

The Paris Residences of James Joyce

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By

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Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



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This book first published 2020

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-5275-4683-7

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-4683-7

For James Joyce and Paris enthusiasts everywhere.

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PREFACE: PARIS

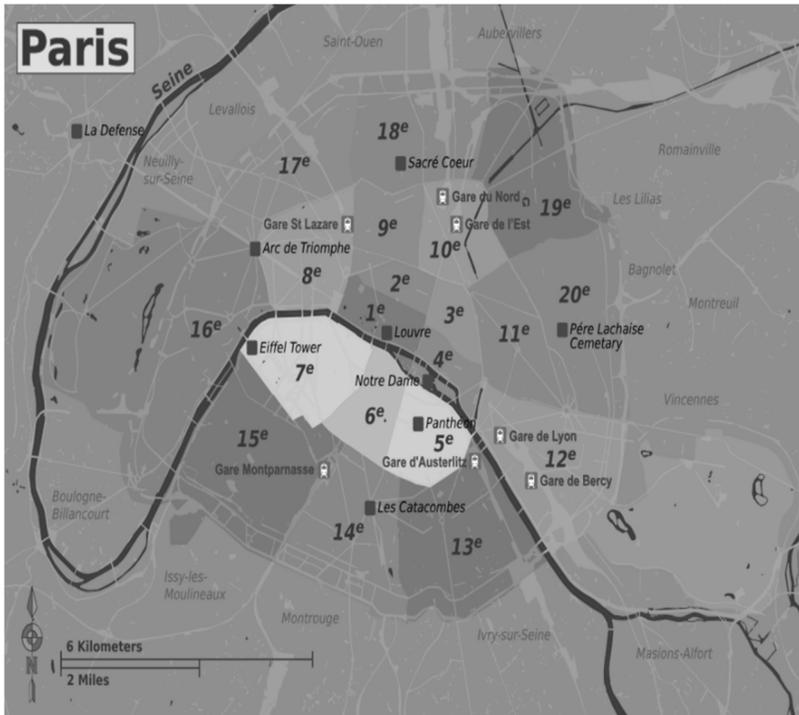


Fig. Preface-1. Source:

https://en.wikivoyage.org/wiki/File:Wikivoyage_paris_map.svg, 22 May 2017,
ButteBag

Paris is separated by a river—the river Seine. North of the river is the Right Bank, and south of the river is the Left Bank. The twenty municipalities or suburbs—each called an *arrondissement*—form a spiral, or a snail shape, around a central point: the Île de la Cité—Island of the City, where Notre-Dame Cathedral stands.

At one time, the Island was not only the heart of the city, it was the body and the soul. Surrounding the Island City were distinct towns and villages, which, over time, were added, or annexed, to the Island to form the city of Paris. Encompassing the arrondissements is a ring road, called the Boulevard Périphérique—the Periphery.

The Right Bank includes arrondissements 1-4, 8-12, and 16-20 and the Left Bank includes arrondissements 5-7 and 13-15. Within each arrondissement are several neighbourhoods or quarters—each called a *quartier*.

So, where once Neuve-Bois-le-Vent, west of Paris, was a town, in its own right, before the nineteenth century, it was annexed to the 16th arrondissement of Paris in 1859. The area changed its name to Passy in 1860, becoming the Passy quarter.

All of the residences where James Joyce lived in Paris are within the Periphery in arrondissements 5, 6, 7, 8, and 16.

This book provides a glimpse of James Joyce's Paris from a residential perspective. It includes photographs of the apartments and hotels where Joyce lived, and an historical and social account of the arrondissements in the 1920s and 1930s.

When Joyce arrived in Paris in July 1920, the Eiffel Tower on the southern bank, the Left Bank, of the Seine, had celebrated the thirty-first anniversary of its opening on 31 March 1889. It held the title of the tallest human-built structure in the world, and was still regarded as a new tourist attraction in the 1920s. The Chrysler Building in New York had not yet been built, but ten years later, in 1930, it overtook the Eiffel Tower in height, although arguably not in universal recognition. French civil engineer Gustave Eiffel was granted a temporary permit for the tower to stand at its current location for twenty years from 1886 to 1906, after which it was intended to be dismantled, but it has remained as one of the most-visited tourist attractions in the world.

