'This is a lovely quiet rose-growing part of dirty old Europe'

James Joyce in Luxembourg

Exhibition from 26 April to 10 September 2022 at the BnL. Text by Gaston Mannes.

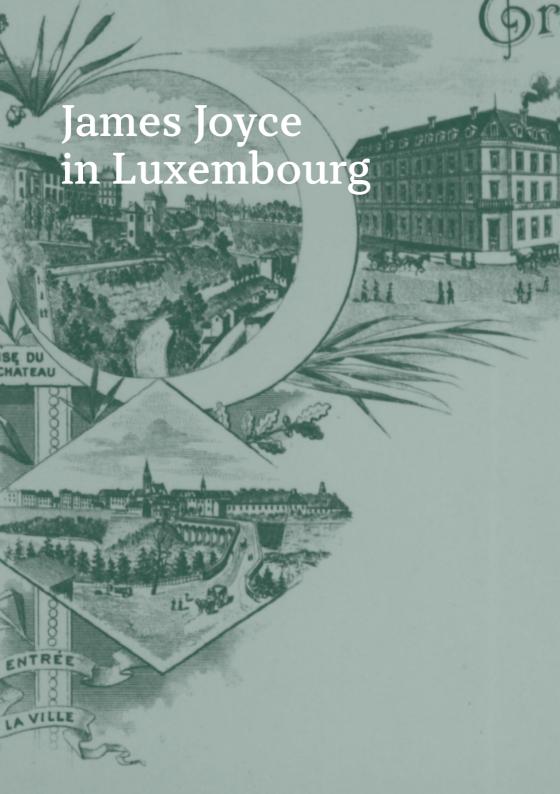


On 16 August 1934, the Irish writer James Joyce and his wife Nora arrived in Luxembourg as tourists and spent a week at the Grand Hôtel Brasseur, near the old town. During his stay, Joyce wrote a dozen letters and postcards, which allow us to retrace his steps and to perceive the city of Luxembourg through the eyes of the author of *Dubliners*.

The exhibition first presents Luxembourg City as a tourist destination in the 1930s. It focuses on Joyce's correspondence, which concerns the lifting of the ban on *Ulysses* in the United States, and the importance of Radio Luxembourg for his son George's singing career. The exhibition also emphasises the role of Aline Mayrisch-de Saint Hubert in the publication of an important study on the famous author by the young French intellectual Armand Petitjean. Finally, it recounts the reception of Joyce by Luxembourg journalists and authors and shows how the Grand Duchy and its rivers would eventually populate the pages of the famous *Finnegans Wake*, published in 1939.



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Circumstances of a visit

Joyce's biographers, Richard Ellmann and Gordon Bowker, do not elaborate on his stay in Luxembourg from 16 to 22 August 1934. According to them, the major events of 1934 for Joyce are naturally of a different nature. Indeed, we must place ourselves in the context of 1933 and 1934, which were particularly important for the fate of James Joyce's landmark book: *Ulysses*.

On 25 November 1933, the long-delayed obscenity lawsuit against the book in the United States was finally heard by Judge John M. Woolsey, who on 6 December ruled in favour of lifting the ban. Subsequently, on 25 January 1934, the long-awaited launch of the first authorised American edition of *Ulysses* took place in New York. But in March 1934, an appeal against Woolsey's ruling was approved by the US Attorney General. In the meantime, starting on 16 May 1934, the US Court of Appeals began to consider the arguments for and against Woolsey's ruling and, on 7 August 1934, finally agreed with the judge.

By the time he arrived in Luxembourg in mid-August, just over a week after the Court of Appeal's favourable ruling, Joyce's nerves had been severely tested by the news of six more months of uncertainty. At the same time, he is having to deal, as usual, with the serious recurring psychological problems of his daughter Lucia, whose loss of an artistic project adds to the father's troubles.

'Must leave this pretty but all-too-humid spa for drier Luxembourg.'

James Joyce's stay in Luxembourg seems to have been a leisure trip, as there is no record of meetings or contacts with Luxembourg writers, journalists or publishers. Joyce apparently divided his time between visiting the attractions recommended by the tour guides at that time and proofreading *Finnegans Wake* that travelled with him. Before coming to Luxembourg, Joyce had chosen to move to an elegant flat in Paris at 7 rue Edmond-Valentin, near the Eiffel Tower. However, it was to be refurbished in August in preparation for the move in on 1 September. The preparations having exhausted his wife Nora, it was decided that the couple would leave for Belgium.

The Joyces left Paris on 19 July 1934, stopping briefly in Liège at the Grand Hotel de Suède, and then travelling on 20 July to the Grand Hôtel Britannique de Spaone of the most charming places he had ever seen, Joyce said - to take the waters. The weather conditions, however, were much less charming. The writer therefore spent a lot of time indoors, working and writing letters. On 28 July, Joyce wrote to his correspondent, the academic Louis Gillet: 'Nous comptons visiter la ville de Luxembourg et puis Metz et Nancy.' The next day he wrote to Constantine P. Curran: 'My wife is making a cure here and we may go for a week or so to Luxembourg. You probably know this picturesque and old-fashioned Spa, mother of so many juvenile daughters. Unfortunately, we are in the midst of a rain wave.' A few days later, on 9 August, he informed his daughter-in-law Helen Joyce, who was at that time in the United States with her husband George: 'You can write here [Spa] even if we go on to Luxembourg.' On 13 August, he tells his friend Frank Budgen that he is suffering from chills: 'Must leave this pretty but all-too-humid spa for drier Luxembourg.' And on the same day he wrote to his son George: 'Siamo qui da [Spa] quasi un mese ma comincia a fare un tempo impossibile, umido, coperto, ecc. Andremo a Lussemburgo per qualche settimana.' Finally, on 14 August, he informed his secretary and confidant Paul Léon of his imminent departure from the Hôtel Britannique to head to Luxembourg: '[I] expect to leave here for Luxembourg tomorrow.'

Because Spa was proving to be increasingly rainy and gloomy, and to allow Nora to rest before visiting their daughter Lucia in Switzerland, the Joyces continued their journey in mid-August and, after a stop in Verviers - from where Joyce sent a postcard to his brother Stanislas: 'We may go on to Luxembourg for a week.' - they began a seven-day stay at the Grand Hôtel Brasseur in Luxembourg on 16 August 1934. More clement skies greeted the Joyces in Luxembourg, and the forecasts were optimistic: the weather would be fine and dry, the sky clear, the air warm (between 15 and 23°), the wind calm, the barometer stable; the weather would only deteriorate from 22 August, the day the Joyces left the Grand Duchy.

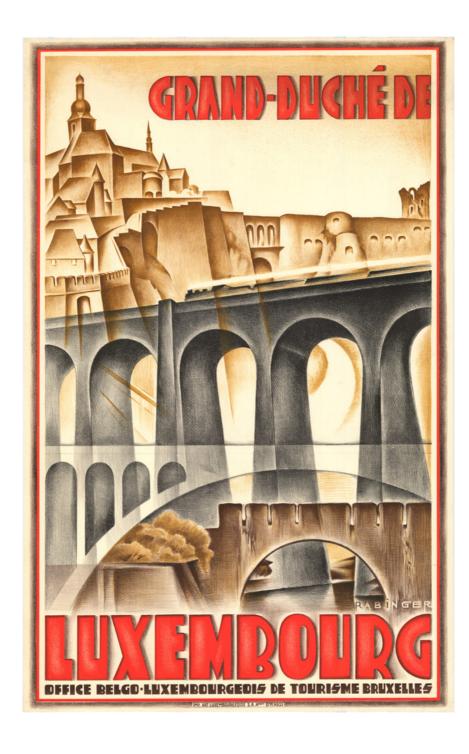
Luxembourg, a tourist destination in the 1930s

Tourism began to develop in Luxembourg towards the end of the 19th century. It was encouraged both by private initiatives and by public authorities. At that time, the Grand Duchy was being promoted as a tourist destination not only in its directly neighbouring countries, but also in England. One of the pioneers of tourism in Luxembourg was Alexis Heck (1830-1908), founder of the Grand Hôtel des Ardennes in Diekirch. He had the idea of advertising local tourism in Great Britain, on the one hand by putting up posters in London stations and, on the other, by publishing an illustrated guidebook in English, *The Grand Duchy of Luxembourg*. A Short Handbook for Travellers, in 1890. In this guide, he presented Luxembourg as an ideal destination, promising tourists 'mental rest, charming walks, drives, some fishing, good and cheap living in one of the healthiest parts of Europe.'

