP	21797E
14-Sep-40		3 "The New / Smooth Ivory"				DJP	21797E
14-Sep-40		4 "The New / Smooth Ivory"				DJP	21797E
14-Sep-40		5 "The New / Smooth Ivory"				DJP	21797E
14-Sep-40		6 "The New / Smooth Ivory"				DJP	21797E
27-Oct-40		4 "The New / Smooth Ivory"			Bound	DJP	21797E
27-Oct-40		5 "The New / Smooth Ivory"			Bound	DJP	21797E
29-Jan-41	3 Glebe Place, London	1 "The New / Smooth Ivory"			Bound	DJP	21797E
29-Jan-41		2 "The New / Smooth Ivory"			Bound	DJP	21797E
29-Jan-41		3 "The New / Smooth Ivory"			Bound	DJP	21797E
29-Jan-41		4 "The New / Smooth Ivory"			Bound	DJP	21797E

Appendix 1.i - Paper-type data for letters written by David Jones between 1935 and 1952

15-Apr-41		57 Onslow Square, London		"SAWSTON / BOND" [HEADER:] 3 Glebe Place, London / CHELSEA S.W.3 / FLAXMAN 0829"		Bou	nd	DJP	21797E
21-Jun-41		57 Onslow Square, London		"SAWSTON / BOND" [HEADER:] 3 Glebe Place, London / CHELSEA S.W.3 / FLAXMAN 0829"		Bou	nd	DJP	21797E
21-Jun-41				"SAWSTON / BOND" [HEADER:] 3 Glebe Place, London / CHELSEA S.W.3 / FLAXMAN 0829"		Bou	nd	DJP	21797E
21-Jun-41				"SAWSTON / BOND" [HEADER:] 3 Glebe Place, London / CHELSEA S.W.3 / FLAXMAN 0829"		Bou	nd	DJP	21797E
21-Jun-41				"SAWSTON / BOND" [HEADER:] 3 Glebe Place, London / CHELSEA S.W.3 / FLAXMAN 0829"		Bou	nd	DJP	21797E
11-Aug-41			3	"SUPERFINE / CREAM L / [WITHIN OVAL:] WHS"	L			DJP	CF2/26
11-Aug-41			4	"SUPERFINE / CREAM L / [WITHIN OVAL:] WHS"	L			DJP	CF2/26
11-Aug-41	TABLET	?		[EMBLEM OF WOMAN (BRITANNIA?) SITTING WITHIN AN OVAL, CROWN ATOP, HOLDING SCEPTRE]	L			DJP	CF2/1
11-Aug-41				[EMBLEM OF WOMAN (BRITANNIA?) SITTING WITHIN AN OVAL, CROWN ATOP, HOLDING SCEPTRE]	L			DJP	CF2/1
15-Aug-41				"SUPERFINE / CREAM L / [WITHIN OVAL] WHS"	L	330		DJP	CF2/13
15-Aug-41				[EMBLEM OF WOMAN (BRITANNIA?) SITTING WITHIN AN OVAL, CROWN ATOP, HOLDING SCEPTRE]	L	330.5		DJP	CF2/13
5-Sep-41	The Tablet		32	"[CUT OFF] N LTD." [RYMAN?]	L			DJP	CF2/13
5-Sep-41			22	"[ILLEGIBLE BECAUSE CUT OFF] / CREAM L / [WITHIN AN OVAL] WHS"	L			DJP	CF2/13
5-Sep-41			24	"BASILDON / SUPERFINE"	L			DJP	CF2/13
5-Sep-41			36	"[CASTLE EMBLEM] ABERMILL / BOND / MADE IN GT BRITAIN"	W		Not definitely belonging with these drafts	DJP	CF2/13
5-Sep-41			37	"[CASTLE EMBLEM] ABERMILL / BOND / MADE IN GT BRITAIN"	w		Not definitely belonging with these drafts	DJP	CF2/13
21-Sep-41	Tom Burns			[GOING UP PAGE] "ESPARTO" [EMBLEM APPROX 10CM ABOVE: A SHIELD (WITH WRITING INSIDE - ILLEG.) SURROUNDED BY A WREATH]	L	329.5 Bou	nd	DJP	21797E

Appendix 1.i - Paper-type data for letters written by David Jones between 1935 and 1952

16-Mav-42	Tom Burns		1	[STAG EMBLEM] "J & F R / KENT"	W	329	Bound		DJP	21797E
16-May-42				[STAG EMBLEM] "J & F R / KENT"	W		Bound		DJP	21797E
16-May-42				[STAG EMBLEM] "J & F R / KENT"	W	329	Bound		DJP	21797E
17-Jun-42	ECH	12 Sheffield Terrace, London		"[STAG] J & F R / KENT"	W	329			Tate Archive	NA327.52
28-Jun-42	Tom Burns		1	[STAG EMBLEM] "J & F R / KENT"	W	329	Bound		DJP	21797E
28-Jun-42	2			[STAG EMBLEM] "J & F R / KENT"	W	329	Bound		DJP	21797E
5-Oct-42	Tom Burns			[UP PAGE] [WITHIN OVAL:] "WHS" [BELOW:] "VOUCHER / BOND"	W	330	Bound		DJP	21797E
29-Nov-42			1	"[STAG] J & F R / KENT"	W	329			DJP	CF1/27
15-Apr-43	HSE	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	2	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	323	Torn	Pale grey/blue	KY	L.45.1977/2
19-Apr-43	HSE	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	323	Torn	Pale grey/blue	KY	L.46.1977/1
19-Apr-43	3		2	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	323	Torn	Pale grey/blue	KY	L.46.1977/2
6-May-43	Tom Burns		1	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	323.5	Bound		DJP	21797E
6-May-43	3		2	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	323.5	Bound		DJP	21797E
19-May-43	HSE	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	323		Pale grey/blue	KY	L.49.1977/1
24-May-43	HSE		1	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L			Pale grey/blue	DJP	CF1/15
6-Jun-43	HSE	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	323		Pale grey/blue	KY	L.50.1977/1
21-Jun-43	BN	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	323		Pale grey/blue	Tate Archive	TGA 8717/1/2/2032
3-Jul-43	HSE	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	324		Pale grey/blue	KY	L.52.1977/1
3-Jul-43			2	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L	324		Pale grey/blue	KY	L.52.1977/2
16-Jan-44	DRAFT OF BELOW			"EXCELSIOR / FINE / [ILLEGIBLE]"	L				DJP	CF1/15
16-Jan-44	WFJK	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE"	L	327.5	202		KFP	KFP
16-Jan-44			2	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE"	L	327.5	202		KFP	KFP
	WFJK	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE"	L	327.5	202		KFP	KFP
9-Feb-44	TIMES		1	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE / [ILLEGIBLE]"	L				DJP	CF2/20
16-Feb-44	INGHAM		1	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE"	L				DJP	CF1/15

Appendix 1.i - Paper-type data for letters written by David Jones between 1935 and 1952

	GWYN			"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE /						251112
3-Jun-44	JONES		- 1	[ILLEGIBLE]"	L	328.5	202.5		DJP	CF1/12
8-Aug-44	REX			[IN OVAL] "WHS" THEN: "VOUCHER / BOND"	W	328			DJP	CF2/26
9-Aug-44	HSE	Piggots, Bucks	1	"WHS / VOUCHER / BOND"	W	328			KY	L.58.1977/1
9-Aug-44			2	"WHS / VOUCHER / BOND"	W	328			KY	L.58.1977/2
26-Sep-44	HSE	Piggots, Bucks	1	"WHS / VOUCHER / BOND"	W	328			KY	L.59.1977/1
10-Oct-44	HSE	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE"	L	202.5			KY	L.60.1977/1
23-Oct-44	HSE	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	[NONE]	W	323		Poor quality	KY	L.61.1977/1
13-Nov-44	HSE	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	[NONE]	L	339.5			KY	L.62.1977/1
19-Nov-44	Tom Burns			"J & F H / KENT" [NB THERE IS NO STAG, UNLIKE OTHER PAPER MADE BY KENT]	w	328.5	Bound		DJP	21797E
19-Nov-44				[NB BY FEEL [THICK, GOOD QUALITY] AND COLOUR [WHITE], THIS SEEMS TO BE THE OTHER HALF OF THE FOOLSCAP SHEET WITH W/MARK: "J & F H / KENT"		329	Bound		DJP	21797E
6-Dec-44	MR ALLSOP			"[IN OVAL] WHS" THEN: "VOUCHER / BOND"	w	327.5	202		DJP	A2/1
19-Jan-45			1	"J & F H / KENT" [NB THERE IS NO STAG, UNLIKE OTHER PAPER MADE BY KENT]	w	328			DJP	CF2/26
19-Oct-45	HELEN		1	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger"	L			Blue/grey	DJP	CF1/16
27-Nov-45	?			[…] Ledger" [I.e. Portland]	L	Torn	206	Blue/grey	DJP	CF1/8
31-Jan-46	WFJK			[SHIELD WITH LAUREL WREATH CUPPING IT; THE PAPER IS A LEDGER SHEET] "ESPARTO"	w			Ledger sheet	DJP	CF1/15
	MISS PULSFORD		1	"GRAY VALLEY / PARCHMENT"	w	327	201		DJP	A2/1
	MRS ELMHURST			IN GOTHIC SCRIPT: "TRAY [?] VALLEY / PARCHMENT"	W				DJP	CF1/15
23-Oct-46	CATHOLIC HERALD		1	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE / [ILLEGIBLE]"	L	329	202		DJP	CF2/14
23-Oct-46			2	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE / [ILLEGIBLE]"	L	329	202		DJP	CF2/14

Appendix 1.i - Paper-type data for letters written by David Jones between 1935 and 1952