Throughout this book, I have referenced the residences in terms of their location and distance from the Eiffel Tower. The iconic Eiffel Tower can be viewed almost everywhere in Paris and provides a well-known and prominent locator.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There is no finer place than Paris to explore and imagine a past person's life and lifestyle. With its own history along every avenue, street, and laneway, in every building and architectural stone, and in every park and garden, every step is a step back in time, and each step provides inspiration for the future.

But the inspiration for this book did not originate in Paris. It came from the halls of learning in Tbilisi, Georgia, in the Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University. Specifically, the wellspring was in the room of professor Manana Gelashvili, the director of the Institute of West European Languages and Literature, and in the mind of her daughter, lecturer and James Joyce expert Tamar Gelashvili—both of whom inspire a passion for research and a love of literature. I thank them both for hosting the James Joyce international conference at Tbilisi State University in September 2019, with the grand all-encompassing title “James Joyce and the World” in conjunction with the James Joyce Association of Georgia, to celebrate the eightieth anniversary of the 1939 publication of *Finnegans Wake*.

I was in Paris when Manana Gelashvili announced the James Joyce conference. Remembering my enjoyment presenting literary papers in Tbilisi State University's Shakespeare conferences in 2014 and 2016, my assistant Tamar Zhghenti and I refreshed our knowledge of all of James Joyce's works. I thank Tamar for her personal and professional support and, above all, her friendship. I also thank all of the presenters and attendees at the James Joyce conference, each of whom provided inspiration from which rivers of ideas flowed.

In Paris, I spent a year reading, walking, eating, and exploring, re-imagining the 1920s and 1930s. To my family, friends, landlady, work colleagues, patient staff at the printing store, hotel staff, and the many wonderful and attentive restaurant and café staff who made working on the book pleasurable, I thank them all. They provided guidance about walking directions, useful maps, writing advice, ideas, historical facts, fallacies, and fun information. I repeat their words: “the answers are in the streets of Paris.” From the streets to the words, the book grew organically from being in the right place at the right time. I thank everyone for helping me bring all

the writing and images together in such a lovely spirit of conviviality, conversation, and cooperation.

INTRODUCTION

The 1920s in Paris were described as the crazy years, the luminous years, and the magical decade. After armistice in 1919 following the First World War, and before the stock market crash of 1929, Paris in the 1920s was the post-war hub for creatives and intellectuals of all types and nationalities.

In America, 1920 marked the beginning of Prohibition on 16 July, with the signing of the Volstead Act outlawing alcohol, and the move towards censorship in movies with a call for the Production Code. Americans were enticed to the “freer society” of Paris, as were artists—painters, sculptors, dancers, musicians, actors, film-makers, innovators, and entrepreneurs—from countries across Europe, Asia, Russia, South America, Africa, and as far as Australia. It was not difficult to see an artist in any café or theatre in Paris at the time, and to gain entry into an artistic circle.

Paris was the place to escape to, be inspired by, be seen, or just to be. James Joyce arrived in the City of Light at precisely the right time, on the verge of its historical decade in the intellectual spotlight.

James Augusta Aloysius Joyce was born in Dublin, Ireland, on 2 February 1882, the eldest of ten children. He had already begun writing poems before studying English, French, and Italian at the University College Dublin in 1898, but he became more active in theatrical and literary societies during his university years. After graduating in 1902, Joyce travelled to Paris to study medicine. He returned to Dublin in 1903, claiming ill health in the cold climate of Paris, although biographer Richard Ellmann suggests that the course, in French, may have been too difficult for him. Joyce, a disillusioned twenty-year-old, not knowing what he wanted to do with his life, or where he wanted to be, certainly knew that he did not want to return to Dublin, a place of internal and external conflict.

Between 1904 and 1920, Joyce lived in London in England, Zurich in Switzerland, and Trieste in Italy, returning to his birthplace of Dublin only for brief periods. Joyce had unsuccessfully tried to publish *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in Dublin in 1914, but by the time he arrived in London in the same year, he had extensively rewritten the manuscript. In

London, Joyce met and befriended two American poets: T. S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. Pound read Joyce's manuscript and immediately recognized its literary worth. Between 1914 and 1916, Pound worked with Joyce to serialize *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in the London magazine *The Egoist* owned by Harriet Shaw Weaver. Pound also encouraged the Egoist Press to publish *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* after his success in aiding the publication of T. S. Eliot's *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* in 1915. James Joyce, although older than Eliot and Pound, appreciated their experience, literary networks, and influence.