The English-language media then continued to take an interest in Luxembourg as a tourist destination. In an article published in *The National Geographic Magazine* in 1924, the American journalist Maynard Owen Williams described Luxembourg as an interesting tourist destination, particularly because of its warm and helpful people.

The economic crisis of the 1930s prompted the government authorities to consider the economic potential of tourism. In 1931, the *Union des villes et centres touristiques du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* was created, which became the *Office National du Tourisme*. The Belgo-Luxembourg Tourist Office also opened a tourist office in Brussels in collaboration with Belgium, which made it possible to expand the advertising campaign for the Grand Duchy. The first *Belgium-Luxembourg Michelin Guide* was published in 1934, at the same time as the reprint of the German guide *Illustrierter Führer durch das Grossherzogtum Luxemburg* by Leo Woerl.

The Luxemburger Wort of 18 August 1934, which appeared at the time Joyce was in Luxembourg, reported that the busy tourist season had seen 'einen durchaus befriedigenden Verlauf'. The 'gewaltige Zunahme der Touristen' was the result of '[einer] rationelle[n] und konsequente[n] Werbung unserer zuständigen Oberbehörden'. The newspaper also welcomed the establishment of a calendar of festivities so that events could be coordinated as planned.



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t n'est soumis à aucune responsabilité à raison du service de la correspondance privée par graphique. (Loi du 29 novembre 1850, art. 6.)

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Telegram from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to Paul Léon, 1934 August 16

A telegram and a luxury hotel

Dated 16 August 1934, Joyce's telegram was sent the day after Assumption Day, an official holiday which also applies to the Administration des Postes et Télégraphes (Post and Telegraph Office). As usual, Joyce wishes to inform his faithful friend Paul Léon of his arrival and place of residence in the city where he has just settled. In Luxembourg, as elsewhere, Joyce's taste for luxury hotels led him to a Grand Hotel, in this case the Grand Hôtel Brasseur.

Letter from James Joyce, Hôtel Brasseur Luxembourg, to John Holroyd-Reece, 1934 August 16

Lost lettering

The recipient of this letter, John Holroyd-Reece, is a journalist, translator and publisher of art books (Pegasus Press). He is also the co-founder and director of the Albatross publishing house. The first book published in the Albatross Modern Continental Library in 1932 was *Dubliners* by Joyce.

The letter does not concern the edition of *Ulysses* that Holroyd-Reece wants to publish in addition to the one previously published by Sylvia Beach at Shake-speare and Company Editions, but is about the initials which, painted by the writer's daughter Lucia, were to be used as illuminations for the twenty-three stanzas of *Chaucer's ABC*. Joyce had suggested them to Holroyd-Reece who, in turn, had contacted the London Catholic publishers Burns & Oates and the typographer Stanley Morison. Holroyd-Reece seemed quite convinced that Burns & Oates would publish the book, but Joyce had no response from those he called 'blockheads'. To top it all off, after so much effort, Holroyd-Reece had finally misplaced the original lettering. It was not until eighteen months later that Holroyd-Reece, under threat of lawsuit, found the lettering and returned it to Joyce.

Letter from James Joyce, Hôtel Brasseur Luxembourg, to Carolus Verhulst, 1934 August 16

Lost lettering 2.0

Carolus Verhulst is the founder of The Servire Press, based in The Hague. The independent publishing house Servire was founded in 1921 and its name is an allusion to its founder's wish to put his company at the service of humanity by publishing esoteric and philosophical works. Carolus Verhulst is an ardent admirer of Joyce's Work in Progress. In June 1934, Servire Press published The Mime of Mick Nick and the Maggies. A Fragment from Work in Progress, whose cover, initial lettering and final ornamental piece were designed by Lucia Joyce. Joyce was fully satisfied with the Servire Press publication, and it is only natural that he relies on Carolus Verhulst's mediation to recover the famous lettering - which was finally returned to him by Holroyd-Reece.

Letter from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to Paul Léon, 1934 August 17

Censorship, mental illness, editorial issues and The Grim Reaper

Between 1921 and 1933, *Ulysses* was banned from publication in the United States, but in connection with the Nazi auto-da-fés in 1933, Joyce's lawyers should take stock of Irish censorship. Contrary to popular belief, *Ulysses* was technically never banned in Ireland, nor was it placed on the Catholic Church's *Index librorum prohibitorum juxta exemplar romanum jussu sanctissimi domini nostri*. The name of the Swiss psychiatrist Oscar Forel reminds us that in Luxembourg, James and Nora are, in parallel to *Ulysses'* legal troubles, once again confronted with a major personal problem: the desperate situation of their daughter Lucia. Since May 1932, when she was diagnosed with schizophrenia, Joyce has been frantically searching for a cure or treatment for his daughter, while denying her problem. From 30 July 1933 onwards, Lucia was undergoing a cure in Nyon with Dr Forel. Finally, the last paragraph of the letter deals with editorial issues.

Postcard from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to Stanislaus Joyce, 1934 August 17

From Jim to Stany

The person for whom this view of the Pont Adolphe is intended is none other than Joyce's younger brother: Stanislaus Joyce (1884-1955), Irish teacher, journalist and writer. Three years separate them, but a great complicity unites the two brothers from childhood and continues into adulthood where both share ideas and books. Stanislaus was greatly influenced by James and, from his youngest age, he was convinced of his brother's literary genius. For his part, James needs a confidant with whom he can talk literature, discuss his own writing and test his ideas. Stanislaus will however criticize *Finnegans Wake* at the time of its composition, thus, causing a rift that he will deeply regret upon James's sudden death in 1941. Through this postcard, James asks Stanislaus to provide him with the address of the Florentine professor Guido Renzo Giglioli, whom he is trying to reach because of his daughter Lucia's illness.

Postcard from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to Carola and Sigfried Giedion-Welcker, 1934 August 17

Best regards from Luxembourg to Switzerland

Joyce addressed this postcard to a couple of friends, Carola Giedion-Welcker, a German-Swiss art historian, and Sigfried Giedion, a Swiss architectural historian and critic (a leading figure in his field). In May 1933, the couple persuaded the writer to go to Zurich to consult Professor Alfred Vogt about his eyes. In August of the same year, and again in July 1934, just before Joyce's visit to Luxembourg, Carola offered him accommodation during his stay in Zurich. The Giedion-Welckers are on holiday in Cademario, a municipality in the district of Lugano in the Swiss canton of Ticino. The neighbouring municipalities are Aranno, Bioggio and Iseo, in the Alto Malcantone region. The Kurhaus is located 12 kilometres from Lugano.

Letter from James Joyce, Grand Hôtel Brasseur Luxembourg, to Paul Léon, 1934 August 18

Financial and other issues

Joyce tells Léon that he has just received the money for his holiday and he will send him a cheque. Deeply affected by the sudden death of the son of his friend Bailly, he looks back on this tragedy which occurred only two days after the first symptoms of the disease appeared. And still no news from Forel!

Joyce's absence from Paris in the second half of 1934, and thus the reason for his many letters to Léon in this period, was due to the fact that he had found a suitable new flat at 7 rue Edmond-Valentin. As the flat needs to be redecorated, refurbished and furnished, James and Nora Joyce take the opportunity to travel. It is accepted that Léon takes care of everything related to Joyce. One of the things he now has to deal with is the new flat. In this regard, the letter contains a reference to Maple and Company Limited, a company based in London but with offices in several other cities. It is possible that the 'rent' referred to in the letter relates to a retainer to be paid for the storage of the Joyces' furniture and other items while the flat is being prepared.