				"KINGSWAY / BOND / BCM /[SAME LINE] SH					
23-Oct-46			3	/ TUB SIZED"	W	329	204	DJP	CF2/14
23-Oct-46	i		4	"KINGSWAY / BOND / BCM /[SAME LINE] SF / TUB SIZED"	W	329	204	DJP	CF2/14
21-Jan-47	WFJK	12 Sheffield Terrace, London	1	"KINGSWAY / BOND / BCIT /[SAME LINE] SH / TUB SIZED"	w	329	204	KFP	KFP
21-Jan-47			2	"KINGSWAY / BOND / BCIT /[SAME LINE] SH / TUB SIZED"	w	329	204	KFP	KFP
11-Feb-47	Helen Sutherland		1	"KINGSWAY / BOND / BCIT /[SAME LINE] SH / TUB SIZED"	w			DJP	CF1/16
20-Feb-47	-		1	"KINGSWAY / BOND / BCIT /[SAME LINE] SH / TUB SIZED"	w	329	204	DJP	CF1/13
	HSE	Northwick Lodge, Harrow		"EXCELSIOR / SUPERFINE / BRITISH MAKE / [ILLEGIBLE]"	W	328		KY	L.69.1977/1
	CATHOLIC HERALD			"TITAN BOND / MADE AT [LION EMBLEM] CROXLEY"	w	326	201	DJP	CF1/27
1-Feb-48			2	"TITAN BOND / MADE AT [LION EMBLEM] CROXLEY"	w	326	201	DJP	CF1/27
	WALES [MAGAZINE ]		1	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE / [ILLEGIBLE]"	L	327.5	202.5	DJP	CF1/27
28-Mar-48			2	"TITAN BOND / MADE AT [LION EMBLEM] CROXLEY"	w			DJP	CF1/27
28-Mar-48			4	"TITAN BOND / MADE AT [LION EMBLEM] CROXLEY"	w			DJP	CF1/27
28-Mar-48			5	"TITAN BOND / MADE AT [LION EMBLEM] CROXLEY"	w			DJP	CF1/27
23-May-48	HSE	c/o C. Carlile Esq. Northwick Lodge, Harrow	1	"TITAN BOND / MADE AT [LION EMBLEM] CROXLEY"	W	327		KY	L.70.1977/1
23-May-48			2	"TITAN BOND / MADE AT [LION EMBLEM] CROXLEY"	w	327		KY	L.70.1977/2
8-Sep-48	PRESS		1	"[CROWN] / EDEN GROVE / BOND / TUB- SIZED AIR DRIED"	w	331	204	DJP	CF2/10
8-Sep-48			3	"[CROWN] / EDEN GROVE / BOND / TUB- SIZED AIR DRIED"	w	331	204	DJP	CF2/10
8-Sep-48				"[CROWN] / EDEN GROVE / BOND / TUB- SIZED AIR DRIED"	w	331	204	DJP	CF2/10
1-Nov-48		Northwick Lodge,		[SHIELD WITH CROWN ATOP, IN OVAL SURROUNDED BY WRITING:] "PLANTAGENET [CLOCKWISE ATOP] / BRITISH MAKE [ANTI-CLOCKWISE,					
	WFJK	Harrow	1	BENEATH]"	W	329	202	KFP	KFP

Appendix 1.i - Paper-type data for letters written by David Jones between 1935 and 1952

26-Nov-48	WFJK			'EXCELSIOR / SUPERFINE / BRITISH MAKE ' BCM / SH"	w			DJP	CF1/15
13-Jan-49	· · ·		[	CENTRE: CROWN ATOP SHIELD; SURROUNDED BY OVAL, READING ROUND:] "PLANTAGENET / BRITISH MAKE"				DJP	CF2/26
13-3411-49	TIIVILO		11	COUND.] FLANTAGENET/BRITISH MARE	VV			DJF	GI 2/20
13-Jan-49	TIMES		1	CENTRE: CROWN ATOP SHIELD; SURROUNDED BY OVAL, READING ROUND:] "PLANTAGENET / BRITISH MAKE"	w			DJP	CF2/26
16-Mar-49			2	'EXCELSIOR / SUPERFINE / BRITISH MAKE ' [ILLEGIBLE]"	w	329		KY	L.71.1977/2
16-Mar-49	HSE	Northwick Lodge, Harrow	1/	'EXCELSIOR / SUPERFINE / BRITISH MAKE ' [ILLEGIBLE]"	w	329.5		KY	L.71.1977/1
16-Mar-49				'EXCELSIOR / SUPERFINE / BRITISH MAKE ' [ILLEGIBLE]"	w	329.5		KY	L.71.1977/3
25-Apr-49	Cecil Collins		1'	'INVERFRUIN"	w	329		Tate Archive	NA327.92
23-May-49	HSE	Northwick Lodge, Harrow	1'	"INVERFRUIN"	w	329		KY	L.72.1977/1
1-Jun-49	BARCLAYS BANK		1'	"INVERFRUIN"	w	329	203	DJP	CF1/27
31-Jul-49	HSE	Northwick Lodge, Harrow		'EXCELSION / FINE / BRITISH MAKE / 'ILLEGIBLE]"	L	Torn		KY	L.73.1977/1
20-Aug-49	MISS FROST		1	EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE /	L	329		DJP	CF1/27
31-Aug-49	HSE	Northwick Lodge, Harrow		'EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE /  ILLEGIBLE]"	L	329		KY	L.77.1977/1
25-Sep-49	HSE	Northwick Lodge, Harrow		EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE /	L	329.5		KY	L.78.1977/1
7-Dec-49	HELEN EDE		1'	"INVERFRUIN"	w			KY	L.79.1977/1
9-Dec-49	HSE	Northwick Lodge, Harrow	1'	"INVERFRUIN"	w	329		KY	L.80.1977/1
9-Dec-49				'INVERFRUIN"	W	329		KY	L.80.1977/2
20-Dec-49			1 1	"[CASTLE EMBLEM] / DEVON VALLEY / PARCHMENT"	w	331	205	DJP	CF1/27
	WFJK	Northwick Lodge, Harrow		"[CASTLE EMBLEM] / DEVON VALLEY / PARCHMENT"	w	330	205		KFP
20-Jan-50	MRS EDE			'DEVON VALLEY / PARCHMENT"	W			DJP	CF1/15
7-Sep-50	HSE	Northwick Lodge, Harrow		'[castle emblem] / DEVON VALLEY / PARCHMENT"	w	330	205	KY	L.82.1977/1

Appendix 1.i - Paper-type data for letters written by David Jones between 1935 and 1952

15-Jan-51		Northwick Lodge,						
	HSE	Harrow	1 "[castle emblem] / Waterton[?] Bond"	W	329	205	KY	L.83.1977/1
15-Sep-52		Northwick Lodge,	"[CASTLE EMBLEM] / DEVON VALLEY /					
	WFJK	Harrow	1 PARCHMENT"	W	330	204.5	KFP	KFP
17-Dec-52		Northwick Lodge,	"[CASTLE EMBLEM] DEVON VALLEY /					
	HSE	Harrow	3 PARCHMENT"	W	329	205	KY	L.89.1977/3

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;Bound' refers to those sheets whose widths cannot be measured because the archivists have bound those letters into a volume

Appendix 1.ii - Table classifying the different paper-types which David Jones used between 1935 and 1952

Code	Laid/Wove	Length mm	Width mm	Watermark	First occurance	Last occurance	Concentration
§01	L	323-4	201-2	"BASILDON / SUPERFINE"	Feb-36	Sep-41	Jun-40
§02	W	327	201	"The New / Smooth Ivory"	Oct-37	Jan-41	Mid-1940 to early 1941
§03	L	328	201	"ESPARTO" [shield emblem with laurel]	Sep-41	Sep-41	Sep-41
§04	W	329	203	[stag emblem] "T & J H / KENT"	May-42	Nov-42	May - Nov 42
§05	L	325	204-5	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger" [blue/grey paper]	Apr-43	Nov-45	Mid-1943
§06	L	328-330	202-3 (W*)	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE / BCM / SH"	Jan-44	Sep-49	1944, late-46, mid-49
§07	W	328	202 (W*)	"[within oval:] WHS [below:] VOUCHER / BOND"	Aug-44	Dec-44	Aug - Dec 44
§08	W	328-9	?	"T & J H / KENT" [without stag emblem]	Nov-44	Jan-45	Nov - Jan 45
§09	L	330	201	"ESPARTO"	Jan-46	Jan-46	Jan-46
§10	W	328-9	202-3 (W*)	"Gray Valley / Parchment"	Mar-46	Mar-46	Mar-46
§11	W	329-330	204 (W*)	"KINGSWAY / BOND / BCM /SH / TUB SIZED"	Oct-46	Feb-47	Oct 46 - Feb 47
§12	W	329.5	202-203 [not W*]	"EXCELSIOR / SUPERFINE / BRITISH MAKE / BCM / SH"	Aug-47	Mar-49	N/A
§13	W	327	201	"TITAN BOND / MADE AT [lion emblem] CROXLEY"	Feb-48	May-48	Feb - May 48
§14	w	331	205	"[crown emblem] / Eden Grove / Bond / TUB SIZED - AIR DRIED"	Sep-48	Sep-48	Sep-48
§15	W	329	202.5	[around a shield:] "PLANTAGENET / BRITISH MAKE"	Nov-48	Jan-49	Nov 48 - Jan 49
§16	W	329	203	"INVERFRUIN"	Apr-49	Dec-49	Apr - Dec 49
§17	W	331	205	"[castle emblem] / DEVON VALLEY / PARCHMENT"	Dec-49	Dec-52	Dec 49 - Jan 50
§18	W	329	203	"[castle emblem] / Waterton Bond"	Jan-51	Jan-51	Jan-51
§19	L	330	204	"CHARIOT / [emblem] / FINE LAID"	N/A	N/A	N/A
§20	L	324	202	"Criterion" [within laurel wreath]	N/A	N/A	N/A
§21	L	330	204	"Lombardy / Cream Laid"	N/A	N/A	N/A
§22	W	323	203-4	"[castle emblem] / BUCKSBURN / IVORY"	N/A	N/A	N/A
§23	L	323	202	"Portland / R J Ryman Ltd / Ledger" [cream paper]	N/A	N/A	N/A
§24	L	330	203	[Lined paper: single line left margin, 4 lines right margin, first two paired]	N/A	N/A	N/A
§25	w	323	216?	[Header:] "II Ministro / della Cultura Popolare"; top right: "mod.264", and below this: "Appunto per il Duce"	N/A	N/A	N/A
§26	L	328-330	202-3	"EXCELSIOR / FINE / BRITISH MAKE / BCM / SH"	N/A	N/A	N/A
§27	W	322-3	197-9	"The New / Smooth Ivory" [different dimensions]	Oct-37	Jan-41	Mid-1940 to early 1941
Identifiab	le non-waterm	arked paper: ty	rpes §31-§33 **			•	
§31	L	330	202	[None]	Oct-40	Oct-40	Oct-40
§32	L	340	214	[None]	Mar-44	Nov-44	Mar - Nov 44
§33	W	400	255	[None]	Jul-46	Aug-47	Jul - Aug 46

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;W' denotes 'whole': where a sheet is not a halved piece of foolscap.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Paper types §28-30 excised from table because of a lack of reliable data

# LA1/3.1-24

DJP cat. ref.	Paper type	Pre-Ana fol.	1 <sup>st</sup> fol. order	2 <sup>nd</sup> fol. order	Ana
LA1/3.1	§34	3	1		49, 53
LA1/3.2	§6	1 (4)	1		49, 53
LA1/3.3	§34	4			53, 49-50
LA1/3.4	§6	2 (5)	2		49-50, 51
LA1/3.5	§34	5			50, 51
LA1/3.6	§6	3 (6)	3		50
LA1/3.7	§34	6			51
LA1/3.8	§32				51-52, 53
LA1/3.9	§32		4		51-52, 53, 241
LA1/3.10	§32				52-53
LA1/3.11	§32		5		53
LA1/3.12	§32				241
LA1/3.13	§32		5		241-242, 243
LA1/3.14	§32		6		241-242
LA1/3.15	§32				241-242
LA1/3.16	§32		6		241-242
LA1/3.17	§10				241-242, (229)
LA1/3.18	§32		6		243
LA1/3.19	§32		8		243
LA1/3.20	§41		8	74	243
LA1/3.21	§32		6A, B		
LA1/3.22	§32		6C		
LA1/3.23	§23		7		
LA1/3.24	§32				51 (verso)

