

‘Oxen of the Sun’ Notesheet 17: Commentary and Annotations with a New List of Sources, and Transcriptions

or

Oxtail Soup: the Ingredientsⁱ

Chrissie Van Mierlo

Royal Holloway, University of London

The ‘Oxen of the Sun’ notesheets have long been a source of interest for scholars. These densely packed and brightly coloured compositional documents were used by Joyce to record a vast array of linguistic snippets for use in the chapter-in-progress, and therefore provide a tantalising backstage view of the Ulyssean production. Moreover, the hundreds of literary fragments that populate these pages offer an irresistible invitation to the reader who is concerned with the sources for the chapter’s epic treatment of the evolution of English literary style, and who is willing to do some detective work. Adopting methods that are now familiar to ‘genetic’ Joyceans, with enough digging the extant notes can lead us back to the particular printed source that Joyce was consulting, which in turn might shed light upon what is at stake in a given phrase or passage in the sometimes overwhelmingly rich parody. Indeed, nowhere does Joyce’s habit of extracting pertinent bits of vocabulary from his reading seem to be so vital as in the preparation of ‘Oxen of the Sun’, a chapter that has at its heart the tics and tropes of literary style throughout the ages. And the ‘Oxen’ notesheets themselves can be said to have a special quality, with a large proportion of the entries appearing to relate to specifically literary sources, rather than the more eclectic jumble of entries that might be found in certain of the *Ulysses* sheets and the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks. The relatively scant guidance that Joyce provided for readers of this famously difficult chapter means that a fuller understanding of the sources for the passage – and the use of this material therein – assumes further importance.ⁱⁱ

The significance of the ‘Oxen’ notesheets was recognised at a relatively early stage in the reception history.ⁱⁱⁱ One of the first examples to be considered in A. Walton Litz’s seminal *The Art of James Joyce* is a series of notes that were incorporated into the opening of ‘Oxen of the Sun’, and Litz speculates about the significance of Joyce’s bold red cancellation marks.^{iv} A remarkably firm foundation for the study of these documents was laid by Phillip Herring when in 1972 he published a complete transcription of the extant *Ulysses* notesheets: *Joyce’s ‘Ulysses’ Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville:

University Press of Virginia, 1971). Herring provides some fairly light annotations to his transcriptions of the notesheets, but it was Robert Janusko who began the work of sourcing them in earnest. Prior to the publication of Herring's transcription, Janusko's Kent State University thesis *The Sources and Structure of the 'Oxen of the Sun' Episode of James Joyce's 'Ulysses'* (1967), identified nearly 400 entries drawn from 12 of the 20 'Oxen' notesheets. A large chunk of notes were traced to George Saintsbury's *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (1912), the importance of which had already been flagged by Richard Ellmann, following Stanislaus' assertion of the importance of Saintsbury for 'Oxen of the Sun' in a 1954 interview.^v Further progress was made by James S. Atherton in the early 1970s when his work on Joycean intertextuality led to the discovery of around 300 entries derived from William Peacock's *English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin* (London, 1903). These discoveries were incorporated at the last minute into Herring's transcription.^{vi} Although progress was patchy, further gains were made in the 1980s. A revised version of Janusko's dissertation, published under the slightly altered title *The Sources and Structures of James Joyce's 'Oxen'* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), appeared around the same time that comprehensive accounts of the contents of Joyce's Trieste Library were being made public – a vital resource for understanding the *Ulysses* notesheets.^{vii} In the 1981 *Sources and Structures* Janusko sourced nearly 800 entries, and he continued his work on sourcing 'Oxen' into the 1990s. Gregory M. Downing reignited interest in the 'Oxen' sheets in 2002 when he published a new transcription with sources and additional commentary covering notesheet 1 and the left-hand column of entries on notesheet 2.^{viii} This piece was intended as the first instalment of a series of new transcriptions of the 'Oxen' notesheets, but unfortunately the project remains unfinished.