Letter from James Joyce, Grand Hôtel Brasseur Luxembourg, to Paul Léon, 1934 August 19

'Art certainly cannot advance under compulsion to traditional forms'

The case of the censorship of *Ulysses* is extremely complex. It was episode XIII, 'Nausicaa', in which Leopold Bloom masturbates, that led to the magazine which published it being found guilty of obscenity in 1921 and its ban from publication in the United States. On 14 March 1932, the writer signed a contract with the American publisher Bennett Alfred Cerf, who organised a test trial to challenge the ban. Finally, on 6 December 1933, Judge John M. Woolsey ruled in favour of *Ulysses*, finding that the book was a work of art and therefore could not be declared obscene. The first print run of the American edition began at the same time. But prosecutor Martin Conboy appealed Judge Woolsey's decision. A three-judge panel then took up the case and Judge Woolsey's decision was upheld on 7 August 1934 by a vote of two to one. The day after the verdict, on 8 August 1934, the *New York Herald* issued a press release, *U. S. Loses 'Ulysses' Appeal; Court finds Ban hurting Art*. In this letter, Joyce asks Léon to send copies of this article to people who had played or were playing an important role in the fate of *Ulysses*.

Postcard from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to Paul Léon, 1934 August 19

Three friends

The postcard of 19 August 1934, sent on the same day as the previous letter, allows Joyce to add three names to the list of friends to whom Léon is supposed to send copies of the *New York Herald* article:

Stuart Gilbert (1883-1969), a specialist in English literature and translator of authors such as Alexis de Tocqueville, Édouard Dujardin, André Malraux, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, Georges Simenon, Jean Cocteau, Albert Camus and Jean-Paul Sartre. He also participated in the French translation of *Ulysses* (Paris 1929) and is the author of the reference work *James Joyce's Ulysses*. *A Study*, published in London in 1930.

Frank Budgen (1882-1971), an English painter, writer, sculptor and socialist activist, was a close friend of Joyce during his stay in Zurich during the First World War. Together they regularly discuss aesthetic issues and often refer to the content of Joyce's major works.

Herbert Hughes (1882-1937) was an Irish composer, music critic, collector and arranger of Irish folk songs.

Postcard from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to Herbert Hughes, 1934 August 19

From one neighbour to another

On 28 October 1929, Joyce got the idea of setting his poetry collection *Pomes Penyeach* (1927) to music. This idea came from Herbert Hughes, one of the founders of the Irish Folk Song Society in London, who collected thousands of folk songs in Ireland and published collections of them, including *Irish Country Songs* (1909) and *Historical Songs and Ballads of Ireland* (1922). The implementation of this project was laborious and stretches over several years. In the end, thirteen different composers will each set a poem to music.

The project culminates in a prestigious limited edition, for which Joyce asked his daughter Lucia to design the lettering. *The Joyce Book* was finally published in a limited edition of five hundred copies on 2 February 1933, Joyce's fifty-first birthday. As a sign of their friendship, Joyce sent a postcard to Hughes and asked about his 'old next door neighbours', which he has not heard from a long time. Hughes replied at the end of December 1934 with 'una cartolina di Natale'. The postcard is part of a private collection. While the content is well known, a reproduction does not exist.

Quoted in David Crackanthorpe, 'To Herbert Hughes of Belfast from James Joyce of Dublin', James Joyce Quarterly, vol. 17, n° 2 (Winter 1980): 136, n. 23

Letter from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to Paul Léon, 1934 August 20

Translation and bibliophily

This letter appears as a summary of all the issues that are bothering Joyce: Forel's silence in Nyon, Nora's nervous breakdowns, financial matters. Moreover, additional copies of the *New York Herald* have yet to reach three other people: Harold George Nicolson, who dedicated a lecture to Joyce on BBC radio, Auguste Morel, the official translator of *Ulysses* into French, and Valery Larbaud, who revised this translation.

The letter also mentions the painter Matisse. He appears in the correspondence because of his illustration of *Ulysses* for the Limited Editions Club. Matisse had not read *Ulysses* at all, nor in French, nor in English, although a copy of the French translation was sent to him. Having received a copy of Stuart Gilbert's book on *Ulysses*, this may have finally given him the idea of illustrating episodes from Joyce's novel with scenes inspired by Homer's *Odyssey*. The Limited Editions Club's *Ulysses* was finally published on 22 October 1935 in a run of 1500 copies. The text used is that of the first Odyssey Press edition, edited by Stuart Gilbert, who also wrote an introduction approved by Joyce. A separate portfolio with six engravings by Matisse was also published in 150 copies.

Postcard from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to Paul Léon, 1934 August 20

Paris, Morbihan and Who's Who

On the reverse side, this postcard serves purely utilitarian purposes: Joyce communicates the addresses of Valery Larbaud and Auguste Morel; for Nicolson, he refers to *Who's Who*. On the front, however, it profers a new view of Luxembourg City. Here we are in front of the Passerelle, officially the Pont Viaduc, in Luxembourgish Al Bréck, or Vieux Pont in French.

Letter from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to George and Helen Joyce, 1934 August 21

European history, military strategy and the scent of roses

All the preoccupations that haunted Joyce during his stay in Luxembourg are crystallised in this letter to his son George, his daughter-in-law Helen Fleischman and his grandson Stephen in the United States, where the family settled after leaving Europe on 19 April 1934 (she had returned at the end of September 1935). Firstly, it concerns *Ulysses'* struggle with the American justice system, then Lucia's mental problems and then the unfortunate disappearance of the lettering. After this series of contextualizations and reminders, Joyce comes to speak for the first and last time about his stay in Luxembourg: he refers to the Aldringen School, to the history of the City of Luxembourg, its formidable fortress, its master builder Vauban and its casemates, to the Hôtel des Postes with the possibility of sending telegrams and finally to the Casino des Bourgeois where the *Rose Night* ball was being held at that very moment. The letter is part of a private collection. While the content is well known, a reproduction does not exist.

Letter from James Joyce, Luxembourg, to George and Helen Joyce, 1934 August 21

The first mention of Luxembourg by Joyce

It was in the letter of 21 August 1934 to his son George, his daughter-in-law Helen Fleischman and his grandson Stephen that Joyce mentioned his stay in Luxembourg for the first and last time:

I am at present attending night school where they teach 'em how to make pothooks. After which I take out a course of lectures in political science and European history and military strategy. Then I am doing a correspondence to learn how to send perfectly clear straightforward transatlantic cablegrams. This is a lovely quiet rose-growing part of dirty old Europe so we shall probably leave it tonight or tomorrow.

I am at present attending night school where they teach 'em how to make pothooks.

There are several possible explanations when Joyce talks about the night school and the hooks they learn to do there. Finnegans Wake contains four references to pothook in the sense of 'a stroke in handwriting'. Indeed, in his book Joyce's Book of the Dark John Bishop refers expressis verbis to this letter written from Luxembourg to George and Helen: 'Now "pothooks" are one form of those cursive lines that children make when they are learning to write or, by extension, any illegible handwriting or aimless scribbling. [...] [T]he letter whose meaning the Wake explores takes the form of these pothooks...'

Indeed, Joyce's hint means nothing more than that he sets himself to the task of continuing his *magnum opus* every day in Luxembourg. Perhaps the *night school* and the *pothooks* are reminded to him by the large Aldringen School building, which is only a few steps away from the Grand Hôtel Brasseur and which he saw every day while wandering through the city. At the time, this school was considered the model for schools to be built in the various municipalities of the country.

After which I take out a course of lectures in political science and European history and military strategy.

The course of lectures in political science and European history and military strategy that Joyce refers to undoubtedly relates to the history of the city of Luxembourg, which started out as a castle and was transformed over the centuries into a formidable fortress. In 1867, the city of Luxembourg covered some 880 hectares of land, of which about 200 were available to its citizens, the rest being claimed by the fortress. The Treaty of London of 11 May 1867 proclaimed the political and military neutrality of Luxembourg and stipulated the dismantling of the fortress and the departure of the garrison. It allowed the creation of new districts and the development of parks and promenades which, together with the roads spanning the ravines thanks to viaducts, gave the city of Luxembourg a special character at the time Joyce visited it.