LA1/4.1-259

DJP cat. ref.	Paper type	1 <sup>st</sup> fol. order	2 <sup>nd</sup> fol. order	3 <sup>rd</sup> fol. order	Ana
LA1/4.1	§4	5A			55, 57, 58, 241
LA1/4.2	§35	5A			55
LA1/4.3	§35				55, 57, 58, 241
LA1/4.4	§35	5A			55, 57, 58, 241
LA1/4.5	§4	5A			55, 57, 58
LA1/4.6	§36	5A			55, 56
LA1/4.7	§32	5A			55
LA1/4.8	§35	5B			57-58, 185-186, 187
LA1/4.9	§35	5B			57-58
LA1/4.10	§35	5B, C			57-58
LA1/4.11	§35	5B			55-56
LA1/4.12	§35	5B			56-57
LA1/4.13	§7	5B			55-57
LA1/4.14	§7	5B			55-57
LA1/4.15	§7				55-57
LA1/4.16	§7	5B			55-57
LA1/4.17	§35	5C			56-57
LA1/4.18	§32	5D			56-57
LA1/4.19	§41				57
LA1/4.20	§41				57
LA1/4.21	§32				58, 59, 61, 84, 185
LA1/4.22	§41	5E	10		58-59
LA1/4.23	§32	5F			185-186, 187-188
LA1/4.24	§6	5F			185-188
LA1/4.25	§6				185-187
LA1/4.26	§32				58-59, 60-61, 84, 185
LA1/4.27	§32	5F	11, 11C		58-59, 60-61
LA1/4.28	§37	5F	11		59-60
LA1/4.29	§37				59-60
LA1/4.30	§37		10A		59-60
LA1/4.31	§12		10A		59-60
LA1/4.32	§41	5F1			84, 185
LA1/4.33	§41	5F/			84, 185
LA1/4.34	§41	5F/			84, 185
LA1/4.35	§41	5F/			84, 185
LA1/4.36	§41	5F/			84, 185
LA1/4.37	§41	5F/			84, 185
LA1/4.38	§41	5F			84, (85, 86, 89)
LA1/4.39	§32	5F/1			84, 90
LA1/4.40	§32	5F/1			85, 86, 89
LA1/4.41	§32	5F/2			85, 86, 89
LA1/4.42	§32				85, 86
LA1/4.43	§41	5F/2			85, 86

Appendix 1.iii - Paper-type data for the manuscript of The Anathemata LA1.4

LA1/4.44	§41	5F/2			85, 86-87
LA1/4.45	§41	5F/2			85, 86
LA1/4.46	§41	5F/2			85
LA1/4.47	§41	5F/3			85-86
LA1/4.48	§41				86-87, 89, ?185
LA1/4.49	§41				86-87
LA1/4.50	§41	5F5			86-87
LA1/4.51	§41	5F6			87-88
LA1/4.52	§41	5F/			94, 185
LA1/4.53	§32	5F/2			94, 185
LA1/4.54	§41				94
LA1/4.55	§32	5F/2			94, 185
LA1/4.56	§32				94
LA1/4.57	§32				94, 95
LA1/4.58	§41				94, 95
LA1/4.59	§32	5F/3			94, 95
LA1/4.60	§32	5F/3			94, 95
LA1/4.61	§41	5F/2, 3			94, 95
LA1/4.62	§41	5F/3			94, 95, 96
LA1/4.63	§41	5F/3			94
LA1/4.64	§41	5F/4, 3A			95, 96
LA1/4.65	§32	5F/4		52	185
LA1/4.66	§38	0174		02	185
LA1/4.67	§41	5F/3			185
LA1/4.68	§41	5F/5		53, 35	185
LA1/4.69	§41	5F/4		00, 00	88, 89, 90
LA1/4.70	§41	5F/4			88, 89
LA1/4.71	§41	0174			88-89, 90
LA1/4.72	§41				89-90
LA1/4.73	§41	5F/7, 8, 8A	20		89
LA1/4.74	§41	5F/8, 9	21		89-90
LA1/4.75	§41	5F/10	21		90, 91-93
LA1/4.76	§41	5F/10			90, 91-93
LA1/4.77	§41	5F/11, 10			90, 91
LA1/4.77	§41	5F/9, 11			90-91
LA1/4.79		5F/9, 11			90-91
LA1/4.79 LA1/4.80	§41	5F/11			90-91
	§41				
LA1/4.81 LA1/4.82	§41	5F/9, 10			90
	§41				90
LA1/4.83	§41	FF/40	1		90
LA1/4.84	§41	5F/10	1		90
LA1/4.85	§35	5F/10			90
LA1/4.86	§41	5F/12	1		91
LA1/4.87	§38	5F/14A	1		93-94
LA1/4.88	§41	5F/12, 13, 16			94, 95, 96
LA1/4.89	§35	5F/16	1		94, 95, 96
LA1/4.90	§35		1		94, 95, 96, 182
LA1/4.91	§41				94, 95, 96, 182, 93
LA1/4.92	§41	5F/16			95, 96

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LA1/4.93	§32	5F/16		94, 95, 96
LA1/4.94	§39	5F/16		94, 95
LA1/4.95	§39	5F/16		94-5
LA1/4.96	§39	5F/16		94-95
LA1/4.97	§39	5F/16, 17		95-96
LA1/4.98	§39	5F/17		95-96
LA1/4.99	§39	5F/17		95-96
LA1/4.100	§41	5F/17		182, 96
LA1/4.101	§7	5F/17		96, 182
LA1/4.102	§32	5F/18, 17		96, 182
LA1/4.103	§39	5F/18		182, 96
LA1/4.104	§39	5F/17, 19		96
LA1/4.105	§39	5F/18		96-7, 173, 172
LA1/4.106	§39	5F/19		97, 172, 173, 181-182
LA1/4.107	§39	5F/19, 21		97, 172, 173
LA1/4.108	§39	[5F]19, 20		172, 173
LA1/4.109	§39	5F/22		172
LA1/4.110	§39	[5F/]22		172
LA1/4.111	§38			172-173
LA1/4.112	§38	5F/21, 22		97, 171-172
LA1/4.113	§38	5F/22		97, 171-172
LA1/4.114	§38	5F/22		97, 171
LA1/4.115	§39	5F/22		97, 171
LA1/4.116	§39			97
LA1/4.117	§39	5F/23		172-173, 181-182
LA1/4.118	§39	5F/23		172-173, 181-182
LA1/4.119	§38	5F/23		173
LA1/4.120	§39	5F/24		182, 181, 96
LA1/4.121	§39	5F/24		182, 181
LA1/4.122	§38			182, 181
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LA1/4.132	§38			174-175
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LA1/4.137	§38	5F/28		174-175
LA1/4.138	§39	5F/28		174

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LA1/4.140	§39	5F/28A	45	175
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LA1/4.143	§39	5F/27		175-176, 178-179
LA1/4.144	§39	5F/29	46	175-176, 178-179
LA1/4.145	§24			176-177
LA1/4.146	§38	5F/28		179-180
LA1/4.147	§38	5F/29, 30, 31		180-181
LA1/4.148	§39			181, 182
LA1/4.149	§39	5F/28		181-182
LA1/4.150	§39	5F/28, 31		181-182
LA1/4.151	§38	5F/30, 31, 32		181
LA1/4.152	§38	5F/32		181
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LA1/4.156	§38	5F/33		181-182
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LA1/4.159	§32	5G		185-186-187
LA1/4.160	§32	5G		185-186-187
LA1/4.161	§32	5G	54	185-186-187
LA1/4.162	§39		54	185-186-187
LA1/4.163	§42		J-1	186, (237)
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LA1/4.166	§32	5H		187-188, 193, 189, 229, 233
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LA1/8.1	§6				
LA1/8.2	§6				
LA1/8.3	§32?	1	1	1	49
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LA1/8.5	§32?	3	3	3	50-51
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LA1/9.110					[BLANK]
LA1/9.111					[BLANK]
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Rows filled grey contain only notes to the text, and were added after the text was complete. Data for these sheets was therefore not gathered..

## LR1/1.638-748A

DJP cat. ref.	Paper type	1 <sup>st</sup> fol. order	2 <sup>nd</sup> fol. order	3 <sup>rd</sup> fol. order
LR1/1.638	1111 9711	58		1
LR1/1.639		58		1
LR1/1.640		60	59	2
LR1/1.641		60A	60	3
LR1/1.642		61		4
LR1/1.643		60	62	5
LR1/1.644	§5	61		4 6
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LR1/1.647		62		7 5
LR1/1.648		62		7
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LR1/1.650		62		7
LR1/1.651		62		7
LR1/1.652		62		
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LR1/1.654	§63	63		6 9
LR1/1.655		64 63	67	10
LR1/1.656		[Missing]		
LR1/1.657		[Missing]		
LR1/1.658		[Missing]		
LR1/1.659		[Missing]		
LR1/1.660		[Missing]		
LR1/1.661		[Missing]		
LR1/1.662		[Missing]		
LR1/1.663		[Missing]		
LR1/1.664		[Missing]		
LR1/1.665		[Missing]		
LR1/1.666	§63	64	68B	11
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LR1/1.669	§63	66	70	10 13
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LR1/1.682	§5?	66H2	82	22 25
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Appendix 1.iii - Paper-type data for the manuscript of The Anathemata LR1.1

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Appendix 1.iii - Paper-type data for the manuscript of The Anathemata LR1.1

LR1/1.723		66O	118	42 61
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LR1/1.732	§6		127	70
LR1/1.733	§6	69A	127	70
LR1/1.734		69B	128	71
LR1/1.735	§6	69C	129	72
LR1/1.736		69D	130	73
LR1/1.737		69E	131	74
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<sup>\*</sup> This sheet is not part of this manuscript but has been erroneously catalogued here

# LR4/1.38-64

DJP cat. ref.	Paper type	Fol.	Re-fol.					
LR4/1.38	§56	С						
LR4/1.39	§56	* 1						
LR4/1.40	§32	7A						
LR4/1.41	§56	6A	7A					
LR4/1.42	§32	7A	7B					
LR4/1.43		7B						
LR4/1.44	§32	7B						
LR4/1.45	§56	7B						
LR4/1.46	§56							
LR4/1.47	§32	7A	7B					
LR4/1.48	§32	7C						
LR4/1.49	§32	7C						
LR4/1.50	§32	7C						
LR4/1.51	§32	7C						
LR4/1.52	§32	7B	7D					
LR4/1.53	§56	7B	7D					
LR4/1.54	§32	7D						
LR4/1.55	§32	7D						
LR4/1.56	§32	7E						
LR4/1.57	§32	7E						
LR4/1.58	§32	7C	7E					
LR4/1.59	§32	7E						
LR4/1.60	§32	7E	7F					
LR4/1.61	§32	7D	7F					
LR4/1.62	§32	7F	7H 7G 7I					
LR4/1.63	§48							
LR4/1.64	§48	5						