By 1919, Joyce was a published author, having four of his works in print: a poetry collection entitled *Chamber Music* in 1907; a collection of short stories entitled *Dubliners* in 1914; his first novel, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in 1916; and his first play called *Exiles* in 1918.

In 1919, after living in Zurich for five years, Joyce moved to Trieste—now in Italy, but it was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time. Within nine months, he considered another relocation because he lacked inspiration to write. Joyce met Ezra Pound on vacation near Venice, and told him the same thing he told T. S. Eliot—that he was short of funds and that he needed a quiet place to finish his novel *Ulysses*. Pound recommended France because living was cheap, due to the favourable currency exchange rate.

Joyce's intention was to stay in Paris for a short time—a week to a few months—before moving to London. He imagined that it would be a working holiday. James Joyce arrived in Paris by train on 8 July 1920, with Nora Barnacle and their two children, Giorgio and Lucia. Joyce was thirty-eight years old; Nora was thirty-six; Giorgio was fifteen; and Lucia was almost thirteen.

Joyce was a family man when he arrived in Paris, in need of a stable income. Like most artists, financial stability was never really possible. In Paris, he gained a reputation and fame as an avant-garde writer, but he fluctuated between times of poverty and times of financial comfort. He was often dependent upon the generosity of a cohort of fellow artists and friends, because his expenses were high. When author royalties arrived in his bank account once a quarter—every three months—the money was invariably used for medical expenses for himself and his family. Joyce had constant eye problems and stomach ulcers, and his daughter Lucia needed health care for depression and mood fluctuations. Joyce, too, had ongoing nervous conditions, or “collapses” as he described them.

Joyce was never wealthy, but after the publication of *Ulysses* in 1922 he received substantial funds from author royalties with additional financial support from his publisher Sylvia Beach in Paris, and mostly from his patron Harriet Shaw Weaver in London. Harriet Weaver was a political activist and editor of *The Egoist* magazine. Her involvement with Joyce commenced with her agreement in 1914 to serialize *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* in *The Egoist* magazine. As Eder indicated, in Paris, “he had company and diversion. He had the material support of Harriet Weaver, who sent him astonishing sums from London, and of Sylvia Beach and Adrienne Monnier who got *Ulysses* into print when nobody else dared to.”

Joyce’s works were controversial and banned in many countries, but Sylvia Beach maintained a firm belief in his writing. She published the works he wrote in Paris: the novel *Ulysses* in 1922 and a book of poems called *Pomes Penyeach* in 1927. After a rift between Sylvia Beach and James Joyce from 1927, Americans Harry and Caresse Crosby, owners of Black Sun Press, published *Tales Told of Shem and Shaun* in 1929, extracts of *Finnegans Wake* before it was published in its entirety, when it was still called *Work in Progress*, and Caresse published the poetry anthology *Collected Poems* in 1936. London-based Faber and Faber Limited published Joyce’s final novel *Finnegans Wake* in 1939.

And so, Paris became his home. Joyce’s intended short stay led to nineteen years in Paris and twenty years in France, from July 1920 to December 1940. However, in those twenty years, he never bought a home of his own. He resided occasionally with artist associates, but mostly, with his family, he lived in rental apartments and hotels. Depending on his funds, the residences, from cheap to luxurious, varied in size, style, and location.

Joyce lived in ten residences on the Left Bank and eight residences on the Right Bank of Paris. He favoured the Left Bank because it was close to his literary friends and theatres. The Borsch eye clinic, where Joyce had several operations, was in the 6th arrondissement on the Left Bank. So too were the bookstores of the French writer and editor Adrienne Monnier and the American writer and editor Sylvia Beach. In the 6th arrondissement, Monnier owned the bookstore La Maison des Amis des Livres—the House of the Friends of Books—and Beach owned the English-language bookstore Shakespeare and Company, where *Ulysses* was published.