The present piece of work forms part of a larger British Academy funded project entitled 'Intertextual Joyce', led by Sarah Davison at the University of Nottingham. 'Intertextual Joyce' is concerned with a fresh investigation of the composition history of 'Oxen of the Sun', with a particular focus on the 'Oxen' notesheets at the British Library.^{ix} I joined the project in the summer of 2013 with the remit of producing fresh, spatial transcriptions for a number of the 'Oxen' sheets. This project could be seen as an extension of the initiatives of Herring, Janusko, Downing and others, and indeed the accurate transcription and sourcing of the notesheets is a key objective.

But it also a new departure. The transcriptions produced by Herring and others were an heroic endeavour, and today they provide an invaluable foundation for scholars. Moreover, the identification of new sources underpinning poorly made out entries confirms just how accurate Herring's initial attempt was. However, the practice of transcribing such spatially complex documents in a linear fashion presents certain problems. Herring's arrangement of the material was clearly a most practical solution in the early 1970s, but relying on this transcription as the foundation for a line-by-line approach to the business of source-hunting presents some difficulties. It can result in certain groups of entries being overlooked, with notes that rightfully belong to a particular cluster appearing in entirely separate sections of the transcription. The reasons for this problem are apparent. Joyce's notes are unpredictable and move in multiple directions, as is natural for a working

document of this kind.^x It is, of course, always possible to compare the transcription with a facsimile of the document, but this is only practical for those with ready access to the *James Joyce Archive*. The appended semi-diplomatic transcriptions seek to give a clearer impression of the shape of the text on the page, and more specifically the way in which clusters of notes derived from a single source sit upon the page.

Notesheet 17 is a fruitful starting point for our investigations. This document occupies the right-hand side of a larger sheet that also contains notesheet 20, according to Herring's sequence. The reverse of the large sheet contains notesheets 18 and 19, reflecting the logical way in which such a document would be used if folded in half. As shown in Transcription I, of the entries that Joyce crossed out for use in his working drafts, the overwhelming majority are struck through with red crayon. Many entries on this notesheet find a home in the 'tailpiece' of 'Oxen of the Sun', a coda of sorts that represents the 'afterbirth' of the English language. As Davison has argued in her essay 'Oxtail Soup: Dialects of English in the Tailpiece of the "Oxen of the Sun" episode of *Ulysses*' (also in this issue of *Genetic Joyce Studies*) this aspect of the work has received an insufficient amount of scholarly attention. Moreover, a great deal of work remained to be done with regards to sourcing the notes contained in this document, and maybe understandably, notesheet 17 was left entirely untouched in Janusko's *Sources and Structures*. This task may have been neglected owing to the fact that it has sometimes been assumed that the notes here were not taken from printed sources. For example, Herring claims that 'Much of the American slang in the "Oxen" notesheets was probably supplied by Ezra Pound'.^{xi} Pound's acquaintance with Joyce began in December 1913, after W.B. Yeats suggested that Joyce's lyric poems might be suitable for inclusion in the anthology of Imagist poetry that Pound was preparing. As Forrest Read notes, 'A prolonged correspondence began, which grew into a long-standing friendship'.^{xii} However, the two men did not meet until June 1920. There is no evidence that Joyce canvassed Pound's letters as sources for 'Oxen'. Further preconceptions about the nature of notesheet 17 are acknowledged by Downing when he writes that:

Seven of the twenty sheets – 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 17, and 18 – are either entirely devoted to narrative, thematic, and other non-stylistic matters, or else contain potentially stylistic material that has not yet been sourced at all, though it may seem likely, given some groups of entries, that one or more of the so-far entirely unsourced sheets may yet prove to contain some stylistic entries.^{xiii}

It has not been our policy to approach the notesheets with an *a priori* idea of what is a 'stylistic' source or not, but rather to treat the notesheets as whole, dynamic working documents.