## LR5/1.325-437

D /D oot wof	Donor tuno	4st followdow	and fall and an	2rd followdon
DJP cat. ref.	Paper type	1 <sup>st</sup> fol. order	2 <sup>nd</sup> fol. order	3 <sup>rd</sup> fol. order
LR5/1.325	§48	3		
LR5/1.326	§48	4		
LR5/1.327	§48	5		
LR5/1.328	§3	6		
LR5/1.329	§20	7		
LR5/1.330	§20	8		
LR5/1.331	§20	8A	9	
LR5/1.332	§20	8B	10	
LR5/1.333	§20	8C	11	
LR5/1.334	§20	8D	12	
LR5/1.335	§53	8E	13	
LR5/1.336	§53	8F	14	
LR5/1.337	§53	8G	15	
LR5/1.338		9	16	
LR5/1.339	§1		17	
LR5/1.340	§1		17A	
LR5/1.341	§1		17B	
LR5/1.342		8	9	
LR5/1.343	§1		17C	
LR5/1.344	§1		17D	
LR5/1.345	§1		18	
LR5/1.346	3.		19	
LR5/1.347			19A	
LR5/1.348			20	
LR5/1.349	§53		21	
LR5/1.350	§53		21A	
LR5/1.351	§53		22	
LR5/1.352	§1		23	
LR5/1.353	§1		23A	
LR5/1.354	§1		24	
LR5/1.355	31		25	
				26
LR5/1.356	§31		26	26 27
LR5/1.357	-		27	
LR5/1.358	§31		27A	2[8]
LR5/1.359	§31		27A 27A2	29
LR5/1.360	§31		27B	30
LR5/1.361	§31		27C	31
LR5/1.362	§31		27D	32
LR5/1.363	§31		27E	34
LR5/1.364	§31		28	34
LR5/1.365	§31		29	35
LR5/1.366	§27		30	36
LR5/1.367	§27		31	37
LR5/1.368	§27		31	38
LR5/1.369	§27		32	39
LR5/1.370	§27		33	40

Appendix 1.iii - Paper-type data for the manuscript of The Anathemata LR5.1

LR5/1.371	827	35	42
LR5/1.371 LR5/1.372	§27	36	43
LR5/1.372 LR5/1.373	§27	37	44
	§27		
LR5/1.374	§2	37 38	45
LR5/1.375	§2	40 39	46
LR5/1.376	§2	40	47
LR5/1.377	§1	40A	48
LR5/1.378	§1	40A	49
LR5/1.379	§1	40B	50
LR5/1.380	§2	40ctdB 40B continued	51
LR5/1.381	§2	40B2	53
LR5/1.382	§2	40B3	54
LR5/1.383		40B6	
LR5/1.384		40B6	58
LR5/1.385		40B6 continued	59
LR5/1.386	§2	40B7	60
LR5/1.387		40B8	61
LR5/1.388		40B9 40C	62
LR5/1.389		40D	
LR5/1.390		40E	65
LR5/1.391	§1	40E	65
LR5/1.392		40E cont.	67A 66
LR5/1.393		40F	67
LR5/1.431	§1	40F	
LR5/1.394	§1	40F1	68
LR5/1.395	§1	40F2	
LR5/1.396	3.	40F3	70
LR5/1.397		40F4	71
LR5/1.398	§1	40F5	72
LR5/1.399	3.	40F6	73
LR5/1.400		40G	74
LR5/1.401		40H	75
LR5/1.402	§1	40J	76
LR5/1.403	§1	41	77
LR5/1.404	§1	42	78
LR5/1.405	§1	72	79
LR5/1.406			79A
LR5/1.406 LR5/1.407	§1		79A 79B
LR5/1.407 LR5/1.408	§1	44	-
LR5/1.408 LR5/1.409	§1		80
LK3/1.409	§1	45	81
LR5/1.410	§27	37A 37 38 41 46	82
LR5/1.411	§27	37 39 47	83
LR5/1.412	§27	40 39A 48	84
LR5/1.413		35 40 49	85
LR5/1.414	§1	50	86
LR5/1.415	§1	51	87
LR5/1.416	§1	52	88

Appendix 1.iii - Paper-type data for the manuscript of The Anathemata LR5.1

LR5/1.417	§1	53	89
LR5/1.418	§2	54 "insertion	"
LR5/1.419	§1	54	90
LR5/1.420	§1	55	91
LR5/1.421	§1	56	92
LR5/1.422	§1	57	93
LR5/1.423	§1	58	94
LR5/1.424	§1	58 59	95
LR5/1.425	§1	59 60	96
LR5/1.426	§1		96
LR5/1.427	§1		97
LR5/1.428	§1		98
LR5/1.429	§1		99
LR5/1.430	§27	33 37 44 4	3 96
LR5/1.432			100
LR5/1.433			101
LR5/1.434	§2		101
LR5/1.435			102
LR5/1.436	§27	34 38 48 4	4
LR5/1.437		33A 44	103

# LR6/1.438-570

D (D )	To .	I
DJP cat. ref.	Paper type	Fol.
LR6/1.438	§32	11
LR6/1.439	§32	11
LR6/1.440	§32	12
LR6/1.441	§32	12
LR6/1.442	§6	15A
LR6/1.443	§7	14
LR6/1.444	§7	14
LR6/1.445	§32	13 14
LR6/1.446	§7	14A
LR6/1.447	§32	14A
LR6/1.448	§32	
LR6/1.449	§32	
LR6/1.450	§32	
LR6/1.451	§7	
LR6/1.452	§7	14A
LR6/1.453	§32	15
LR6/1.454	§6	15
LR6/1.455	§7	16 15A 15B
LR6/1.456	§7	
LR6/1.457	§7	
LR6/1.458	§32	14 15
LR6/1.459	§7	15A
LR6/1.460	§32	
LR6/1.461	§32?	16
LR6/1.462	§6	4 (6)
LR6/1.463	§32	7F 7G
LR6/1.464	?	6 7 9
LR6/1.465	§32	9 10
LR6/1.466	§32	7 8
LR6/1.467	§32	9A
LR6/1.468	§6	
LR6/1.469	§32	10
LR6/1.470	§32	9 10
LR6/1.471	§32	8
LR6/1.472	§32	
LR6/1.473	§32	9
LR6/1.474	§7	17A
LR6/1.475	§7	17A
LR6/1.476	§7	17B
LR6/1.477	§7	17B
LR6/1.477	§7	1773
LR6/1.479	§32	
		17
LR6/1.480	§7	17
LR6/1.481	§32	17

Appendix 1.iii - Paper-type data for the manuscript of The Anathemata LR6.1

LR6/1.482	§7	17A
LR6/1.482A	§32	8 9 10 11
LR6/1.483	§32	7A
LR6/1.484	§32	9
LR6/1.485	§32	17
LR6/1.486	§32	17
LR6/1.487	§32	17
LR6/1.488	§32	17
LR6/1.489	§32	18
LR6/1.490	§32	18
LR6/1.491	§32	18 19
LR6/1.492	§32	
LR6/1.493	§32	18A
LR6/1.494	§32	18A
LR6/1.495	§7	18A
LR6/1.496	§32	18A
LR6/1.497	§7	18B
LR6/1.498	§7	18A
LR6/1.499	§32	18A
LR6/1.500	§32	18A
LR6/1.501	§7	18A
LR6/1.502	§32	18B
LR6/1.503	§32	18B
LR6/1.504	§7	18B
LR6/1.505	§32	18C
LR6/1.506	§32	
LR6/1.507	§32	17 18
LR6/1.508	§7	18C
LR6/1.509	§7	18D
LR6/1.510	§7	18D
LR6/1.511	§6	18 18D
LR6/1.512	§6	18C 18E
LR6/1.513	§32	18E
LR6/1.514	§32	
LR6/1.515	§6	18E (1)
LR6/1.516	§7	18E
LR6/1.517	§32	18F
LR6/1.518	?	
LR6/1.519	§32	18F
LR6/1.520	§32	18F
LR6/1.521	§56	18F
LR6/1.522	§32	18F
[Unnumbered]	§7	18A
LR6/1.523	§32	18F2
LR6/1.524	§56	18F2
LR6/1.525	§56	18F2
LR6/1.526	§8	18F2

Appendix 1.iii - Paper-type data for the manuscript of The Anathemata LR6.1

LR6/1.527	§56	18F3
LR6/1.528	§56	18F3
LR6/1.529	-	18F4
LR6/1.530	§8 §56	18F4
	?	
LR6/1.531	·	18F5
LR6/1.532	§64	18G
LR6/1.533	§56	18G
LR6/1.534	§32	18G
LR6/1.535	§6	18G
LR6/1.536	§6	18H
LR6/1.537	§56	18H
LR6/1.538	§8	18H
LR6/1.539	§8	18H2
LR6/1.540	§32	181
LR6/1.541	§64	18H 18J
LR6/1.542	§56	18J
LR6/1.543	§6	18J
LR6/1.544	§8	18J
LR6/1.546	§6	18K
LR6/1.545	§32	18L
LR6/1.547	§32	18F
LR6/1.548	§6	18L
LR6/1.549	§6	18M
LR6/1.550	§32	18N
LR6/1.551	§6	18M 18O
LR6/1.552	§6	18N 18P
LR6/1.553	?	
LR6/1.554	§32	20 19
LR6/1.555	§32	18 19
LR6/1.556		
	§32	18
LR6/1.557	§32 §32	18 20
LR6/1.557 LR6/1.558	-	
	§32 §32	20
LR6/1.558	§32 §32 §32	20 21
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A	§32 §32 §32 §32	20 21 21 21 21 20
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560	§32 §32 §32 §32 §32	20 21 21 21 21 20 21
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561	§32 §32 §32 §32 §32 §32	20 21 21 21 21 20 21 21
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561 LR6/1.562	§32 §32 §32 §32 §32 §32 §32	20 21 21 21 21 20 21 21 21
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561 LR6/1.562 LR6/1.563	\$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32	20 21 21 21 20 21 21 21 21 22 21
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561 LR6/1.562 LR6/1.563 LR6/1.564	§32 §32 §32 §32 §32 §32 §32 §32 §32	20 21 21 21 21 20 21 21 21 22 21 19 20 22
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561 LR6/1.562 LR6/1.563 LR6/1.564 LR6/1.565	\$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32	20 21 21 21 20 21 21 21 21 22 21
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561 LR6/1.562 LR6/1.563 LR6/1.564 LR6/1.565 LR6/1.566	\$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32	20 21 21 21 20 21 21 21 21 22 21 19 20 22 18H 18J
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561 LR6/1.562 LR6/1.563 LR6/1.564 LR6/1.565 LR6/1.566 [Unnumbered]	\$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32	20 21 21 21 21 20 21 21 21 22 21 19 20 22 18H 18J
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561 LR6/1.562 LR6/1.563 LR6/1.564 LR6/1.565 LR6/1.566 [Unnumbered] LR6/1.567	\$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32	20 21 21 21 21 20 21 21 21 22 21 19 20 22 18H 18J
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561 LR6/1.562 LR6/1.563 LR6/1.565 LR6/1.565 [Unnumbered] LR6/1.567 LR6/1.568	\$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32	20 21 21 21 21 20 21 21 21 22 21 19 20 22 18H 18J
LR6/1.558 LR6/1.558A LR6/1.559 LR6/1.560 LR6/1.561 LR6/1.562 LR6/1.563 LR6/1.564 LR6/1.565 LR6/1.566 [Unnumbered] LR6/1.567	\$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32 \$32	20 21 21 21 21 20 21 21 21 22 21 19 20 22 18H 18J

### Appendix 2

The following table gives a comprehensive presentation of the scriptias into which the 66H1-14 foliational stratum of the 'Roman Quarry' manuscript was divided for analysis. The far-right column contains a transcription of the latest version of the manuscript at the time Jones abandoned it in the mid-1940s (and prior to his selecting material from it to develop into 'The Hunt' and 'The Sleeping Lord' from the late-1950s onward). This 'final' version is obviously an unfinished work; it has only been possible to collate a version using drafts from different stages of the writing, though this is probably an accurate representation of the state of the text in 1944.