Joyce lived in ten apartments and eight hotels. He preferred the 7th arrondissement on the Left Bank, where he lived in seven residences. He

also lived in four residences in the 8th arrondissement and four residences in the 16th arrondissement: three in the Passy quarter and one in the Champs-Élysées quarter. The remaining three residences included one in the Latin quarter of the 5th arrondissement and two in the artist quarter of the 6th arrondissement. His longest stays were in the 7th arrondissement at Square de Robiac for six years and Rue Edmond Valentin for five years.

Only one residence has a plaque of remembrance, and only because it was the home of the French poet Valéry Larbaud. In other hotels and apartment buildings, there are no claims of Joyce's presence, or only limited recognition, choosing to forget or ignore the connection, or to discourage tourists from loitering. Today, recognition lingers in the naming of a garden—the Jardin James Joyce—and in a duplicate of Sylvia Beach's English-language bookshop Shakespeare and Company, an ever-enduring tourist destination. Neither the garden nor the bookshop have direct connections to James Joyce.

It was war that ended the magical years for many expatriates in Paris. The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939, and Germany's attack on France in May 1940 eventually led to the French government leaving Paris on 10 June before Germany's occupation of the city began on 14 June 1940. Paris was eventually liberated on 25 August 1944.

Joyce and his family left Paris on 23 December 1939, to stay with their friend Maria Jolas in Saint-Gérand-le-Puy, near Vichy, in central France. In May 1940, the Joyce family moved to Vichy, the *de facto* capital of France, where his friend, the French author Valéry Larbaud fled during his Paris exile. Joyce returned to Saint-Gérand-le-Puy when the Germans entered Vichy in July. German troops then entered Saint-Gérand-le-Puy on 4 August. It was inevitable that Joyce would leave France. The artist Carola Giedion-Welcker invited Joyce to stay with her in Zurich, Switzerland, which he accepted. After waiting for permission from the German regime to leave France, the Joyce family departed the country by train on 14 December 1940, arriving in Zurich on 17 December.

On 11 January 1941, Joyce had surgery for a perforated duodenal ulcer, and although the surgery successfully removed the ulcer, he fell into a coma and passed away two days later on 13 January, two weeks before his fifty-ninth birthday, and less than a month after leaving Paris. His wife Nora outlived him by ten years, dying on 10 April 1951 at the age of sixty-seven. The two are buried side-by-side in Fluntern Cemetery in Zurich with their son Giorgio, who died on 13 June 1976 at the age of seventy.

Their daughter Lucia Joyce died on 12 December 1982 at the age of seventy-five, and is buried in Kingsthorpe Cemetery in England. At the time of writing, James Joyce's grandson, Stephen James Joyce, the son of Giorgio and Helen, born in 1932, lives in Paris. He is eighty-seven years old.

James Joyce was in Ireland for the last time in 1912; in Italy for the last time in 1920; in England for the last time in 1931; and in France for the last time in 1940. Although Zurich was his resting place, he had lived there for only five years, returning for appointments with an eye doctor, to visit Lucia in a health clinic, and again briefly before he died. It was the war that urged him to retreat to the safe haven of Zurich with his family. Dublin was in his heart, Trieste was in his memory, London was in his pocket, Zurich was in his health, but Paris was in his veins.

PARIS TIMELINE (1920-1939)

PARIS (1920-1939)		
NO	LOCATION	DURATION
1	9 Rue de l'Université, 7 th arr. Hotel (now Le Saint Hotel)	1920: 8-14 July 1920: October—1 December 1921: 1 October—31 October 1922 1932: 17-30 November
2	5 Rue de l'Assomption, 16 th arr. Ludmilla Bloch-Savitsky's apartment	1920: 15 July—October
3	5 Boulevard Raspail, 7 th arr.	1920: 1 December—31 May 1921
4	71 Rue du Cardinal Lemoine, 5 th arr. Valery Larbaud's apartment	1921: 1 June—30 September
5	26 Avenue Charles Floquet, 7 th arr.	1922: 1 November—18 June 1923
6	6 Rue Blaise Desgoffe, 6 th arr. Hotel Victoria Palace	1923: August—October 1924
7	8 Avenue Charles Floquet, 7 th arr. (now Résidence Charles Floquet)	1924: October—May 1925
8	3 Rue de Bourgogne, 7 th arr. Hotel Bourgogne & Montana	1925: May—12 June
9	2 Square de Robiac, 7 th arr.	1925: 13 June—April 1931
10	52 Rue François 1 ^{er} , 8 th arr. Hotel Grand Powers	1931: April
11	41 Avenue Pierre 1 ^{er} de Serbie, 8 th arr. La Résidence (now Hotel de Sers)	1931: September—October 1935: 31 January—10 February
12	2 Avenue Saint-Philibert, 16 th arr. (now 2 Rue Alfred Bruneau)	1931: October—16 April 1932 1932: 15 May—July
13	30 Rue de Bassano, 8 th arr. Hotel Le Belmont	1932: 17 April—14 May