As can be seen in Transcription II below, a large proportion of the notes (approximately 100 of 160 discrete entries) have now been traced to printed sources, shedding light upon the (literary) sources for the American slang, and attributing a great number of the dialect terms to a variety of printed sources. A cluster of notes in Italian in the bottom left-hand corner remain completely unsourced, but it is likely that these belong to a single source that describes various methods of birth control. It seems highly probable

that these notes are connected to the reproductive theme of the chapter, rather than to Joyce's literary-linguistic preoccupations. It is perhaps telling that Joyce should record notes on contraception in the same location that he used to gather vocabulary for the chapter's conclusion. The heady, drunken tailpiece of 'Oxen' provides an ironic counter to the cry of 'Copulation without population! No say I!' [U 14.1422] that forms a part of the narrator's salute to Theodore Purefoy as progenitor.^{xiv} However, it should be noted that none of the Italian contraceptive terms have been detected in the published version of the chapter. There are, inevitably, further odd notes that have escaped the grasp of our best attempts. It is hoped that this new presentation of the material will enable further gains to be made in sourcing the notesheet.

Dating the Notesheet

A precise earliest date for the notesheet – or at least a portion of it – is possible owing to the fact that Joyce took a series of notes from horseracing reports in the *Freeman's Journal* for Saturday April 17, 1920. This evidence provides an effective time-stamp, and prompts a reconsideration of where notesheet 17 sits in the genetic evolution of the chapter. Further details about Joyce's use of these articles can be found under the heading 'The Sources' below.

A date post-April 17, 1920 for at least some of the material on notesheet 17 has important implications for the composition history of 'Oxen of the Sun'. Two drafts of the chapter survive, spread across the Joyce collections at the State University of New York at Buffalo and the National Library of Ireland (NLI). The first extant draft comprises two copybooks at Buffalo (MSS V.A.11-12) that Peter Spielberg has argued cover about a quarter of the episode each (Speilberg cited in *JJA* 14: ix), and two more copybooks at the NLI (MSS 36,639/11/A&B) that continue the draft including a preliminary version of the tailpiece.^{xv} A more developed draft can be found in MSS V.A.13-18 at Buffalo, a series of six copybooks numbered I, II, IV, VI, VII and VIII by Joyce. The missing pieces of this draft came to light in 2002 when the NLI acquired a significant number of further *Ulysses* manuscripts. These papers include three copybooks that represent sections III, V and IX of Joyce's more developed draft of the chapter, along with three loose leaves that contain the tailpiece. Given the structural conceit of 'Oxen of the Sun', it is likely that the nine copybooks represent the months of human gestation, and that the material contained on the loose leaves represents the afterbirth. Such a division of material seems appropriate given Joyce's conceptually different approach at the close of the chapter.

The editors of the *James Joyce Archive* have postulated that both of the extant 'Oxen' drafts probably date from between early February 1920, after Joyce finished 'Nausicaa', and March 20, 1920, when Joyce quoted passages to Frank Budgen that are a little more advanced than those in V.A.13-18 (*Letters* I, 139-140; *JJA* 14: ix). However, this is not necessarily the case, and the chunks of the later 'Oxen' draft that are now held by the NLI are revealing in this respect. The longest quotation from Joyce's letter to Budgen runs thus:

Bloom sitting snug with a party of wags, among them Dixon jun., Ja. Lynch, Doc. Madden and Stephen D. for a langour he had before and was now better, he having dreamed tonight

a strange fancy and Mistress Purefoy there to be delivered, poor body, two days past her time and the midwives hard put to it, God send her quick issue. (*Letters I*, 140)