The text has been divided into scriptias, speculated units of writing, and these numbered 1-328. To the left of the transcription, between outer columns giving the scriptia numbers, are 37 columns. Each of these corresponds to a draft sheet towards the final manuscript version. Those cells shaded in grey denote instances in which a scriptia from the 'final' version of the text appears on an earlier draft sheet. The infrequent darker grey squares denote occasions when the drafts contain material which was later excised from the text, and so which does not appear in the final text. This text is inserted into the 'final' text column in square brackets.

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

Scriptia	LR8/6.168	LR8/6.172	LR8/6.173	LR8/6.174	66H2 - LR8/6.169 & v.	LR8/6.167.v	LR8/6.167; 66H2	LR8/6.170; 66H2	LR8/6.171; 66H2	LR8/6.175; 66H3	LR8/6.176; 66H3	LR8/6.179; 66H3	LR8/6.179.v	LR8/6.177; 66H4 > 66H3	LR8/6.178; 66H4 > 66H3	LR8/6.180.v		LR8/6.181; 66H5 > 66H4	LR8/6.182; 66H5	LR8/6.183; 66H5	LR8/6.184; 66H5	LR8/6.185; 66H5	LR8/6.186; 66H6	LR8/6.187; 66H6 > 66H7	LR8/6.152; 66H7 > 66H12	LR8/6.151; 66H7	LR8/6.193; 66H7 > 66H14	LR8/6.188; 66H8	LR8/6.189; 66H8	LR8/6.190; 66H8 > 66H13	LR1/1.688A.v	LR1/1.688A; 66H8	1 04/4 740: 661100 : 661144	LK1/1./10; 00H9? > 00H14	LK6/0.193	LR0/0:193.V, 001112[:]A	LR8/6 101: 66H13	LKO/0.191; 00H13	Scriptia	Final' MS
																																								[LR1/1.682; 66H2]
1																																								or does it kennel the bitch-hounds?
2																																							2	And Are these the name-bearing stones of the
																													$\perp$											named-hounds of the Arya of Britain,
3																																							3	are they the night-yards of the dogs of the
																																								Island –
4	_																										-	-	+	+	-	+	+			_		_		the rest kennels at the hog-quest?
5	_											$\vdash$																$\vdash$	+	+	-	+				_				Do they mark his froth-track
(	1																																						•	& the wounds of his brood
7						_					-	$\vdash$					-	-									$\vdash$	$\vdash$	+	+	+	+	+	+	_	+	+	+		from the foam at Porth Cleis
8	-																											+								+		+		to the confluence at the boundary
9	_																											+	+	+						_				where
'																																							•	Wye-stream wars with tidal Severn
10												$\vdash$																											10	when the dog-cry
11	_																											$\vdash$												& the shout of the
-																																								Arya shouting the hunt-cry
12																																							12	fractured
																																								the hollow sky-vault
13																																							13	because of the
																																								impetuous unison
[N/A]																																						[	N/A]	[(for it is the prophecy of the men of the island / to achieve unison only when they shout to venery)]
14																																							14	when the dog-throats of the Arya were lifted as one.
15																																							15	When he doubled his tracks & doubled again
16																																							16	& stood & withstood in the high hollow,
17																																							17	where the first slaughter

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

								was.
18								18 Was he over Presely < Preselau > Top & down where
								the nymph pours out the Nevern
19								19 where the Arya waited with the boar-spears
								[and the torc-bearing hunters of the island deployed / at the water-course]
20								20 and the second slaughter was.
/A]								[N/A] [& the waiting[?] of the quarry when the / chief architect of the Island fell to the / boar thrust & at dawn the third slaughter was.]
21								21 and was the <it> in Teify dun where he sorrowed the foreign queen, 4</it>
22								22 and where was he thence that no one could tell?  1
								[LR1/1.683; 66H3]
23								23 Is the Sumer director [1] within the hewn circle
24								24 hill-pack with the wall-eyed leader?
25								25 What is it that glints from the holed-stone
26								26 Is it the collar of honour with the jewelled thong that leashes the glistening hound of the hunter-lord
27								27 or is it the dark signet of the lord of barter
28								- was world-gain the quarry or the world-hog?
29								29 What of the grouped stones of alluvial Towy?
30								30 did they shelter the nurtured dogs of the trained venators  2
31								31 when the innate men of the equal privilage,
32								32 & the men who wed the kin & feud with the stranger,
33								33 and the torque-wearing high-men on the named steeds.
34								34 & the small elusive men from the bond-trevs
35								35 who, before the Arya was knew the beast-way & the elusive tracks of the Island,
36								36 without whom the Arya

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

		could not follow the questing beast,
37		37 Because they know the secret ways of the island
88		38 & the ingrained habits of the fauna
19		39 & the paths of the water-courses
10		40 and the
		fissues
1		41 & the rock-strike,
12		42 and the properties
		[LR1/1.684; 66H4]
		of the flora
13		43 before the Arya came,
14		44 and the privilaged <ministering> sons who uncover the</ministering>
.		father's fires,
45		45 whose charge is the bright seed
40		under the piled ash
46		46 which is the life of
40		the people,  1
47		47 and the hundred and twenties of oath-taking
4/		riders.
48	<del></del>	48 who closely hedge with a wattle of
40		
		weapons the first of the equals from the
40		wattled palaces,
49		49 the lords of calamitous
		jealousy,
50		50 and the fetter-locked riders
51		51 and the faithless riders,
52		52 the riders who receive the shaft-shock instead of
		their lords
53		53 and the riders who slip the column
54		54 whose lords alone reveive the shafts,  2
55		55 when the men of proud spirit & the men of
		mean spirit,
56		56 the named & the unnamed of
30		the island
57		57 & the dogs of the island
58		58 and the silent lords
59		59 & the lords who
39		shout
60		60 and the laughing leaders with the
		familiar faces from the dear known-sites

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

61										61 & the adjuvant stranger-lords,
2										62 with aid
										for the hog-hunt from over the sleeve,
										[LR1/1.684A; 66H [?]]
3										63 & the wand-bearing lords that are kin to
										Fferyllt  1 ,
64										64 who learnt from the Sibyl the
										Change-Date & the Turn of Time,
35										65 the lords who ride after deep consideration
66										66 & the lords whose inveterate habit is to
										ride,
67										67 The riders who ride from interior compulsion
88										68 & the riders whose inveterate habit is to
										ride who fear the narrow glances of the
										kindred,
69										69 Those who would stay for the dung-bailiff's
										daughter
70										70 and those who would ride through
										the shining Matres, three by three, sought
										to stay them,
71										71 The riders who would mount
72										72 though the
										green wound unstitched
73										73 & those who
										would leave their mounts in stall
74										74 if the
										bite of a gad-fly could excuse them,
75										75 when the Arya by father
76										76 by mother,
77										77 without bond,
78										78 without foreign,
79										79 without
										mean descent, [3]
ВО									$\dashv$	80 & the lords from among the co-equals
81										81 and the bond-men of limited privilage
32										82 whose insult-price is unequal
83										83 but whose
										limb-price is equal,
84									$\dashv$	84 for all the disproportion
-										as to comliness & power,
85							1			85 because the

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

	dignity belonging to the white limbs
16	86 & innate
	in the shining members,
7	87 annuls inequality
	of status
8	88 & disallows distinctions of
	appearance,  4
9	89 when the free
	90 & the bond
1	91 & the mountain
	mares
2	92 & the fettered horses
3	93 & the four penny
	curs
4	94 & the hounds of status
5	95 in the wide jewelled
	collars,
	[LR1/1.686; [equiv. 66H6]]
16	96 when all the shining Arya rode
7	97 with the diademed leader
8	98 who directs the toil
9	99 whose face is furrowed with the
	weight of the interprise
0	100 the lord of the conspicuous scars
	100 the ford of the conspicuous scars
1	101 whose visage is fouled with the hog-spittle
2	102 whose cheeks are fretted with the grime
	of the hunt toil.
	[LR1/1.687; 66H7]
3	103 If his forehead is radiant like the smooth
	hill in the lateral light,
4	104 it is corrugated
	like the defences of the hill,
5	105 because of his
	care for the land
6	106 & <for> the land.</for>
7	107 If his eyes are narrowed for the stress of the
	hunt
8	108 & because of the hog,
19	109 they are moist
	for the ruin
0	110 & for love of the recumbant

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

				bodies that strew the ruin.
11				111 If his embroidered habit is clearly from a palace wardrobe,
12				112 it is mired
13				113 & rent
14				114 &
				his bruised limbs gleam between the rents
15				115 by reason of the excessive fury of his riding
16				116 when he rode the close thicket
17				117 as though it
				were an open launde;
18				118 (indeed, was it he riding the forest-ride
19				119 or was the tangled forest riding?)
20				120 For the thorns & flowers of the forest
21				121 & the
				bright elm-shoots
22				122 & the twisted tanglewood
23				123 & stamen
24				124 & stem
25				125 clung & meshed
				him
26				126 & starred him with variety
27				127 & green
				tendrils gartered him
28				128 and the briary-loops galloon
				him,
29				129 with splinter-spikes & broken blossom
30				130 twining his royal needlework.
				[LR1/1.688; 66H [9]]
31				131 and ruby petal-points counter the
				countless points of his wounds and
32				132 and from his lifted cranium,
33				133 where the
				priced tresses dragged with sweat
34				134 stray his straight furrows
35				135 under the
				twisted diadem
36				136 to the numbered bones of his scarred
				feet,
37				137 & from the saturated fore-lock
				of his maned mare
38				138 to her streaming

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

	flanks
39	139 & in broken festoons for
	her quivering fetlocks,
40	140 he was decked in the flora of the
	woodlands of Britain;
41	141 and like a stricken numen of
	the woods he rode,
42	142 with the trophies
	of the woods upon him,
43	143 who rode for
	the healing of the woods
44	144 & because of
	the hog.
45	145 So was he caparisoned
46	146 & so did he
	demean himself as a protagonist
47	147 — and
	before them all,
48	148 & first of the equals.
49	149 Like the breast of the cock-thrush
50	150 that is torn
90	
	in the hedge-war
51	151 when bright on the native
	mottling the <deeper> mottle [illeg.] is</deeper>
52	152 & the briar points
	cling
53	153 & brighting the diversity of textures
54	154 &
	crystal-bright on the delicate fret the clear
	dewdrops gleam:
55	155 so was his dappling
56	156 &
	his dreadful variety
57	157 – the speckled lord of
	the Priten
58	158 in the twice embroidered coat
59	159 - the bleeding man-in-the-green.
60	160 If through the trellis of green
61	161 & between the
	rents of the needlework,
62	162 the whiteness of his body shone,
63	163 so did his dark wounds glisten.