It is in this context that Joyce's assertions must be read and understood. In the summer of 1934, before and during his stay, all Luxembourg newspapers were full of advertisements and reports on an exhibition dedicated to a great Frenchman who had played an important role in the history and development of the fortress and the city of Luxembourg: Sébastien Le Prestre, Marquis de Vauban, generally known only as Vauban (1633-1707), engineer, military architect, town planner, hydraulic engineer, essayist and Marshal of France. The Luxemburger Wort, the Escher Tageblatt, the Luxemburger Zeitung, the Obermosel-Zeitung and L'Indépendance luxembourgeoise highlight Vauban's personality and actions in Luxembourg in countless articles.

Indeed, shortly before Joyce's visit, a major exhibition was held from 28 July to 12 August 1934 on the theme of the fortifications developed by Vauban between 1684 and 1688, right on the Boulevard Royal in the Aldringen School.

A catalogue, published for the occasion, provides information on the objectives of the exhibition:

Le Grand-Duché et, particulièrement, la Ville de Luxembourg, ont estimé nécessaire de ne pas laisser passer, à la fois, le tricentenaire du grand Français qu'a été Vauban et le 250° Anniversaire de la transformation de la forteresse et de l'extension de la ville dues à cet illustre Ingénieur, sans commémorer son souvenir. C'est de ce sentiment d'admiration et de reconnaissance, que n'acquit l'idée d'une *Exposition Vauban*, destinée à faire passer sous les yeux des visiteurs, reproduite par l'image, l'histoire de ses heureuses interventions. Les plans, les gravures, les objets,

ses livres, les cartes exposés, permettront de suivre le développement de la vieille forteresse de Luxembourg entre 1684 et 1697, époque de prospérité pour notre pays.

Posters of this exhibition could be seen all over the city and Joyce certainly noticed them when he returned to his hotel. Besides, he himself was interested in the character of Vauban, as confirmed in one of his famous *Notebooks*:

(f) Vauban devant Coutances, *Les Grandes Légendes*, 129: Roc, ville, château-fort, formant une masse homogène, d'une seule poussée hardie. En présence de ce magnifique morceau d'architecture et d'histoire, nous revient le mot de Vauban en face du dôme de Coutances : "Qui donc a jeté ces pierres dans le ciel ?" / VI.C.15.278(c).

In the summer of 1934, other posters adorned the city's billboards and advertising columns and praised some extraordinary remains related to the history of the Luxembourg fortress. Indeed, one slogan dominated the city of Luxembourg: 'Visit the Casemates!'

On Sunday 19 August 1934, a 'hochinteressante Besichtigung' of the casemates took place under the direction of the young engineer Jean-Pierre Koltz, a tour in which Joyce could have taken part, since it was open to everyone. (*Luxemburger Wort*, 18.8.1934) Thanks to Koltz's intervention with the Minister of State Joseph Bech, the casemates were considered the most important tourist attraction in the Luxembourg capital since their opening in 1933. The press had been full of praise for the attractiveness of the casemates since they were opened up to tourism thanks to works such as the creation of galleries and staircases: 'Es läßt sich die Anziehungskraft dieser toten Stadt unter der lebenden nicht leugnen. Ihr Reiz ist von eindringlicher Gewalt, der Gewinn, den sie den Besuchern vermittelt, ein einmaliger und unverlierbarer.' (*Luxemburger Wort*, 27.7.1934) The *Luxemburger Zeitung* refers to the casemates in this context as 'eine Art Salonstück, das wir den Fremden wie auf einer silbernen Platte servieren.'

Then I am doing a correspondence to learn how to send perfectly clear straightforward transatlantic cablegrams.

Following his political, historical and military allusions, Joyce follows up with a rather cryptic remark about telegrams and the transatlantic telegraph cables linking Europe and North America in a sophisticated network of international telegraphic communications.

In Finnegans Wake and in his Notebooks Joyce returns several times to the figure most linked to this technological innovation, namely Guglielmo Marconi, an Italian physicist and businessman, considered one of the inventors of wireless radio and telegraphy. If Joyce recalls the possibility of sending transatlantic dispatches, it is also because 150 metres from the Grand Hôtel Brasseur is the imposing building of the Luxembourg Post Office, which he passed more than once. The Hôtel des Postes is one of the iconic buildings of the Luxembourg capital that Joyce would have known from the moment he arrived in Luxembourg, for it was from there that he sent a telegram to Paul Léon announcing that he and Nora were staying at the Grand Hôtel Brasseur.

As for the course Joyce refers to, he could have read an advertisement in the *Luxemburger Wort* of 18 August 1934 praising the *Institut d'Études Polytechniques de Bruxelles*, which offers correspondence courses for studies in higher technical sciences specialising in Mechanics and Electricity leading to a career as a technical engineer. But what was the purpose of these teachings that Joyce talks about? When Joyce is in Luxembourg, the news from his son George in the US is quite good. George had several engagements as a singer and in November and December 1934 he even performed on National Broadcasting Company (NBC) shows, his father performed him a cable of encouragement before each show.

This is a lovely quiet rose-growing part of dirty old Europe...

P. Beyens-Wehrli's *Guide*, which James Joyce surely knew, highlights under the title *The Rosaries* 'The tourist will find in the environs of Luxemburg numerous and magnificent rosaries. The cultivation and grafting of roses have increased considerably of late years: certain kinds of roses are of great beauty and consist of more than 2,000 varieties. Almost all the cultivators of roses are pleased to receive the visit of tourists to their gardens and show the magnificent products which beautify them.'

During the Belle Époque, Luxembourg was known worldwide as the country of roses and a center of rose culture with a long, internationally renowned tradition, making it one of the most successful branches of the Luxembourg economy. Jean Soupert and Pierre Notting became the 'kings of the roses of Luxembourg', as stated in the first book on roses published by the German Rose Association (1883). It is to them that the country owes the honorary title of 'pays des roses'.

Joyce is therefore right when he speaks of this 'lovely quiet rose-growing part'. What must have drawn Joyce's attention to the roses were the posters that were once again springing up on the walls of the city for a big party with a ball, the 'Nuit des Roses', which took place on Saturday 18 August 1934 at the Casino and for which the graphic artist Raymon Mehlen had designed a poster.

The *Nuit des Roses* ball, organised by the left-wing student organisation ASSOSS, was widely advertised. For example, the *Escher Tageblatt* reports that the students distributed Luxembourg roses and invitations to the ball to spa guests in Mondorf-les-Bains. Above all, it was the poster designed by Raymon Mehlenthat attracted attention, as it was considered to be in good taste and effective in terms of advertising: 'In grüner Wand läßt eine Fensteröffnung Durchblick auf die sepiaschwarze Nacht, in der die Mondsichel silbert und fünfzackige Sterne leise knistern, während links unten das üppige Fleisch einer voll erblühten weißen Rose, in Selbstseligkeit hingegeben, träumt.' (*Escher Tageblatt*, 17.8.1934). Attention was also drawn abroad to the tourist event of the Rose Ball, and Belgian and French student delegations and journalists announced they would be attending. (*Escher Tageblatt*, 18.8.1934)

Indeed, the *Nuit des 20.000 roses* was such a large event that no tourist could miss it or be unaware of it - the *Luxemburger Zeitung* even made a point of noting: 'die Touristen – für die der Ball ja eigentlich organisiert wurde' (*Luxemburger Zeitung*, 18.08.1934). Just like in the tale of *One Thousand and One Nights* the city was illuminated with the brightest lights. The ball was kicked off with a concert by the *Harmonie Municipale*, which played 'schneidig und flott schwungvolle Märsche'. Hundreds of people attend the show: 'Die Straße war voll Publikum. Und die feinsten Epikuräer lustwandelten im abendgrauen und dunkelblauen Schatten der Baumkronen des Konstitutionsplatzes, genossen von dort den Zauber der lichten Märchen-Insel, die im Glanze schwamm, umbebt und überzittert von Musik.' The Casino building charmed everyone with a 'débauche de roses qui prouveront que la dénomination de 'Luxembourg, pays des roses' n'est pas mensongère' (*L'Indépendance luxembourgeoise*, 16.8.1934). The terrace, the entrance, the staircase and the festival hall were strewn with over 20,000 roses. At 9 p.m. the big dance started and people danced until the early hours.