The base text of the same passage as it appears in the later ‘Oxen’ draft (NLI MS 36,639/11/D) is close to the version that Joyce cites to Budgen (although there are some slight variations, which bring the passage closer to the way in which it appears in the published text). More striking are Joyce’s revisions and additions to this manuscript. For example, he substitutes ‘party’ with ‘covey’ (the term used in the published text of *Ulysses*), and adds phrases such as ‘scholar of my lady’s of Mercy’ and ‘of Crawford’s journal’, which remain. Thus it seems clear that Joyce was working on this manuscript *after* he wrote to Budgen, an observation that matches Luca Crispi’s recent dating of the later ‘Oxen’ draft to March-May 1920.^{xvi} There is a further question relating to the date of Joyce’s letter to Budgen itself. In the first volume of the *Letters*, Stuart Gilbert indicates that the March 20th date is questionable, presumably because Joyce appears to be responding to a letter from Budgen composed on the twenty-third. The handlist for this correspondence at Yale offers the more plausible date of March 26, 1920.^{xvii} This again serves to bring the date of the later ‘Oxen’ draft forwards in time.

Returning to notesheet 17, Joyce’s incorporation of this material into his working drafts is intriguing. A number of entries from notesheet 17 appear in NLI MS 36,639/11/B. This copybook contains the last part of the very earliest extant draft of the chapter, and is supposed to have been composed between February and March 1920. The body text of this manuscript includes phrases such as ‘jubilee mutton’ (N 17.45) and ‘schedule time’ (N 17.97), phrases that appear on notesheet 17 in close proximity to material from the *Freeman’s Journal*. If one assumes that all of the entries on notesheet 17 are post-April 17, 1920, this means that Joyce continued to work on the earlier draft until a later date than has previously been thought, hence the presence of material from a notesheet composed in late April or early May. In this case, Joyce’s confident breakdown of the chapter in his letter to Budgen from late-March 1920 is more speculative than it appears, and it is noteworthy that for the earlier sections of the chapter Joyce cites specific examples of the pastiche, whereas for the later sections he slips into generalities, describing the tailpiece as ‘a frightful jumble of Pidgin English, nigger English, Cockney, Irish, Bowery slang and broken doggerel’ (*Letters I*, 140). There is another possibility. When one turns to the material specifically from the *Freeman’s Journal* that is used by Joyce, all of the entries that I have been able to firmly locate in the manuscript appear as additions to the more developed ‘Oxen’ draft (NLI MSS 36,639/11/E&F) – meaning that this material could easily have been included during a later burst of writing and revision. It is just possible that notesheet 17 is more temporally diverse than might initially appear to be the case, and that the entries from the *Freeman’s Journal* are of a later date than some of the material that surrounds them. Unfortunately, Joyce’s handwriting and the spatial arrangement of the notesheet, are inconclusive in this regard.

Similar issues arise when examining the notesheets that fall after 17 in the sequence adopted by Herring, a sequence that presupposes that the larger sheet that contains notesheets 17-20 was used in a fairly orderly and conventional manner.^{xviii} For example, the

following passage appears in the body text of the earliest extant ‘Oxen’ draft (NLI MS 36,639/11/B): ‘Must we accept the opinion of Hippocrates that the right ovary is responsible for the males’. It is no stretch to suggest that this was inspired by the following entry on notesheet 18: ‘Hippocrates – r. ovary males’ (N 18.46).^{xix} Again there are at least two possibilities when it comes to dating the drafts against the notesheets. If all of the entries on notesheet 18 were created post-April 17, 1920 (i.e. after the notes from the *Freeman’s Journal*) then it is likely that Joyce was still working on the earlier draft of ‘Oxen’ towards the end of April. Another option is that the ‘Oxen’ notesheets – or at least a portion of them – should be thought of as non-linear documents, with fragments and clusters being inscribed on different sheets at different moments in time. Far more work is required in dating the individual notesheets against the drafts. Evidence such as the material from the *Freeman’s Journal* that provides a firm earliest date for certain entries will surely be valuable in this respect.

The relatively late date of a number of entries on notesheet 17 is also significant with regards to the method of ‘researching’ and writing the chapter. It illustrates the fact that Joyce did not simply treat the notesheets as a preliminary stage to writing, but rather as flexible working documents to be added to as and when the need arose. The date of the material from the *Freeman’s Journal* strongly suggests that Joyce continued to work on the notesheets as he drafted out the chapter, garnering important material for his portrayal of the ‘afterbirth’ of the English language as he went along.