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

				[LR1/1.689; [equiv. 66H9 or 10]
64				164 and if his eyes,
65				165 from looking toward the
				hog-track
66				166 & from considering the hog
67				167 turned to consider the men of the host
68				168 & the
				eyes of the men of the host met his eyes,
69				169 it would be difficult to speak of so extreme
				a metamorphosis
70				170 when they paused at the check
71				171 when they drew breath
72				172 & the sweat of the men of the host
73				173 & of
				[illeg.] the horses
74				174 salted the dew
				on the forest-floor
75				175 & the hard breathing
				of the many men
76				176 & the many horses creatures
77				177 woke the many-voiced fauna-cry of the
				Great Forest  1
78				178 & shook the silent flora
79				179 and the extremity of anger
80				180 alternating with
				sorrow
81				181 on the furrowed faces of the
				Arya
82				182 transmogrified the calm face of
				the morning
83				183 as when the change-wind
				stirs
84				184 & the colours change in the boding
•				thunder-calm
85				185 because this was the day of the passion
				of the men of Britain,
86			+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +	186 when they hunted
~				the hog life for life
87				187 when they paused at the check
88				188 when they drew breath
89		<del></del>		189 when they lost the scent

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

90			190 was the thing already as far as Taff
91			<b>191</b> or
			was it wasting the trevs of <del>Taf or </del> <teify></teify>
92			<b>192</b> had it
			broke north & away oblique to the chase
			[LR1/1.690; 66H10]
93			193 was it through the virgin scrub back
			beyond Lothi[Cothi?],
94			194 was the stench-track
			blighting the Iscoed oaks
95			195 does the red spot pale on the high boned cheeks
			in Ceredigion
96			196 because the cleft feet stamp
			out the seed of fire,
97			197 do is the fire-back stone
			split with the riving tusk in the white
			dwellings
98			198 while they pause at the check
99			199 while they draw breath
200			200 to take the ford of A Amman flow,
201			<b>201</b> to
			ride the high track of the Amman hill-scent
202			202 to the find on the grit-beds of the Vans  1
203			203 (while the leader rested from toil)
204			204 And is his bed wide
205			205 is his bed deep on the folded strata,
206			206 is his bed long.
207			207 Where is his bed
208			208 & where have they
			laid him
209			209 from Buelt to Gower,
.09			[LR1/1.691; 66H10 > 66H12]
210			210 Is the tump by Honddu his tilted pillow
	<del>                                      </del>	+++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++++	
211			211 does the gritstone outcrope incommode him
212			212 does the deep syncline sag beneath him
213			213 or does his strata's mattress & his rug
			of shaly grey ease for his royal dorsals
			the caving under-floor?
214			214 If his strong spine rests on the bald
			heights,
215			215 where would you say his foot-chafer

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

mingle his anguish-stream with the scored-valleys<'> tilted refuse.	ed by the
218	· · · · <b>/</b> · · · ·
hear the night song from the <long of="" td="" ystalyfera=""  =""  <=""><td></td></long>	
218   Where the narrow-skulled	<long> night-<del>pits</del> <sheds< td=""></sheds<></long>
218   Where the narrow-skulled   K-C-aethion   2  of the lowest prior   219 & the   K-C-aethion   2  of the lowest prior   219 & the   K-C-aethion of mixed breed,   220   labour	
K <c>aethion  2  of the lowest prior    </c>	
219 k the	price
K- <c>-aethion of mixed breed,   220 labour (Heg-]   the changing shifts   221 for the leade of (Heg-]   the changing shifts   221 for the leade of (Heg-]   republive lips - cosmocrats of the care   222 to the Usk a drain for his gleaming tears   223 when he weeps for the land -   224 who dreams his bitter dream for the fold the land.   224 who dreams his bitter dream for the fold the land.   225 Does Tawe clog for his griefs - sorrows-,   226 do the parallel dark-seam drainers mingle his anguish-stream with the scored-valleys-&lt;- thick refuse   227 does his freight of woe flood easte on Sirhywy-&lt;-&gt; &amp; Ebbw - Ebwy-,   228 to stoughing streams fill with   229   229 to the troughing streams fill with   230   230 when he dream-flights the nine-night fight   231 which he fought alone with the hog   232 to no purpose.   233 to no purpose.   234 when the eighteen twilights   235 and the equal light of the nine midnights   236 and the</c>	. p o o
220 labour [illeg-]   the changing shifts   221 for the lerds of [illeg-]   the changing shifts   221 for the lerds of [illeg-]   repulsive lips -cosmocrats of the care   222 is the Usk a drain for his glearning tears   223 when he weeps for the land -   224 who   224 who   224 who   225 when he weeps for the land -   226 when he weeps for the land -   227 when he weeps for the land -   228 when	
## Changing shifts    221	
221	
222   ste Usk a drain for his gleaming tears 223   223   when he weeps for the land − 224   who dreams his bitter dream for the fol the land. 225   Does Tawe clog for his griefe < sorrows >, 226   226 do the parallel dark-seam drainers mingle his anguish-stream with the scored-valleys<'> tilled refuse. 227   227 does his freight of woe flood easte on Sirthywy<-> & Ebbw < Ebwy>, 228   228   is it southly borne on double Rhondda's fall to [LR11.6888.66H/27] > 66H11  229   290 the troughing streams fill with 1 Chrism'd sweat 230   230 when he dream-flights the nine-night fight 231   231 which he fought alone with the hog said and the equal light of the nine month of the nine month of the nine mingless. 236   235 and the equal light of the nine month of the nine minglist glates. 236   236 and the equal light of the nine month of the nine month of the nine minglist glates.	the dark aeon.>
tears	
223   224 who   224 who   224 who   224 who   225   226 who   225   226   226   226   226   226   227   227   227   227   227   228   228   228   228   228   228   229   229   229   229   229   220   22	•
224 who dreams his bitter dream for the fol the land.  225 Does Tawe clog for his griefs <sorrows>.  226 do the parallel dark-seam drainers mingle his anguish-stream with the scored-valleys&lt;'&gt; tilted refuse.  227 does his freight of woe flood easte on Sirhywy&lt;'&gt; &amp; Ebbw <ebwy>.  228 by 228 by 228 is it southly borne on double Rhondda's fall to [LR11.688B; 66H/1] &gt; 66H11  229 Con the troughing streams fill with him he dream-flights the nine-night fight state of the sine-night fight state of the wilderness state of the wilderness</ebwy></sorrows>	
the land.   225   Does Tawe clog for his griefs < sorrows >,   226   do the parallel dark-seam drainers mingle his anguish-stream with the scored-valleys<'> tilted refuse.   227   does his freight of woo flood easte on Sirhywy<'> & Ebbw < Ebwy >,   228   si t southly borne on double Rhondda's fall to   [LR11.688B; 66H/?] > 66H11   229   Do the troughing streams fill with 1   Chrism'd sweat   230   when he dream-flights the nine-night fight   231   which he fought alone with the hot   232   in the wilderness   233   to no purpose.   234   When the eighteen twilights   235   and the nine midnights   236   and the equal light of the nine more midnights   236   and the equal light of the nine more midnights   236   and the nine midnights   248   and the nine midnights   248   and the nine midnight	
225   Does Tawe clog for his griefs <sorrows>,   226 do the parallel dark-seam drainers mingle his anguish-stream with the scored-valleys&lt;'&gt; tilted refuse.   227 does his freight of woe flood easte on Sirhyw&lt;'&gt; &amp; Ebbw <ebwy>,   228 is it southly borne on double Rhondda's fall to   [LR171.6888; 66H/27] &gt; 66H171   229   Do the troughing streams fill with 1   Chrism'd sweat   230   230   230   230   231   231   231   231   232   232   233   233   233   233   233   234   234   235   235   235   236  </ebwy></sorrows>	e folk of
226   226   226   226   226   226   226   226   227   227   227   227   227   228   228   228   228   229   229   229   229   229   229   229   220	
226 do the parallel dark-seam drainers mingle his anguish-stream with the scored-valleys<'> tilted refuse. 227 does his freight of we flood easte on Sirhywy & Ebbw < Ebwy>. 228 228 229 229 229 220 220 220 220 220 220 220	
226 do the parallel dark-seam drainers mingle his anguish-stream with the scored-valleys<'> tilted refuse. 227 does his freight of we flood easte on Sirhywy<≥ & Ebbw <ebwy>. 228 228 228 229 229 229 229 229 230 240 250 250 250 250 250 250 250 250 250 25</ebwy>	
mingle his anguish-stream with the scored-valleys<'> tilted refuse.  227 does his freight of woe flood easte on Sirhywy & Ebbw < Ebwy>, 228 is it southly borne on double Rhondda's fall to  [LR1/1.688B; 66H/2] > 66H11]  229  230  230  230  231  231  231  231  232  233  233	iners
Scored-valleys<> tilted refuse.   Scored-valleys<> tilted refuse.	
227 does his freight of woe flood easter on Sirhywy <i> &amp; Ebbw <ebwy>, 228   228   228   228   228   228   228   229   22</ebwy></i>	
228       228 is it southly borne on double Rhondda's fall to [LR1/1.688B; 66H[?] > 66H1]         229       229 Do the troughing streams fill with he Chrism'd sweat         230       230 when he dream-flights the nine-night fight         231       231 which he fought alone with the hog side of the mine season of the wilderness         232       232 in the wilderness         233       233 to no purpose.         234       234 When the eighteen twilights         235       236 and the nine midnights         236       236 and the equal light of the nine more	
borne on double Rhondda's fall to  [LR1/1.688B; 66H[?] > 66H11]  229  230  230	y>,
Chrism'd sweat   230   230   230   231   231   231   232   232   233   233   233   234   235   236   236   236   236   236   236   236   237   24   238	
229 Do the troughing streams fill with home chrism'd sweat  230 230 when he dream-flights the nine-night fight  231 231 232 232 233 234 235 233 234 234 235 235 236 and the nine midnights  239 24 25 26 and the equal light of the nine more	all to Taff –
229 Do the troughing streams fill with h Chrism'd sweat  230 230 when he dream-flights the nine-night fight  231 231 232 232 232 233 233 233 233 233	1]
230 when he dream-flights the nine-night fight 231 231 232 232 232 233 24 24 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 26 26 26 26 26 26 26 26 26 26 26 26 26	with his
231   231   231   232   232   233   233   234   234   235   235   236   236   236   236   236   237   238	
231	
232   232   233   233   233   233   233   234   234   235   235   235   236   236   236   236   237   238   239	
232   232   233   233   233   233   233   233   233   234   234   235   235   235   236   236   236   236   236   237   238	e hog
234 When the eighteen twilights 235 236 236 236 236 237 238 239 239 239 239 239 239 239 239 239 239	
235 235 and the nine midnights 236 236 236 and the equal light of the nine more	
235 235 and the nine midnights 236 236 236 and the equal light of the nine more	
236 and the equal light of the nine mor	
	mornings
237   237   237   237   238	

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

								saviour's fury
239							239	& the dark fires of the
								hog's eye [3]
								[LR8/6.152; 66H7 > 66H12]
240							240	when he moved in his fretful sleep
241							241	did the
								covering stone dislodge and roll to Reynoldstone [1]
242							242	Are the clammy ferns his rustling vallance
243								does the berried rowan ward him from evil  2
244								or does he ward the tanglewood
245								& the
- 10								denizens of the wood,
246							246	and the stunted oaks
- 10								his knarled guard –
247							247	or are their knarled
								limbs strong with his sap.
248							248	Do the small black horses grass on the
							0	hunch of his shoulders –
249							249	are the hills his
							•	couch.
250							250	or is he the couchant hills?
251								Are the slumbering valleys him in slumber
252								are the still undulations the still limbs of
								him sleeping –
253							253	is the configuration of
								the land the furrowed body of the
								lord,
254							254	are the scarred ridges his
								dental greaves,
255							255	so the trickling gulleys
								drain his hog-wounds?
256							256	Does the land wait the sleeping lord
257								or is the wasted land that very
								lord who sleeps?
258	+ + + +						258	What was he called?
259								Was his
								wont-name Cronus
260								or had he another –
/A]								[ <is font-name="" his=""> Arthur / or will they call him Yvain of<de Gaul / Galles]</de </is>
261							261	Was he always the stern Maristuron.
262		<del>                                     </del>		<del>                                     </del>		<del>                                     </del>		How did they ask for the wheat-yield?