To the somewhat romantic image of roses, Joyce nevertheless associates that of dirty old Europe. This 'dirty old Europe' motif could well be related to the recurring 'dear dirty Dublin' motif in *Ulysses*, an ironic and loving allusion. Another possible explanation for the epithet 'old dirty Europe' concerns the political situation. It might also refer to the world that continues to change at an ever increasing pace and whose political events begin to intrude on the lives of the Joyce family.

Indeed, news of the assassination of Austrian Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß by the Nazis on 25 July 1934 had been loudly announced by newspaper sellers when the Joyces were in Spa. Nora had been so panicked that Joyce had decided that they should leave soon, while the heavy rain also played its part. In Luxembourg, too, the newspapers Joyce finds at the Grand Hôtel Brasseur were reporting the latest political developments in Germany. The *Escher Tageblatt* dedicates a special section *Aus dem Dritten Reich* to recent German events (16.8.1934, 22.8.1934) and notes in the same edition: 'Auf luxemburgischem Boden erlebten wir vehemente Nazi-Versammlungen: die Teilnehmer erschienen in Braunhemden, fanatische Propagandisten peitschten die Zuhörer auf, sie zur nationalistischen Weissglühhitze zu bringen.'

Joyce's stance towards Nazi Germany - which he derisively called 'Hitlerland' - and Austria is also unambiguously reflected in a postcard sent from Verviers to his brother Stanislaus just before he reached Luxembourg: 'We are within an hour or so's train ride of Aix-la Chapelle where Charlemagne is buried and Cologne. But I dislike going over the border even on a half-day motor coach trip. [...] Don't go to Austria for your holidays whatever you do.' Joyce observes the rise of German nationalism without sympathy, and no one could be less attracted than he to the Führer's frenzied personality; the world of discipline, anti-Semitism and national frenzy is not his, though he is political only insofar as he hates and fears dictatorships of any colour.

Letter from James Joyce Luxembourg, to Paul Léon, 1934 August 22

"... so many scribbly letters"

In this last letter, written in Luxembourg and announcing his departure, Joyce asks Léon to telegraph some Swiss currency to him. He also instructs him to send a p. s. to Cerf: for it to deserve its status as a 'definitive' version, the second legal report must be added to the current edition of *Ulysses*. Léon also needs to remind all that to these 'birds' of Pinker, Lane & Co. At the end of this letter, concerning his handwriting, Joyce makes a confession to Léon which we can only endorse: 'I never wrote so many scribbly letters.' Lucia having sent him an indecipherable eight-page letter, which Joyce mentions in his letter of 21 August to George and Helen, the author feels that he and Nora must join their daughter as soon as possible. They decided to cut their stay in Luxembourg short and left immediately for Switzerland.



CHAQUE JOUR DES MILLIONS D'AUDITEURS ÉCOUTENT

RADIO-LUXEMBOURG

George Joyce sings on Radio Luxembourg In May 1932, Radio Luxembourg began to broadcast powerful tests programmes aimed directly at Britain and Ireland. The station offered an opportunity to circumvent UK law that gave the BBC a broadcasting monopoly in the UK and prohibits any form of advertising on the national radio spectrum. The programmes broadcast by Radio Luxembourg made the station extremely popular in Britain.

From its studios in Junglinster, speakers such as Luxembourg's Léon Moulin, Germany's Eva Siewert, England's Stephan Williams and Evelyn Wybrands found an enthusiastic audience unbothered by the many ad breaks.

Most of these programmes were not live broadcasts from Luxembourg. They were pre-recorded in London, either on sixty rpm discs or on film soundtracks, and sent to Luxembourg for transmission, where they were accompanied by live commentary. Thus, between May 1938 and September 1939, a plane linked the English airport of Croydon to the Luxembourg airport of Esch-sur-Alzette twice a week. On board were not only passengers, but also sound recordings and records for the Villa Louvigny.

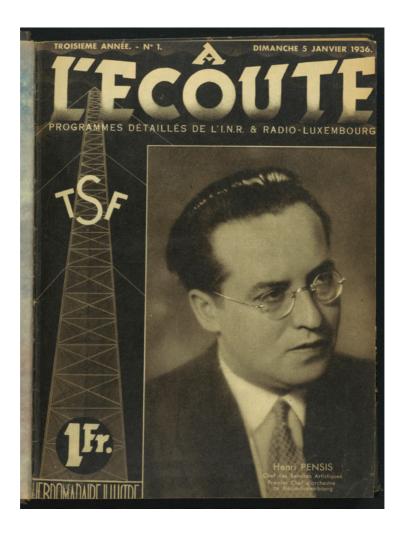
Luxembourg had its own weekly radio magazine, À *l'Écoute*, which presented the programmes of the various stations in the different countries, as well as interesting facts about the people on the air. This new Luxembourg radio weekly, whose first issue came out on 5 January 1936, emphasised the internationalism of the station, which, through its resonance on the airwaves, broke down the narrow borders of the small country of Luxembourg, whose importance was no longer Luxembourgish, but European and even worldwide:

Radio-Luxemburg [...], das war eines schönen Tages da, und vom ersten Tage an schallte diese Stimme mächtig über die Grenzen, schallte europäisch, dass der Luxemburger Hörer jedes Mal erschreckt an dem Knopf zurückdrehen musste, der die Lautstärke regelt, sobald er auf seinen Streifzügen durch den Wellenraum in die Nähe der Luxemburger Welle kam.

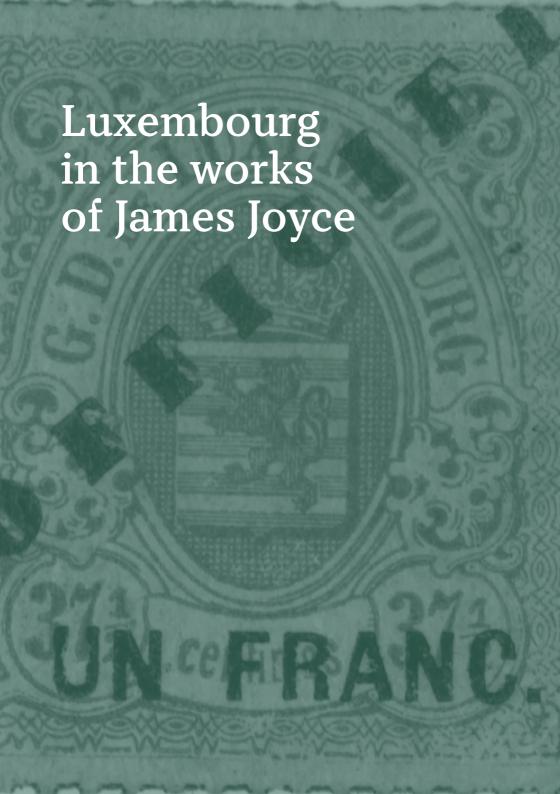
In an article titled 'Radio-Luxembourg. Poste National et "Bon Européen" of 12 January 1936 in À *l'Écoute*, the director of the Compagnie Luxembourgeoise, Mr René-Louis Peulvey, specifically highlights the international character and the English audience of the programmes broadcast by the Junglinster station:

[N]ous tiendrons toujours compte du fait que Radio-Luxembourg est le seul poste vraiment international. [...] Nous avons dans les Îles Britanniques un public immense et fervent. Le succès de nos concerts anglais est tel que, chaque fois que nous augmentons la durée de nos émissions,

nous devons leur réserver une partie de ces heures supplémentaires. Nos auditeurs britanniques se chiffrent assurément par millions. Ainsi certaines maisons, qui donnent régulièrement des concerts à notre poste le dimanche, nous signalent qu'elles reçoivent en moyenne, de 150 à 200000 lettres par semaine.