The Sources

The last of the ‘Oxen’ notesheets probably predates the Joyces’ move to Paris in early July 1920 by no more than eight or nine weeks. As is well known, Joyce left a quantity of books behind in Trieste – the ‘Trieste Library’ mentioned above. This cache of books offers valuable insights into Joyce’s reading across the period that he was composing ‘Oxen of the Sun’ and also offers clues to the sources for the chapter. Of the sources for notesheet 17, three can be found in the Trieste Library. It is likely that the remainder were taken with the family to Paris, although it is also possible that Joyce did not personally own these particular works.

Further information about Joyce’s sources for notesheet 17 can be found below. With the exception of the notes from Edward FitzGerald and John Oswald Francis that were found by Harald Beck, these sources have all been identified by Sarah Davison and myself. For the sake of convenience I have included Herring’s line numbers when referring to individual notes: Herring flagged many of the places where notes are incorporated into the text of *Ulysses*, and this information has been repeated here with some slight amendments and referenced using Gabler’s edition of *Ulysses*.

(i) Heinrich Baumann, *Londinismen (Slang und Cant): Wörterbuch der Londoner Volkssprache sowie der Üblichsten Gauner-, Matrosen-, Sport-, und Zunftausdrücke mit Einleitung und Musterstücken, Ein Supplement zu allen Englisch-Deutschen Wörterbüchern* (Berlin: Langenscheidtsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902) [Colour-coded blue in Transcription II]

A guide to London cant and slang for German speaking readers. An earlier version of this work had appeared in 1887, but the 1902 edition was considerably expanded and better fits with Joyce's notes. The first section of the book provides an overview of the evolution of London dialect and slang, including chapters on the Essence and Users of the Vernacular, the Literature of Cant and Slang, the Origin and Linguistic Condition of Cant, Popular Jokes as Linguistic Source, and Jewish-English (Yiddish). In his notes from this portion of the work Joyce tends to hone in on terms that are explicitly discussed or defined. There follows a 'Wörterbuch der Londoner Volkssprache', in alphabetical order. Joyce's notes reflect the alphabetical sequence, and the notes on notesheet 17 are largely drawn from the letters A-C. These notes complement those identified by Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon as coming from the same edition of Baumann in 'The Lost Notebook', this time covering entries from the letters T-W.^{xx} *Londinismen* is not in the Trieste Library. Joyce's notes from this source are as follows:

dead cert (N 17.15)

Baumann 27: **cert** 'that's a dead ~'.

U 14.1513-4: 'Had the winner today till I tipped him a dead cert.'

ad lib (N 17.17)

Baumann 2: **ad lib** defined.

U 14.1500-1: 'He've got the chink *ad lib*.'

chokey (N 17.31)

Baumann 29: under the second definition of **choker**: 'choakee, chokey'.

U 14.1518-9: 'Land him in chokeechokee if the harman beck copped the game.'

catched (N 17.31)

Baumann 26: **catch** and **catchee** both defined.

U 14.489-90: 'womenfolk skipping off with kirtles catched up soon as the pour came.'

cowslips (N 17.32)

Baumann 38: **cowslip** is listed as theatre slang.

U 14.1522-3: 'Dinna forget the cowslips for hersel.'

scrum* (N 17.32)

Baumann 199: **scrum** '= scrimmage'.

U 14.1463: 'Heave to. Rugger. Scrum in.'

tootsy* (N 17.32)

Baumann 255: **tootsies** defined.

U 14.1463-4: 'Wow, my tootsies!'

Seedy & washed out (N 17.57)

Baumann xxii: 'Got (= I have got) an awful cold, bin (= I have been) to five balls, can't (= one cannot) refuse, y'know (= you know). Getting (= I am getting) seedy and washed out.'