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

263										263	Was the nomen's ending he or she?
264											What did he answer to, lord or ma'am?
265											was he breaker or creatrix.
266											at the other reaping before they sowed
											the dragon's teeth,
267											what love-word
											wakened him
											[LR1/1.692; 66H11 > 66H12]
268											Is his royal anger ferriaged where
											black-rimed Rhymni soils her marcher-ba1
269											Do the bells of St. Mellors toll his
											detour;
270											are his sighs canalled where
											the Mountain Ash droops her <del>[illeg.]</del> <bright></bright>
											head for the black pall of Merthyr?
271		$\perp$									Do Afan & Nedd west it away
272											does grimed Ogwr toss on a
											fouled ripple his broken-heart flow
											out to widening Hafren  2
273											and does she, the confluence-queen
											queenly bear on her spumy frock a
											maimed king's sleep-bane?
274											Do the long white hands, would
											you think, of lerne queans
											unloose galloons to let the black
											stray web the wet death-wind –
275											does the wake-dole mingle the
											cormorant scream,
276											does man-sidhe
											to fay-queen bemoan <del>for</del> -the passage
											of a king's griefs?
277											(who drank the torrent-way?)
278											westing far
		$\perp$									out to unchoosing Oceanus.
279											Does the blind & shapeless creature of
											sea know the marking & indelible
											balm from flotsomed sewage
280											& the
											seaped valley-waste?
A]											[Excised material]
											[LR1/1.708; 66H13]
281										281	Is he of the Arya after all

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

282	282 or
	was he the gentle lord
293	293 Is that why he smiles behind his eyes
94	<b>294</b> & from
	the mobile lines between chin & nostril –
285	285 and does he make hares of them all
286	286 in his iron & bronze & his enamelled
	gilt
287	287 – in his Arya-rig.
288	288 Is his descent agnatic at all –
289	<b>289</b> or is
	that tale too a woof he's wrought to
	hide his peculiarity –
290	290 the devine old
	hoaxer. [1]
291	291 Will they bless him a font-cup at the
	Turn of Time,
292	292 will they call him the
	lord of the chalice<-hunt,> who sleeps?
293	293 is this the land where the sleeper sleeps,
294	294 the sleeper who shall wake,
295	295 is he in
	his island cave -
296	296 does Briareus guard
	him yet,
297	297 are the single standing-stones
	devinities about him.
298	298 ls <n> this the charged land of under-myth &amp;</n>
	over-myth
299	299 where lord rests on greater lord
300	300 & by lesser names the greater named are
	called;
301	301 where the inversions are
302	302 & the high
	anticlines are hid by newer valley ways.  2
303	303 And the under-strike of the ultimate folds
	folds –
304	304 how does it run?
305	305 What agelus
	Mabon 3 knows < recollects>,
306	306 which virile <long-winded> Nestor tells <knows></knows></long-winded>
307	<b>307</b> the

Appendix 2 - Division and comparison of scriptias for the 66H1-12 foliational stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'

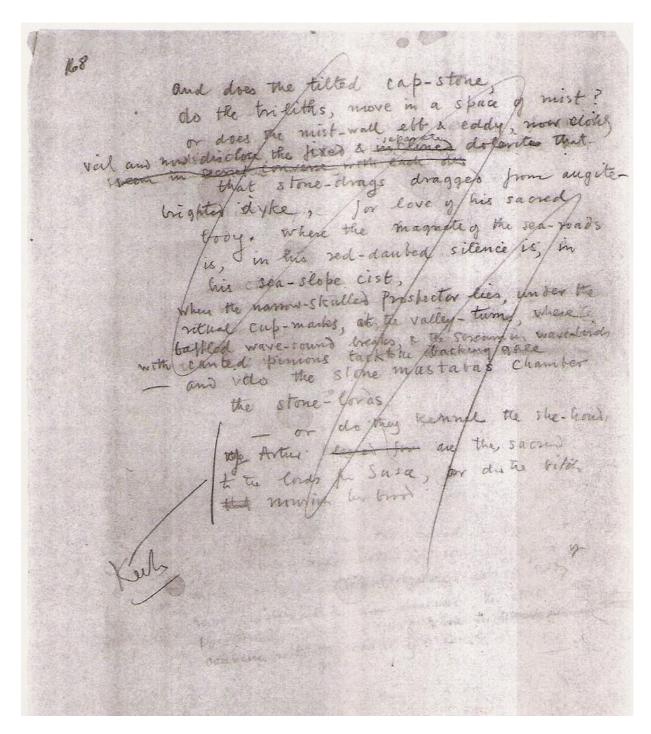
					axile line of the first of the sleepers?
308				30	8 &
					from what exertion was he fain to lie
					down?
309				30	9 and what commotion faulted him
					through & through?
					[LR1/1.709; 66H14]
310					But in this place of myth on wonder-myth
311					1 in this place of questions –
312				31	2 where the
					deepest thing outcrops on the highest
					hill
313				31	3 where the gods are beneath & the
					men are above
314					4 even here,
315				31	5 where the known & the
					unknown traffic together at the
					ultimate tilt of Thule
316				31	6 where the gods
					of Thule rest by the ninth wave.
317				31	7 in the last cantrevs,
318				31	8 at the brink of
					the lithosphere
319					9 even here
320					the factual gromatici  1 ,
321				32	peevish in
					the hill-god's driving piss,
322				32	wipe their
					tablets
323				32	23 & plain-table the hill-god's
					undulations
324					from the hill-god's knob
325					and back to valley quaters
326					past the valley-trevs,
327				32	27 - and see
					the valley Fuzzywuzzies
328				32	togged
					antique like Hallstatt duces  2

## Appendix 3

The following images are of the five draft sheets upon which Jones inserted material to follow the question 'Does it kennel the bitch-hounds?' within the 66H1-14 insertional stratum of 'The Roman Quarry'. By using the method of scriptia analysis outlined within this thesis, Jones's micro-insertional method becomes visible, and the problem of the discrepancy between the text and the paginational code is resolved.

Appendix 3:

Five draft versions showing the genesis of the text of 'The Roman Quarry' to follow the 'bitch-hounds' fragment



172 or does it kennel the bitch-known ? are these the name-bearing stones of the named hounds of the Arya of Britain? are they night- yards of the dogs of the Island? that quester the hog hom port Cleis to edica done to Aler of the two waters who to the strone enclosure & 1 learning stones by the enclosure, back to the stone of the Children of Arthur on to White Fort hollow where the slaughter power Preselly Top down to Nevern fount-head where the Arya waited with the boar spears when the at the stranger source & me second slangton was & the wowing of the quany when the Chief archetect of he Island fell the boar thrust & ar down the thin slauster was. on to Teil town where the twommed this ker thrust again to somme the Queen of France to the circles-kennel by Tony & on eg the ford of allevial Amman over the grits of the Yams to the Ewyse the of chapter to boudaries the to see to the dence to the a & Houdden facts to the floor wills cluster & the that flack hours angle tilted turns

or does it kennel the bitch-hounds? are there the name-bearing stones of the named hounds of the Arya of Britain? are they the night-yards of the dogs of the Island. the rest- Kennels for the trog-quest, as Do They make the track of the belast from the quar at Clais. to Aberry my to the meeting tides + when the dog-cry & the shint of the Arrya Shorting the hunt my weaver leaven Jak Account of the unison of the short -(In it is the protect of the men of the extant to achieve unison one when they shout to venone) south by Eledden water-neet up to the Stone enclosure & the learning stones by the suchowne back to stone of the Children of Arthur on to White Fort hollow where the first slaughter was arer Presely Top down to Nevern Jount head where the Arrya waited with the boar steam When the mate hunters of Britain deployed at the water crusse & the second staughter, was. In the evening, a the wounding of the quary a art drawn the Think slaughter was on to Teify turn where he stord again a his thinsting sorrowed the queen of France

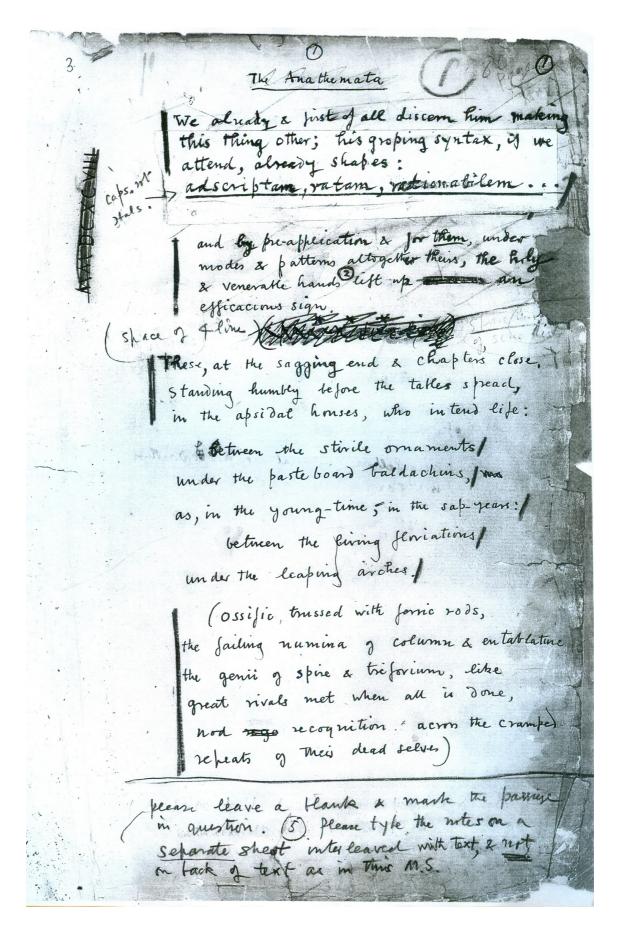
or does it kennel the bitch - hounds! are there the name bearing stones of the name's bounds of the Arya of Britain are they the night-yards of the dogs of the Island - the rest-kennels at the hog-quest! Do they mark has froth-track & the wound of his brost from the foam at port Cleis to the confluence or the boundary Where Wye stream wars with to tidal severn (When the dog-cry & the short of the Arya shorting the hunt-ong practured the hollow sky-vault because of the impetume unisone t When the home throats a the dog-throat & the throats of the Arya where lifted as one) when donted his tracks & doubled again & stood & with store in high hollow when the just slaugh was. was due one preselye top a down where the mymph pours out the Neverna when the Arrya waited with boar sheates 2 the second slaute was. a was in Trify dun where he widowed to green of France: & where was he thence that no one emed tell. Is the Summer director within the hema circle the walk for hill back a to whate WI 40 Downshir Hill. men they picked wh to scent by allavial Towy? WHIE WALLERD when is that alints from the holed stone is it the office of honoing for the jeweller though leader was can Mar beasher is glistening bound to the Printer-lindo or hul a lay

## Appendix 4

This appendix contains reproductions of the 'final' manuscript of the eight page base stratum of *The Anathemata*. Pages 1 to 5, and page 6 (which later became page 72, and later still page 165) certainly formed part of the final manuscript Jones sent to his two typists. Pages 7 and 8, from earlier draft states, are the latest surviving drafts. Page 7 has not been re-paginated, whilst page 8 has been repaginated as part of the second foliational stratum (in which state the text ended at page 74), but not the third.