A curious and pleasant experience certainly typical of our modern age is to wish someone bon voyage at the Gare St.Lazare at the Ilde de France boat-train and then hear them over radio Luxembourg a couple of hours after later. This happened to some friends of George Joyce who an hour makes sailing for America on a two months visit was heard in the following selection of songs: an Irish melody, Silent OhMoyle; an old Italian air Che Pena and Schilmanns Two Grenadiers where his voice came out ample and redolent in the magnificent Marseillaise close. On his return to the make French capital in March Mr. Joyce will make his debut at a big orchestra concernt in Luxemburg itself and also in Paris in a group of songs by the much neglected German composer Robert Franz with the newly constituted Romantisme group founded for the study of neglected Romantic works and brought together by the well-known Russian plantst Grigor Gourevitch.



Luxembourg in James Joyce's Notebooks

Joyce used several encyclopaedias in the making of the *Work in Progress*; he was particularly interested in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edition (1911), from which he selected words and phrases according to their potential for puns, e.g. on the rivers Sauer or Alzette. Joyce also cites in the book of *Finnegans Wake* under (VI.B.2) 062(g), the article *Language*. *Its Nature*, *Development and Origin* (London, 1922) by Otto Jespersen:

A native of Luxemburg, where it is usual for children to talk both French and German, says that few Luxemburgers talk both languages perfectly. "Germans often say to us: 'You speak German remarkably well for a Frenchman,' and French people will say, 'They are Germans who speak our language excellently.' Nevertheless, we never speak either language as fluently as the natives. The worst of the system is, that instead of learning things necessary to us we must spend our time and energy in learning to express the same thought in two or three languages at the same time".

A note by Jespersen indicates that he himself translated these words from the ido of an article in the magazine *The International Language* (May 1912). Indeed, the Luxembourg teacher Henri Meier-Heucké had promoted ido, an international language derived from Esperanto, in an article on Luxembourg bilingualism in the magazine *The International Language*.

A Luxembourg postage stamp in *Ulysses*

In his meditations on stamps, the main character Bloom associates them with a high return on investment and sees them as a means of fulfilling his wishes, in particular his desire to reassert his dominance over his home, 7 Eccles Street. Dreaming in 'Ithaca' of a residence in Kingstown/Di'in Laoghaire and a life as a 'gentleman farmer of field produce and live stock', his answer to the question 'What rapid but insecure means to opulence might facilitate immediate purchase?' cites three postage stamps:

The unexpected discovery of an object of great monetary value (Precious stone, valuable adhesive or impressed postage stamps (schilling, mauve, imperforate, Hamburg, 1866; 4 pence, rose, blue paper, perforate,

Great Britain, 1855; 1 franc, stone, official, roulette, diagonal surcharge, Luxemburg, 1878), antique dynastical rung, unique relic) in unusual repositories or by unusual means.

In his imaginary discovery, Bloom lists three specific stamps offering him an alternative to a £1,200 20-year loan to buy a house in the country. Specialist Scott Tiffney's valuation nevertheless makes it clear that the total value of the three stamps in Bloom's imaginary collection would be between £40 and £47 (depending on the watermark on the second stamp) some sixteen years later in the catalogue that Joyce would have consulted. The value of Bloom's collection is thus far less than the cost of the country residence he desires, attaching to this imaginary home the same sense of failure and dispossession he experiences at 7 Eccles Street.

Luxembourg in Finnegans Wake

Finnegans Wake contains word-forms that resemble Luxembourg. Apart from the explicit reference to 'that Luxuumburgher' and 'Alzette' in Anna Livia Plurabelle's chapter - where Joyce intertwined various river names, in their real or distorted form, with the description of a woman, to show the watery quality of the feminine principle A.L.P. - Luxembourg could also be present through other rivers. Indeed, Anna Livia Plurabelle is the River-Goddess, but she is not only the Liffey: she is the five hundred rivers and streams that are integrated into the narrative, mixing the names of watercourses from around the world. Thus, it also includes: Mosel, Gander, Sauer, Wark, Mamer. Joyce taught us to play with language. So why not understand 'Esch so eschess, douls a doulse!' as an allusion to the Luxembourg town of Esch-sur-Alzette.

Finnegans Wake could have additional references to Luxembourg such as 'the soord on Whencehislaws was mine and mine the prusshing stock of Allbrecht the Bearn' or 'lachsembulger, leperlean' linking Luxemburger to 'Lachs/salmon'.

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James Joyce and Colpach

Armand Petitjean and James Joyce

On 25 April 1934, James Joyce wrote to his long-time friend and confidant Frank Budgen, whose book *Joyce and the Making of Ulysses* had just been published: 'A young Frenchman Arman [sic] Petit Jean [sic] has written a book, an amazing study of *W[ork]*. *I[n]*. *P[rogress]*. I never even saw him. It will be out in July. He is only 20 and began it 3 years ago.'

The Essay on the Situation of Joyce referred to by Joyce was known to the author's closest circle, but it has remained unpublished to this day, much to the regret of James Joyce scholars. The author is Armand Petitjean, a precocious and prolific intellectual, 'Le Rimbaud de la philosophie' (Bachelard), friend of Lacan, secretary and collaborator of La Nouvelle Revue Française, writer, essayist, critic and literary columnist, journalist, publicist, author of philosophical works (Imagination and Realisation, 1936; The Modern and his Neighbour, 1938), translator (Ernst Jünger, W. H. Auden, Chr. Isherwood, John Crowe Ransom), delegate to the Secretariat of Youth (a secretariat under the Ministry of Propaganda in Vichy), a combatant in the ranks of the French army, director of the Lancôme company (created by his father), co-founder of the Ecoropa movement (European Network for Ecological Reflection and Action) and director of the Ecology collection at Fayard Editions.

Armand Petitjean would devote three studies to Joyce: James Joyce and the Absorption of the World by Language, Joyce and Mythology, Mythology and Joyce and Joyce's Meaning. But it is his own English translation, Essay on the Situation of Joyce, that would receive the highest praise: T. S. Eliot would define it as 'a brilliant piece of work, on which I congratulate you', would call it a 'very interesting philosophical study' and 'brilliant translating and exegetical work on Work in Progress'; Sylvia Beach would be of the opinion that Petitjean is 'the only person able to do such a study of Work in Progress' and would wish: 'If you could only get it published!'

Essai sur la situation de Joyce / Essay on the Situation of Joyce

Between the end of December 1933 and the beginning of January 1934, Petitjean polished a typed version of his *Essai sur la situation de Joyce*, which was completed before 11 January 1934. Petitjean and Jean Paulhan first met as a result of the typed *Essai*, after which the *Essai* reached *La NRF*. Even though the committee of *La NRF* ends up refusing the *Essai*, Paulhan hinted at the possibility of a collaboration.

Petitjean does not seem to hold this refusal against Paulhan, but he must eventually have foreseen the difficulties inherent in publishing his *Essai* in its entirety and thought it preferable to opt for a partial publication in other journals. As promised by the publisher Jean Ballard, *Les Cahiers du Sud* would publish the chapter entitled *James Joyce et l'absorption du monde par le langage* in its October 1934 issue.

In October 1934, Petitjean was still not despairing of seeing his *Essai* published, for he contacted Louis Gillet, director of *La Revue des deux Mondes*. His study will be rejected, but he was praised by the director. Petitjean did not give up, and approached Charles Du Bos, a giant of the 1930s publishing world. Unfortunately, this attempt was once again unsuccessful.

While waiting for a publication, Petitjean came up with a completely different solution: with the help of his sister Louisette, known as Zette, he translated his text into English: *Essai sur la situation de Joyce* was transformed into *Essay on the Situation of Joyce*. The translation would also remain unpublished.