U 14.1548-9: 'Seedy cuss in the Richmond?'

U 14.1403-4: 'Ward of watching in Horne's house has told its tale in that washedout pallor.'

afeard/ ax (N 17.58)

Baumann xxiii: 'afeard, ax, 'em'.

Cf. U 14.1495: 'Tell her I was axing at her.'

childer (N 17.59)

Baumann xxiv: 'und der Plural childer'.

he've slep (N 17.60)

Baumann xxv: 'he've = he has'; 'slep = slept'.

U 14.1500-1: 'He've got the chink *ad lib.*'

U 14.1441: 'Where you slep las nigh?'

of they sailors (N 17.61)

Baumann xxvi: 'I *be* one of *they* sailors, who think 'tis no lie.'

namow (N 17.62)

Baumann xxxv: 'woman namow' [example of backslang].

his n (N 17.62)

Baumann xxvi: 'hisn = his'.

U 14.1501: 'Seed near free poun on un a spell ago a said war hisn.'

most wonderfulest (N 17.63)

Probably inspired by Baumann xxvii: 'beautifuller statt more beautiful, knowin'er statt more knowing' etc.

Cf. U 14.1541-2: 'if this beent the bestest puttiest longbreak yet.'

bricky (N 17.64)

Baumann xxvii: 'bricky (= bricklayer).'

soaker (N 17.64)

Baumann xxvii: 'soaker von soak u.s.w.'

U 14.835-7: 'A murmur of approval arose from all and some were for ejecting the low soaker without more ado'.

nine pound (N 17.65)

Baumann xxvii: 'Ben Jonson: give him nine pound'.

See? (N 17.66)

Baumann xxix: 'see? oder d'see? statt do you see?'

U 14.1501-2: 'Us come right in on your invite, see?'

Crikey (N 17.66)

Baumann 40: **crikey** defined.

U 14.1540-1: 'Crickey, I'm about sprung.'

stunned like (N 17.67)

Baumann xxviii: 'she seemed stunned like (= like stunned).'

U 14.1499-1500: 'Stunned like, seeing as how no shiners is acoming.'

got any chink? (N 17.69)

Baumann xxix: 'got any chink? haft du Moneten?'

U 14.1500-1: 'He've got the chink *ad lib.*'

a pushing (N 17.70)

Baumann xxix: ' 'oo are you a-pushin' of? (statt whom are you pushing?)'

sorrowful tail (N 17.71)

Baumann xxxvi: 'sorrowful tale statt three months in jail'.

I suppose (N 17.72)

Baumann xxxvi: 'She'd a Grecian "I suppose" (I suppose = nose Nase.)'

storm & strife (N 17.73)

Baumann xxxvi: 'storm and strife = wife Weib'.

duds (N 17.76)

Baumann p. xl: 'dudes, *clothes*', and elsewhere.

U 14.1575: 'Whisper, who the sooty hell's the johnny in the black duds?'

Rome boose (N 17.77)

Baumann xli: 'Rome bouse, *wyne*', and elsewhere.

U 14.1534-5: 'Eh? Rome boose for the Bloom toff.'

down with the dust (N 17.78)

Baumann cxiii: 'to down with the dust'.

tell a cram (N 17.79)

Baumann cxiii: 'tell-a-cram statt telegram'.

U 14.1517: 'Tell a cram, that.'

trumpery insanity (N 17.80)

Baumann cxiii: 'trumpery insanity statt temporary insanity'.

U 14.1550: 'Trumpery insanity.'

Dutch oven (N 17.81)

Baumann cx: 'Dutch oven'.

U 14.1513: 'Shut his blurry Dutch oven with a firm hand.'

my avuncular relative (N 17.82)

Baumann 6: **avuncular** 'co. ~ relation'.

U 14.1471: 'Avuncular's got my timepiece.'

bilker (N 17.83)

Baumann 12: **bilker** defined.