14	5 Rue Chateaubriand, 8 th arr. Hotel Lord Byron	1932: 20 October—17 November
15	42 Rue Galilée, 16 th arr.	1932: November—18 July 1934
16	7 Rue Edmond Valentin, 7 th arr.	1935: 10 February—14 April 1939
17	34 Rue des Vignes, 16 th arr.	1939: 15 April—mid-October
18	45 Boulevard Raspail, 6 th arr. Hotel Lutétia	1939: mid-October—23 December

Arrondissement	Number of Residences
Arrondissement 5	1
Arrondissement 6	2
Arrondissement 7	7
Arrondissement 8	4
Arrondissement 16	4

Notes

1. Isadore Ryan lists 19 residences, which excludes the Hotel Bourgogne & Montana, and includes the Hotel de Elysée (July 1920) and The Lancaster (October 1932).¹ T. S. Eliot stayed at the Hotel Elysée when he visited Joyce in August 1920, but Joyce possibly did not.² Eishiro Ito and Paul O’Hanrahan do not mention the Hotel Elysée, nor The Lancaster, in their comprehensive list of residences.³
2. 1^{er} indicates Premier or First, as in 52 Rue François 1^{er} (52 France the First Street) and 41 Avenue Pierre 1^{er} de Serbie (41 Avenue Pierre the First of Serbia).

¹ Isadore Ryan, *Irish Paris*, <http://www.irishmeninparis.org/writers-and-journalists/james-joyce>, undated, accessed 19 September 2019.

² Gordon Bowker, *James Joyce: A Biography*, 2011, eBook, 278.

³ Eishiro Ito and Paul O’Hanrahan (2003 and 2008), *Joycean Pics 2008: Paris and Joyce*, http://p-www.iwate-pu.ac.jp/~acro-ito/Joyce_pics2008/Joyce2008gPRS2/imageidx.html, accessed 19 September 2019.

RESIDENCE 1: 9 RUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ

Hotel

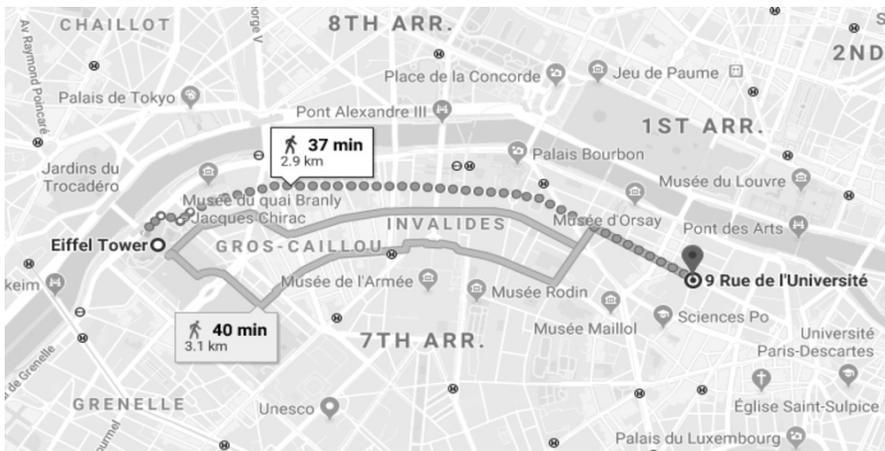


Fig. 1-1. Source: Google Maps, <https://www.google.fr/maps>

University Street is a fitting place to start life in Paris. The small corner hotel at 9 Rue de l'Université on the Rive Gauche—the Left Bank—of Paris, near the river Seine and in the heart of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the 7th arrondissement, was the first residence of the Joyce family in Paris.⁴ He arrived on 8 July 1920.