Armand Petitjean, James Joyce and Aline Mayrisch-de Saint Hubert in *Mesures*

Petitjean translated into French an open letter by Joyce From a Banned Writer to a Banned Singer, written in the style of Work in Progress and published in the New Statesman and Nation on 27 February 1932. It contains numerous references to singers, composers and operas and relates mainly to the tenor John (O') Sullivan, who was born in Cork in 1878 and emigrated to France at the age of twelve. Joyce developed an obsession with promoting the singer, who he felt had been unfairly treated by the opera establishment. The title of his text, From a Banned Writer to a Banned Singer, reveals the sense of persecution Joyce shares with the singer and shows how much he identifies with him. On 15 January 1936, the Letter, translated

by Petitjean and revised by Joyce, appeared in the journal *Mesures* under a new title: *From Honni-Soit to Mal-y-chance*.

The same issue contains two other texts: one, called *Lettre de créance*, is also signed by Petitjean and corresponds to the introduction to *Imagination et Réalisation* (1936); the other, a text by Master Eckhart titled *Trois sermons*, is translated from German by Aline Mayrisch-de Saint Hubert, the chatelaine of Colpach. This indicates a place and a person who would later be of great importance to the fate of the *Essay on the Situation of Joyce*.

Armand Petitjean's stay in Colpach

Since Petitjean's early days, the letters addressed to him about his writings on Joyce had been of a muchness. Praise was usually followed by cautious reticence, asserted by correspondents to emphasise the difficult content and style of his philological and even philosophical writings, all of which, in their opinion, are not suitable for submission to readers. However, in mid-June 1937, a turning point seemed to be reached when Aline Mayrisch-de Saint Hubert came onto the scene, having read Petitjean's article in *La NRF* and being amazed by the young intellectual.

After reading the manuscript of the *Essay on the Situation of Joyce*, Aline Mayrisch expressed her admiration for the young 'homme de génie', did her utmost to look after him during his stay in Colpach, and even planned to have his *Essay on the Situation of Joyce* printed and sent to Ernst Robert Curtius.

At the beginning of September 1937, the time finally came for Petitjean to leave for the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. On 1 September, he wrote to Paulhan: 'Je mets dans huit jours le cap sur Colpach, sans avoir la moindre idée de la façon dont on y parvient (curieusement content d'être "en vacances").'

In a letter of 11 September to Paulhan, Petitjean enthused: 'Colpach est la perfection même, pour le travail, et pour la conversation. [...] Merci de me l'avoir fait connaître, et Mme Mayrisch.'

Finally, Petitjean would stay in Colpach from 10 to 21 September 1937. Throughout 1938, his interest in Aline Mayrisch waned, but they remained in contact until the war. At this time, Petitjean was delegated to the Secretariat of Youth, a secretariat attached to the Ministry of Propaganda in Vichy. His political commitment and his role in *La NRF* alongside Pierre Drieu la Rochelle gradually distanced him from Aline Mayrisch.

The days of fervent assurances were long gone. On 14 September 1942, Aline Mayrisch, still a recluse in Cabris, noted of Petitjean's political motivation and wrote in her *Carnets*: 'Hierzulande passt sich die Laval-Regierung immer mehr, immer unterwürfiger, dem Hitlerregime an, und hyperkluge Leute, wie Fabreluce – wie Petitjean – wie der feile Fernandez, ihren Idealen.'

James Joyce in the library of Aline Mayrisch-de Saint Hubert

Aline Mayrisch became acquainted with James Joyce's work as early as 1929, when Ernst Robert Curtius' article *Technik und Thematik von James Joyce* appeared in the *Neue Schweizer Rundschau*. Aline Mayrisch's library contained four books by James Joyce: *Ulysses*, Paris, Shakespeare and Company, 1922; *People of Dublin*, trans. Yva Fernandez, Hélène Du Pasquier, Jacques-Paul Reynaud, Paris, Plon-Nourrit & Co, 1926; *Pomes Penyeach*, Paris, Shakespeare and Company, 1927; *Ulysses*, trans. Aug. Morel, Paris, Les Amis des Livres, 1929.

Also included was the typescript of Armand Petitjean's *Essay on the Situation of Joyce*, which runs to 114 pages A-4 (with a series of 'bis' pages) and numerous handwritten corrections by Petitjean himself, his sister Louisette Petitjean and Sylvia Beach, the editor of the first edition of *Ulysses*. It would remain buried in the rooms of the castle of Colpach. Until one day, in the late 1980s, part of Aline Mayrisch-de Saint Hubert's library was entrusted to a second-hand bookseller. They sold the typescript to a private collector.

Last message from James Joyce to Armand Petitjean

Joyce spent most of 1940 in Saint-Gérand-le-Puy in the Allier, north-east of Vichy. At the end of 1940, Joyce and his family were facing a difficult situation and tried to leave France for Switzerland. To do so, he had to obtain the authorisation of the Vichy government. Joyce therefore called on Petitjean, in his capacity as an official of this administration. Through him, on 28 November, the *Police Cantonale des Étrangers* asked the *Police Fédérale des Étrangers* to intercede on behalf of the Joyce family and on 29 November, the Swiss Embassy in Vichy was instructed to issue visas. Finally - with Lucia Joyce living in La Baule and George Joyce in Paris - James, Nora and Stephen Joyce left Saint-Gérand-le-Puy in the early hours of 14 December 1940. Their route took them from Saint-Germain-des-Fossés to Geneva

and then Lausanne, from where they reached Zurich on 17 December. Four days later, on 21 December, Joyce sent a postcard, written in green ink (so characteristic of his correspondence), to Petitjean who was staying at Paul Recht's house, 24 rue Georges Clémenceau in Vichy:

Pension Delphin Muhlebachstrasse 69 Zurich

Je vous souhaite à vous les deux le meilleur des Noëls possible et une année encore meilleure et je vous remercie vivement encore une fois pour tout ce que vous avez fait et si bien fait.

Cordialement votre

James Joyce

This postcard addressed to Armand Petitjean is one of James Joyce's last signs of life. Three weeks later, on 13 January 1941, the writer died suddenly from a perforated ulcer of the duodenum. Two days later, after a simple ceremony, he was buried in the Fluntern cemetery overlooking the city of Zurich.

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Mathias Tresch

Joyce was first mentioned in Luxembourg newspapers after the publication of the French edition of *Ulysses* in 1929. *L'Indépendance luxembourgeoise* mentions two literary reviews of the work in *La Revue Hebdomadaire* and in the *Revue de Paris*, without further comment.

Two years later, on 19 October 1931, Professor Mathias Tresch, in his review of Willy Gilson's novel *Le Chevalier aux Fleurs* published in *L'Indépendance luxembourgeoise*, takes an interest in the contemporary theory of the novel and quotes the French author André Billy and his comments on the inner monologue in the work of James Joyce: 'Le monologue intérieur sévit jusqu'à l'abus dans la littérature contemporaine. Sa vague ne correspond que trop évidemment avec l'abandon de toute technique romanesque, j'allais dire avec la décadence du roman, et de l'art littéraire.'

Albert Hoefler

On 28 July 1934, in the literary supplement *Literatur und Kunst* of the *Escher Tageblatt*, an unnamed critic (probably Albert Hoefler) wrote about three famous contemporary English writers, Aldous Huxley, James Joyce and Harold Nicolson, in an article titled *Die heutige englische Literatur*. As for James Joyce and his *Ulysses*, he believes that the latter soon created a large circle of sincere admirers. He refutes the claim that this good reputation was due to the banning of the work in England. He also disagrees that it is over rated. On the contrary, he praises the language of the unconscious in *Ulysses*:

Immer wieder muß man beim Lesen den genialen Meister der Sprache bewundern, der jene wunderbaren Wortspiele und eine völlig unbekannte und fast neue Sprache erfunden hat. Keineswegs allein im rein Artistischen liegt die Bedeutung dieses Buches, sondern darin, daß es dem Autor in einer bisher nie erlebten Weise gelungen ist, alle jene unterbewußten und halbbewußten Zustände in der Seele des Menschen hervorzuzaubern und an das helle Tageslicht zu bringen.

Hoefler therefore concludes: 'In James Joyce hat die moderne englische Literatur einen der fesselndsten und geistvollsten Schriftsteller.'