U 14.1503: ‘You larn that go off of they there Frenchy bilks?’

like old Billio. (N 17.84)

Baumann 12: **Billio** ‘like old ~’.

U 14.1441: ‘Like ole Billyo.’

bookies (N 17.85)

Baumann 16: **bookie** defined.

U 14.536-8: ‘with crimps, ostlers, bookies, Paul’s men, runners, flatcaps, waistcoateers, ladies of the bagnio and other rogues of the game’.

break from off (N 17.86)

Baumann 18: **break** ‘~ from the off’.

brismeela (N 17.87)

Baumann 19: **brismeela** ‘[hebr.] beris hamilo’.

buckled (N 17.87)

Baumann 20: **buckled** defined.

U 14.1473-4: ‘Digs up near the Mater. Buckled he is.’

broolly (N 17.88)

Baumann 19: **broolly** defined.

U 14.1442: ‘Any brollies or gumboots in the fambly?’

this bunch (N 17.89)

Baumann 21: **bunch** defined.

U 14.1448: ‘Allee samee dis bunch.’

Golly (N 17.90)

Baumann 77: **Golly** ‘by ~ !’

This phrase is also listed under ‘**by**’.

U 14.1546: ‘Golly, whatten tunket’s yon guy in the mackintosh?’

buster nix (N 17.90)

Baumann 22: **bust**, **buster** defined. The phrase ‘nix lads’ appears at the bottom of this page (under **button**).

U 14.1440: ‘All off for a buster, armstrong, hollering down the street.’

U 14.1553: ‘Nix for the hornies.’

* These two entries are unusual as they are the only notes from the ‘Wörterbuch der Londoner Volkssprache’ that do not fall under the letters A-C. ‘Scrum’s’ also appears in *Limehouse Nights* in a story entitled ‘The Knight-Errant’ (Burke, p. 247).

(ii) Thomas Burke, *Limehouse Nights: Tales of Chinatown* (London: Grant Richards, 1917)
[Colour-coded brown in Transcription II]

Limehouse Nights is a collection of fourteen short stories set in and around the Chinatown that then occupied Limehouse in the East End of London. The collection relies heavily upon sensational characters and tropes and freely indulges in the racial stereotypes of the era.

Limehouse Nights was initially banned from the circulating libraries owing to its scandalous representation of relationships between Chinese men and white women and its general ‘immorality’, but Burke received support from the likes of H.G. Wells, Ford Maddox Ford and Arnold Bennett.^{xxi} One of his best-known stories – *The Chink and the Child* – was adapted for the 1919 silent film *Broken Blossoms* or *The Yellow Man and the Girl* directed by D.W. Griffith, the story of Lucy Burrows, a young girl who is abused by her alcoholic father. Note that the heroine of the story is referred to as ‘li’l Lucia’ in Burke’s text. Burke’s narratives were widely believed to have been inspired by his own upbringing in the East End, although it subsequently emerged that he had been raised outside of the city.^{xxii} The 1917 Grant Richards edition is in Joyce’s Trieste Library. The volume is dedicated to the Welsh novelist, short story writer and dramatist Caradoc Evans, a writer who, like Burke, was interested in recording dialect as it is spoken. Joyce took a series of notes from Evans’ *My People* (1905) in late 1924 when compiling the *Finnegans Wake* notebook VI.B.14. As is the case in notesheet 17, in VI.B.14 he again records the Welsh term of endearment ‘bach’ (see the notes from John Oswald Francis below).^{xxiii} It is noteworthy that Limehouse is referred to in ‘Cyclops’ at a moment when we hear an exaggerated burst of East End dialect, and it is possible that this passage was inspired by Burke’s stories (see *U* 12.676-8). Joyce’s notes from *Limehouse Nights* are as follows:

copper’s nark (N 17.33)

The phrase ‘copper’s nark’ appears at least 11 times in *Limehouse Nights*. This phrase is also listed under ‘N’ in Baumann.

come a home (N 17.33)

Burke, ‘The Chink and the Child’, *Limehouse Nights* 25: ‘Li’l Lucia, come-a-home...Lucia.’

lou’ll/ all same (N 17.34 & 35)

Burke, ‘The Father of Yoto’, *Limehouse Nights* 50: ‘Malligold – Lou shall not go. Lou shall stay with Tai Ling. Oh, lou’ll have everything beautiful, all same English lady.’