⁴ Isadore Ryan lists Hotel Elysée at 9 Rue de Beaune in the 7th arrondissement as Joyce's first residence in July 1920; *Irish Paris*, <http://www.irishmeninparis.org/writers-and-journalists/james-joyce>, undated, accessed 19 September 2019. Conor Fennell states that "In June 1921 they moved to their fifth home in the eleven months since they had arrived in Paris—an apartment at 71 Rue du Cardinal Lemoine" and since Joyce moved to the rue de l'Université residence twice in that time, it places the Rue de l'Université hotel as the first

Why Paris? James Joyce had been living in Trieste, Italy, for the previous nine months. In 1920, Trieste was a free port under Austrian rule. The Welsh historian and travel writer Jan Morris described it as a place that “offers no unforgettable landmark, no universally familiar melody, no unmistakable cuisine” with a “prickly grace” that, the *Lonely Planet* adds, inspires “writers, exiles and misfits.”⁵ By May, Joyce’s money was low, income was delayed, transferring funds from Zurich, Switzerland, where he lived for five years, to Trieste was difficult, and he was not feeling inspired to write. He was thinking of where to go for his summer holidays.

In May 1920, Ezra Pound was holidaying in Venice, Italy, when he invited Joyce to join him.⁶ Ezra Weston Loomis Pound, the American poet, had been living in London for twelve years since 1908, where he met James Joyce. Joyce accepted the invitation. On 8 June, the Joyce family went to Sirmione on Lake Garda, near Venice, in northern Italy to visit Ezra Pound. Pound told Joyce he was considering a relocation from London to Venice. This did not eventuate. Joyce told Pound that he was in need of a suitable location to finish his novel *Ulysses*. Trieste was not the suitable place he had in mind. After their meeting, Pound travelled to Paris, and Joyce returned to Trieste.

Pound was in Paris when he responded to a letter from his friend T. S. Eliot in London. Thomas Stearns Eliot had migrated from America to England in 1914 at the age of twenty-five, where he settled, worked, and married. In T. S. Eliot’s letter of 3 July 1920, to Ezra Pound, he wrote, “Is there any chance of Joyce staying in Paris or coming to London, so that he can be seen?”⁷

“Pound, always eager to help, recommended France as the cheapest place he knew of, offering to find him accommodation there plus 1,000 lire towards the fare.”⁸ So Joyce took the train from Trieste to Paris on 8 July 1920, with Nora Barnacle and their two children Giorgio and Lucia. Joyce was thirty-eight years old; Nora was thirty-six; Giorgio had turned fifteen the previous month; and Lucia would be thirteen on 26 July.

residence; Conor Fennell, *A Little Circle of Kindred Minds: Joyce in Paris*, 2014, eBook, Location 479.

⁵ Trieste, <https://www.lonelyplanet.com/italy/friuli-venezia-giulia/trieste>, accessed 19 July 2019; and Jan Morris, *Trieste and the Meaning of Nowhere*, Da Capo Press, 2002.

⁶ Gordon Bowker, *James Joyce: A Biography*, 2011, eBook, 272.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 275.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 273.

“By the time Joyce got to Paris he was approaching middle age and near-blindness. He was not inactive, but he did not throw himself into the life of the city in order to find himself or his subjects or his art. He had them already. He used Paris for its quiet, its elegance and the congenial atmosphere it offered a writer,” wrote the journalist Richard Eder.