Appendix 4:

## Base stratum (pp.1-8) of the 'final' manuscript of The Anathemata



These No guard details in their quaint attire heedless of in congruity, unconscious that the plantes are twomed a all connecting files with drawn or liquidated. Heat dead symbols litter to the base of the cult-stone, that the stem by the palled stone is thinty, that the stream is very low.

The utile in filtration nowhere held, / creeps vestibile/

is already at the closed lattices, is coming through the door.

The cult-man stands alone in Pellams's land: more precariously than he knows he quards the signa: the portifex among his house treasures, (the twin-urles his house is) he can fetch things new & old the tokens, the matrices, the institutes, the ancilia, the firtile ashes — the palladic foreshadowings: the things come Down from heaven togethe with the kept memorials, the things lifted up & the venerated trinkets.

in time, curiously surviving, Courtesy to the objects when he mores among, handles or puts aside, the name-bearing instruments, when he shews every day in his hand the salted cake given for this gens to savour savour all the gentes @ Within the railed tumulus (3) he sings high a he sings low/in a low voice / as one who sheaks Where a few one, gathered in | high-room and one gone out. There's com spiracy here: ttere is birthday & anniversar if there's continuity here, then new beginning. Notes continu (3) Man, at the beginning 2 Man the priest kines the alta, saying "... by the might of the saints where relies are here. & of the Offertony prayer Suscife Sanota Trivitas in the works occur " airs of these here Voy explicit; it says that the oblation is Heren to the Trinity, in remembrand of the passion, remembrand, & arcentron & in homory persons of our table, of central named saints & there where relies lie were the particular actor at with the man in being celebrated, togethe with all the saints. By intercalation of weeks ( since the pigeons were unfledged ! and the lambs still young ) they're adjusted the term! till this appointed night / (shorthursdaye bright)/ the night that falls / when she's first at the July / after the vernal theren turn when in the Rame he nons! By the two that follow Aquarius, 3/ toiling the dry meander: through the byes, under the low porch, up the turning stair ! to the high nave 1 where the board is to spread the board-clothed under where the stable is ! for the ritual light! In the high cave They prepare! for guest to be the hostia.

They set the thwart-boards and along: / two for the gospel makers ! one for the other Son of Thunder/ one for the swordsman at right-board, aft, one for the man from Kerioth 3 several or the rest in order. They be som here & arrange this convencent tidy here, & furtish with the green of the years the cross-beams & the gleaming board. They make all shipshape 1 In she must be trim to Bustoland dressed & ganders / gandeous all hBristol fasklon here town who d'you think is Master of her? In the prepared high-room / he implements inside time & late in time under forms in delibly marked by locale and incidence, deliberations made out of time, before all orogeneses. breo genes is

on Worke Mounda, ihr Salem Cenerle min the white Beth-El according to the disciplina of this peculiar people accord with the intentions of all peoples and kindreds et gentium, cenhedloedd und volker that dance by garnished Bawm or anointed stone. Here, in this place as in Sarras city (where the main was ended. at the voyage- and in his second Ephrata here in the wher cave of breadly between his creatures his body shews stirs the sleeping dog? D in Bedlem-byre once his bed )

. . 47 Here, in this high place Jirmey, into both harlds 1 he takes the stephened dish as in many places lovery prince a that held up Where ever their directing glosses read: here he takes the victim 3 not Itals. ( at the threshold-stone lits the aged head? closs tooth fess begit pun stake come discern the chied He does what to doke in many what he does of does after the mode 242

742

what did he do !

at the garnished supper, seated?

what did he do other

riding the flowering tree?

when he manned

of stands stands and stands.

Cent of Section new page.

7 <del>4</del> 3 7 7 4

74 66 sheet 60

 $\frac{46}{60}$ 

## Appendix 5

The table overleaf presents a chronologically organised list of the 'experiments' which David Jones produced between 1938 and mid-1945. Using references in Jones's correspondence, as well as paper data for his manuscripts (as presented in Appendix 1.i-iii), this table gives an account of which of his experiments were written and included under each of his working titles for his long poem in this period.

Appendix 5 – Table showing the titles which applied to the chronology of the writing of Jones's manuscripts

Title	Fragment as published in RQ and/or Ana	Fragment/sequence, with suggested new title (in bold) where applicable	Material state	Paper types	No. of instances	Date range by paper type	No. of sheets	Jones's descriptions	Date(s) of composition
The Book of Balaam's Ass [BA]	'The Book of Balaam's Ass'	'First part of "The Book of Balaam's Ass"'	Manuscript and a 35 page typescript (made 1940-41 as the opening section of a long poem) ( <i>DJP</i> LR7/1)	No data gathered				Jones describes how the 'Zone' narrative is complete. (17 January 19391 <i>DGC</i> 89-90)	1936 – no later than end 1938
	'The Old Quarry,	'Absalom Mass', 1939 [continuation	Manuscript: DJP LR5/1.325-355	§1	9	Feb '36 – Sep '41	31	"I'm immersed in my Absolom,	
	Part I'	of 'The Book of Balaam's Ass']		§3	1	Sep '41	sheets	Mass, part now" (17 January 1939; <i>DGC</i> 89-90)	early 1939
	'The Old Quarry,	'The conversation of the blimp,	Manuscript: DJP LR5/1.355-437	§1	31	Feb '36 – Sep '41			1939?-41
	Part II'	sub-altern and girl'		§31	9	Oct '40	sheets		
		[development out of 'Absalom Mass' fragment; continuation of 'The Book		§27¹	13	Oct '37 – Jan '41			
		of Balaam's Ass']		§2	9	Oct'37 – Jan '41			
	[Base fragment of <i>The Anathemata</i> ( <i>Ana</i> 49-51 and 242-3)]	Man-the-Maker fragment [drafts 1 and 2; incorporating 'bric-a-brac fragment' and 'made things' fragment developmental stages]		None datable				1 <sup>st</sup> draft of opening page copied to second draft (first two pages) and dated 5 November 1941	Late 1941
		""On night gust" fragment' [unpublished]	Manuscript: pp.7-57 [paginated to follow on from the Ana base fragment; see linking notes on DJP LA1/3.21]	No data	No data	No data	No data		Early 1942
	Opening and closing of 'The Roman Quarry' [base stratum only]		Manuscript: NLW LR1/1.638-655 (approximately)	§5	3	Apr '43 – Nov '45	44 sheets		Mid-1943?

Paper type §27 has the same watermark as type §2, but they are of different dimensions: §2 is 327 x 201mm; §27 is 322-3 x 197-9mm. So, in each manuscript sheet being a halved quarto sheet, and in the cutting of these sheets never being entirely accurate (a single quarto sheet is sometimes far from rectangular – often by up to a number of millimetres), these 'two' paper types may actually be one. In other words, the smaller sheets may be the other 'half' of the larger sheets.

The Book of Balaam's Ass > The	Central part of 'The Roman Quarry' [inserted Welsh material]	'The Celtic insertions to the Wall Monologues.'	Manuscript: NLW LR1/1.666-748 (approximately)	§5 §6	9 14	Apr '43 – Nov '45 Jan '44 – Sep '49	83 sheets	"I've just bought a large map of North Wales and pinned it to the wall." (27 March 1943; DGC 122)	Mid-1943 to early-1944?
Anathema [transitional phase]	weish materiary							DGC 122)	
		t drawn up by Jones (probably in early- e page references to the earlier drafts m	Jones receives confirmation regarding the duality of the etymology of the word 'anathema' (See NLW LA5/1)	02/02/44					
	[Opening part of The Anathemata]	'Man-the-Maker Mass', 3 <sup>rd</sup> draft [i.e. with opening 2 pages excised]	Manuscript pp.1 (4) -3 (6): NLW LA1/3.2, 4 & 6.	§6	3	Jan '44 – Sep '49	3		Early- to mid-1944
	'The Agent'	'The Agent' [develops MS pp.16-17	LR6/1.438-570	§32	73	Mar – Nov '44	133		Mid- to late-
	I	of 'Absalom Mass' as a continuation of the long poem (i.e. from page 8,		§7	27	Aug – Dec '44			1944
		and thus following 'The Grail		§6	16	Jan '44 – Sep '49			
		Mass')].		§8	5	Nov '44 – Jan '45			
	'The Grail Mass'	'The Absalom Mass, 1944 re-draft'	LR4/1.38-62	§32	18	Mar – Nov '44	25	Verso of MS p.7i (the final sheet of the fragment) dated "Whitsun eve '[May] [19]44, 7.30 Saturday".	Mid- to late- 1944
	[Opening part of The Anathemata]	'Man-the-Maker Mass', 4th draft	Manuscript pp.1-5 developed into pp.1-8; LA1/3.8-24; LA1/8.3-7 & LA1/9.139-140	§32	19	Mar – Nov 1944	22		Mid- to late- 1944
The Anathema > The	On sheet LR8/6.14. ANATHEMA".	2 (otherwise blank) Jones has written:	"THE / ANATHEMATA // THE /	§6	1	Jan '44 – Sep '49	1		Mid- to late- 1944?
Anathemata [transitional phase]	[First 'foliational stratum' developed out of the base stratum]	[Dating Christ's Passion in relation to Roman calendar and events.]	Manuscript pp.5A-T, but particularly 5G (LA1/4.158-161) where Lucius Aelius Sejanus appears.	§32 (and §6)	3 (and 1)	Mar – Nov 1944 (and Jan '44 – Sep '49)	4	Jones writes about the pronunciation of 'Lucius Aelius Sejanus' in the same letter (4 July 1945) in which he accepts <i>The Anathemata</i> as a title ( <i>DGC</i> 130)	Mid- to late- 1944? (Mid- 1945 at the latest)
The Anathemata	"He [W F Jackson of 4 July 1945.	Knight] thought Anathemata was the a	ccurate title for my thing in more ways that	nn one, whic	ch I was plea	ased to have his opin	nion abo	out[]" (DGC 130) KFP, letter	