Joseph Tockert

The collection of Joseph Tockert, professor of English, linguist and writer, preserved at the BnL, reveals that he was very interested in James Joyce, and more particularly in *Ulysses*. He compiled a file containing numerous handwritten notes in German and English, as well as some booklets and leaflets on Joyce, which testify to his great interest. Unfortunately, we do not know why Tockert, who was also a professor of ancient Greek, created this dossier. We do not know whether he was preparing a conference, whether he wanted to publish an essay on *Ulysses* or whether he was simply interested in it out of curiosity.

Tockert's extracts from his collection, written on individual loose sheets of note-book paper, begin with the section 'Joyce né en 1882' and contain information on the publication history of *Ulysses* as well as its first partial publication in the New York *Little Review* and the English journal *The Egoist*. Tockert then looks at the first publications in book form, although his data is not always correct (for example, he gives the year 1924 instead of 1922 for the publication by Shakespeare and Company). He then turns to Joyce's place in world literature: 'Zola ist ihm gegenüber ein Zwerg in der Wiedergabe der Wirklichkeit.' This is followed by an enumeration of various works by Joyce and a list of several pages of words and expressions from *Ulysses*, such as 'to carry coals to Newcastle' or 'the heaven tree of stars hung with humid night blue fruit' or 'let bygones be bygones'.

Tockert is similarly interested in the characters of *Ulysses*, beginning of course with 'Leopold Bloom, Erotoman, 38'. He also wrote a seven-page table of contents of the work, divided into 17 chapters, plus 'ein ganzes Kapitel ohne Interpunktion'. Under the date '(20.II.32)', he writes a continuous text of five clean pages, entitled *Ulysses*. This appears to be a stand-alone text by Tockert, perhaps for a conference. It begins with: 'Alles hat dieselbe Wirklichkeit und dieselbe Perspektive. Das wird zur impressionistischen Flimmerkunst, von welcher der Expressionismus die Malerei seit 1910 ablenkte. Hier trat starke Innerlichkeit und irische Gewaltsamkeit hinzu.' There follows a commentary on the various chapters, divided into chapters I-III, IV-XIV, the text stopping at chapter V; the other pages are missing. There are many indications that some of Tockert's notes are missing from his documentation.

Edmond Dune

When it comes to French-speaking Luxembourg authors, the poet and author Edmond Dune took an early interest in James Joyce. In a letter dated 10 August 1939, he wrote to a friend that he reads a few pages of *Ulysses* every day. According to the same letter, he took his own copy of Joyce's novel to North Africa, where he was serving as a legionnaire in the Maghreb. In any event, the poem 'James Joyce' dates from 1942 - so also from his period as a legionnaire - and is a true homage to the Irish writer, in which Dune evokes the city-universe of Dublin and the theme of wandering and exile in relation to the author, while associating the Shakespearean figure of Hamlet with it. Dune also refers to the war that is devastating Europe at the time the poem is written, but he also sees a glimmer of hope in literature under the aegis of Joyce, whom he calls the 'Immortel' and 'qu'il aurait considéré comme le plus grand de tous', according to José Ensch.

A review published in 1949 after the republication of the French translation of *Ulysses* testifies to Dune's special interest in James Joyce in general and *Ulysses* in particular. According to Dune, *Ulysses* is 'la première application valable de la psychanalyse à la littérature. L'ambition de Joyce fut donc de reproduire in vitro – dans ce tube à essai psychologique qu'est le roman – les phénomènes psychiques qui se produisent in vivo dans l'homme.'

Robert Thill

When it comes to German-speaking authors, it was the journalist Robert Thill (1904-1981) who took a close interest in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, and did so for years, as his own copy of the German edition of the novel reveals, with countless pages containing passages underlined, annotated and, above all, supplemented with original quotations probably taken from the copy of the English edition belonging to the Bibliothèque nationale du Luxembourg (reference number: C 924).

In his 1948 book *Seifenblasen*, which contains the main reports, serials and essays he had previously published in newspapers and journals, he wrote a hymn to the author of *Ulysses*: a nine-page text entitled *O Joyce, wie ich dich liebe*. Robert Thill's essay, divided into ten sections - the first and last of which is a subjective and poetic eulogy of the novel, written in the first person - discusses the monumental work in the intervening eight parts, to show the reader its importance for world literature.

In the first part, entitled *Luxemburger Dienstmarke führt zu schnellem Reichtum*, Thill adopts an allusion from *Ulysses* that refers to Luxembourg: 'Ich liebe dich, James Joyce, weil, heielei! in deiner 'allumfassenden, sehr vermischten Chronik' der Erwerb der steingrauen 1 Franc-Dienstmarke, gelocht, diagonaler Ueberdruck, Luxemburg 1878, als einer der schnellen, aber unsicheren Wege zum Reichtum bezeichnet wird.'

In his essay, Robert Thill discusses in detail the complex structure of *Ulysses*, its references to the *Odyssey*, the specific locations in Dublin, the different episodes with their particular symbols, colours, techniques and rhythms. Thill describes the main characters of the novel, which takes place on a single day, 16 June 1904, and relates them to Homer's heroes in the *Odyssey*.

Robert Thill also dedicates a special chapter to the German translator of *Ulysses*, the 'Magier Georg Goyert', who had to work hard on the translation, 'als Schwerstarbeiter', for years and overcome all linguistic obstacles. Thill's conclusion: 'Wer nie den Hut vor einem Uebersetzer lüftete, tue es vor Goyert!' He closes his essay with the words: 'ich liebe in *Ulysses* ganz einfach die verkleinerte Wiedergabe des Universums, den Leicafilm eines banalen Alltags.'

Josiane Kartheiser

In English, the only really serious and in-depth analysis of James Joyce's *Ulysses* is provided by the author and English teacher Josiane Kartheiser in the *Luxemburger Wort* of 16 June 1973. In the long text *TODAY IS BLOOMSDAY. Some general notes on James Joyce's Ulysses*, Kartheiser looks at various aspects of the novel, its structure, the main characters, its most important themes, the history of its creation and publication, its complex use of language and the reception of this work of world literature, which she considers to be brilliant.

Kartheiser sees the genius of *Ulysses* in its linguistic conception above all: 'In fact, the 18 chapters, presenting 18 problems, called for 18 techniques and as many points of view: stream of consciousness, interior monologue, question and answer, dramatic dialogue and parodies of many styles, are ways he found to set forth his matters.' Joyce's great talent, according to Kartheiser, consists of '[u]sing his language as a means'. This is why James Joyce's *Ulysses* is one of the most important novels in contemporary literature: 'Complex and difficult, comic and serious, baffling and challenging - all this and much more - Joyce's *Ulysses* is doubtlessly one of the greatest novels of our time.'

Jeannot Kettel and Jean-Claude Muller

In 1987, Jeannot Kettel and Jean-Claude Muller published a book to mark the 75th birthday of Professor Tony Bourg: *Le Luxembourg et l'étranger. Présences et Contacts. / Luxemburg und das Ausland. Begegnungen und Beziehungen. Pour les 75 ans du Professeur Tony Bourg.* In this collection they published a study under the title *'That Luxuumburgher...' James Joyce in Luxembourg in the year 1934*, thus being the first to research James Joyce's stay in Luxembourg. They interpret in detail the few lines Joyce writes about Luxembourg. In the course of their article, they discuss other mentions of the country in Joyce's correspondence and work.

Illustrations

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Author: Gaston Mannes

Title: 'This is a lovely quiet rose-growing part of dirty old Europe'

James Joyce in Luxembourg

Editor: National Library of Luxembourg (BnL)

Publication date: April 2022

Print run: 300

ISBN: 978-99987-888-3-1 Translation: Eurotraduc Design: Studio Polenta

The BnL would like to thank the National Library of Ireland and its Department of Manuscripts for the excellent cooperation.

Discover more about James Joyce's visit to Luxembourg in 1934 in our exhibition catalogue featuring 197 illustrations and detailed explanations by Gaston Mannes. (ISBN: 978-99987-888-2-4)



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