The rapid arrival of Joyce and his family, five days after T. S. Eliot's letter, meant that Ezra Pound had not yet found an apartment for them. But, true to his word, he found a “private” hotel at 9 Rue de l'Université—University Street—in the 7th arrondissement. “Not only had he arranged accommodation for the family in a hotel at 9 Rue de l'Université, but had spread word of the coming of one of modern literature's geniuses.”⁹

Richard Eder indicated in 1982 that the “private” hotel was called Hotel Lenox: “Joyce arrived at the Gare de Lyons ... and took a taxi to a private hotel on Rue de l'Université. Today it is the Hotel Lenox, a trim white-shuttered establishment sanctioned by Michelin and charging up to \$50 a day for a double room.”¹⁰ That was a high price in 1982. Paul O'Hanrahan researched James Joyce's Paris apartments in 2003 and indicated that the hotel at 9 Rue de l'Université was the Hotel Lennox [sic], and Eishiro Ito, when walking the streets of Paris in 2008, following O'Hanrahan's guide, also referred to Hotel Lennox,¹¹ as does Isadore Ryan in 2013.¹² In 2014, Conor Fennell wrote of Hotel Lenox.¹³ Gordon Bowker did not mention the name of the hotel in 2011.

In 2019, the building is the renovated Le Saint Hotel with its Kult Restaurant and Cocktail Bar—a neo-bistrot—on the corner of 9 Rue de l'Université and 3 Rue Prés-aux-Clercs.

From 8-14 July, the Joyce family resided in the hotel while Pound continued to search for a longer-term apartment for his friend. The room was small and inadequate for a family of four. Joyce described their room

⁹ Ibid., 275.

¹⁰ Richard Eder, “In the Footsteps of James Joyce: The pilgrim's road leads from Dublin to Paris, by way of Trieste,” *The New York Times*, 17 January 1982.

¹¹ Eishiro Ito and Paul O'Hanrahan (2003 and 2008), *Joycean Pics 2008: Paris and Joyce*, http://p-www.iwate-pu.ac.jp/~acro-ito/Joyce_pics2008/Joyce2008gPR_S2/imageidx.html, accessed 19 September 2019.

¹² Isadore Ryan, *Irish Paris*, <http://www.irishmeninparis.org/writers-and-journalists/james-joyce>, accessed 19 September 2019.

¹³ Conor Fennell, *A Little Circle of Kindred Minds: Joyce in Paris*, 2014, eBook, Location 489.

as damp and matchbox-sized, to which his thirteen-year-old daughter Lucia added that it was “stuck together with spit.”¹⁴ Nevertheless, the building façade had the features of Haussmann architecture.

Baron Georges Eugene Haussmann, at the request of Napoleon III, led the re-design of Paris to include wide streets and uniform buildings for aesthetic appeal. Each building, of no more than six floors, and usually between three and five floors, generally included ground floor commercial shops; rooms on the first floor to accommodate shopkeepers; a second floor of several high-ceiling rooms for the wealthier class (*étage noble*) with balconies—usually a continuous balcony connecting all rooms, called a running balcony, often separated by ornate wrought iron; smaller low-ceiling rooms on the third, fourth, and fifth floors; a top floor with a narrow running balcony; and a mansard roof with extremely small attic rooms for servants.¹⁵ The mansard roof, commonly called the French roof, has two slopes, similar to a barn house, but with windows.

Le Saint Hotel at Rue de l’Université has a Haussmann façade of cream limestone, with a ground floor and three additional floors, but without ornate adornments. It has the typical running balcony on the fourth level, and the windows are plain and rectangular with simple awnings. There is no running balcony on the second floor, and it does not have a mansard roof, both common features of a Haussmann building.

Rue de l’Université is a historical street—long, flat, and narrow—running parallel to the Seine, just a five-minute walk along the Rue des Saints-Pères where Michaud’s restaurant was located, in sight of the bridge, the Pont du Carousel. Just eleven to fifteen metres (thirty-six to forty-nine feet) wide, the street begins near the hotel and curves gently as it follows the Seine in a westerly direction for two thousand, seven hundred and eighty-five metres (less than two miles) ending near the Eiffel Tower. Joyce could take an easy stroll for thirty-five minutes to stand beside the iconic tower, but he could not easily see it from the four-floor hotel.

To the east, Rue de l’Université becomes Rue Jacob, taking Joyce five minutes to walk to the home and literary salon of the American novelist Natalie Clifford Barney at number 20. The American author Sylvia Beach

¹⁴ Bowker, 282.

¹⁵ Kelly Richman-Abdou, “How Haussmann Architecture Transformed All of Paris with Modern Buildings,” *My Modern Met*, <https://mymodernmet.com/haussmann-paris-architecture>, 26 May 2019, accessed 23 July 2019.

opened her bookstore, Shakespeare and Company, at 8 Rue Dupuytren on 19 November 1919, eight months before James Joyce arrived in Paris. He visited this bookstore several times a week, often using it as his own office. If he passed Barney's residence, and took a right turn on Rue de Seine, and a left onto the Boulevard Saint-Germain, Joyce could reach the Shakespeare and Company bookstore in thirteen minutes.

Seven minutes away is the Café les Deux Magots at 6 Place Saint-Germain-des-Prés, established in 1885. Popular with the intellectuals of the time, it was not difficult for Joyce to receive introductions to well-established people in the city or to new arrivals. It is still a popular venue for coffee, lunch, and dinner.

Conor Fennell stated that Joyce "never attended Stein's salons"¹⁶ but Mary McAuliffe mentioned his visits.¹⁷ If he did visit, it would have been an eighteen-minute walk to Gertrude Stein's salon at 27 Rue de Fleurus near the Jardin du Luxembourg—the Luxembourg Garden. The American poet was a long-time resident of Paris, moving to the city in 1903 at the age of twenty-nine with her brother Leo, and making it her home for the rest of her life. Stein aspired to develop a career as an artist, but primarily became a collector rather than a painter. In her two-floor apartment, Gertrude Stein entertained artists from around the world. By the time James Joyce arrived in Paris, Leo had long gone to Italy in a dispute over art work, so Gertrude lived alone, but never without visitors, from Ernest Hemingway to Pablo Picasso.

Pound continued to search for a suitable apartment for Joyce and his family. He sought assistance from his friend Ludmilla Bloch-Savitsky, a Russian-born French translator. After a week at the small hotel, the Joyce family moved on 15 July to Passy, across the river, and out of the central area of Paris.

Gordon Bowker suggested that Joyce's initial length of stay would be "only briefly before proceeding to London" and "he intended to spend just a few months in some tranquil corner of France or England to finish the novel," referring to *Ulysses*.¹⁸ Connor Fennell suggested that Joyce's

¹⁶ Fennell, 336.

¹⁷ Mary McAuliffe, *Paris on the Brink, 2018*, eBook, Location 1409.

¹⁸ Bowker, 273.

intended stay was “no longer than a week” in Paris¹⁹ and Richard Ellmann said, “he came to Paris to stay a week and remained for twenty years.”²⁰

Joyce did intend a short stay in Paris, but the small hotel was not a fitting location to finish *Ulysses*. However, as a first stop, it was adequate enough, particularly because the location was excellent. He returned regularly to the Rue de l'Université hotel—in between changes of residence—especially on his return to Paris from periods abroad or after vacations.

¹⁹ Fennell, 92.

²⁰ Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, 1982, eBook, 124.



Fig. 1-2. Location: 9 Rue de l'Université, Paris. Photographer: Martina Nicolls



Fig. 1-3. Location: 9 Rue de l'Université, Paris, street view (west).
Photographer: Martina Nicolls



Fig. 1-4. Location: 9 Rue de l'Université, Paris, street view (east).
Photographer: Martina Nicolls



Fig. 1-5. Location: 9 Rue de l'Université, Paris. Photographer: Martina Nicolls

RESIDENCE 2: 5 RUE DE L'ASSOMPTION

Apartment



Fig. 2-1. Source: Google Maps, <https://www.google.fr/maps>

On 15 July, the Joyce family moved into Ludmilla Bloch-Savitsky's residence in Passy, west of Paris, to stay in the rent-free servants' quarters of her apartment. "The flat was small and bare, there was no electricity and just one double bed" for a family of four.²¹

The Passy quarter is part of the 16th arrondissement, which incorporates the Bois de Boulogne—the Boulogne Woods or the Boulogne Forest—on the extreme western edge, and the Arc de Triomphe—Arch of Triumph—on the north-eastern edge. The 16th arrondissement was added to Paris in 1859. Today, the 16th arrondissement on the Right Bank is the largest arrondissement in Paris.

²¹ Gordon Bowker, *James Joyce: A Biography*, 2011, eBook, 275.