U 14.1448: ‘Lou heap good man. Allee samee dis bunch.’

heap good (N 17.36)

Burke, ‘The Bird’, *Limehouse Nights* 184: ‘Oh, Captain – no burn me to-day, Captain. Sung Dee be heap good sailor, heap good servant, all same slave.’

For use in *Ulysses* see above. Note repetition of ‘all same’.

(iii) Joseph Crosby Lincoln, *Cap’n Eri: A Story of the Coast* (1904) [Colour-coded bright green in Transcription II]

Cap’n Eri is the most famous novel by the popular American writer Joseph Crosby Lincoln, author of numerous works set in a fictionalised Cape Cod. This light-hearted story tells of three retired sea captains who are adjusting to life on dry land: further details about the work can be found in Davison’s ‘Oxtail Soup’. As she describes, entries from this source also appear on notesheet 20. These notes, along with those from Bret Harte’s *Tales of the West* (below), are the first entries inspired by American authors to appear in the ‘Oxen’ notesheets. As this item is missing in the Trieste Library, it is not possible to say which

edition Joyce used, and references here are to the 1912 edition by A.L. Burt and Co. of New York. Joyce's notes from *Cap'n Eri* on notesheet 17 are as follows:

a spell ago (N 17.34)

Lincoln 3: "I see it on the top of the clock a spell ago," said Captain Perez.'

U 14.1501: 'Seed near free poun on un a spell ago a said war hisn.'

where in tunket (N 17.35)

Lincoln 3: "Where in tunket is my terbacker?" he asked, after finishing the round of pockets and preparing to begin all over again.'

U 14.1546: 'Golly, whatten tunket's yon guy in the mackintosh?'

clam fritters (N 17.36)

Lincoln 6: 'What started you talkin' about the grave, Perez? Was it them clam fritters of Jerry's?'

abaft (N 17.37)

Lincoln 7: 'I never heard a woman talk the way she can! She'd be a good one to have on board in a calm. Git her talkin' abaft the mains'l and we'd have a twenty-knot breeze in a shake.'

U 14.1451-2: 'No, no, Mulligan! Aaft there! Shove ahead.'

dime (N 17.28)

Lincoln 12: 'There! There she is! The Nup-ti-al Chime. A Journal of Matrimony. I see a piece about it in the Herald the other day, and sent a dime for a sample copy. It's chock-full of advertisements from women that wants husbands.'

U 14.1585-6: 'The Deity aint no nickel dime bumshow.'

sartin I do (N 17.38)

Lincoln 13: 'Sartin I do.'

U 14.1474: 'Yup, sartin I do.'

(iv) Edward FitzGerald, 'Sea Words and Phrases from the Suffolk Coast', first published in the *East Anglian, or, Notes and Queries on Subjects Connected with the Counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, and Norfolk* (1869) [Colour-coded purple in Transcription II]

FitzGerald's guide to sea-faring language opens with the following address to the editor of the *East Anglian*: 'My Dear Sir, – You have asked me to send you some of the Sea Phrases I have picked up along our Suffolk coast – from Yarmouth to Harwich – and here they are. Certainly, the only two East Anglian Vocabularies we had till within the last two years were deficient in this respect; and a considerable deficiency one must reckon it, considering how much of the country who phraseology they undertake to register, is sea-board.' FitzGerald's list of sea words and phrases first appeared in the *East Anglian* in 1869, and the article was extracted and reproduced in pamphlet form by Samuel Tymms of Lowestoft in the same year.^{xxiv} It was also republished in the *Variorum and Definitive Edition of the Poetical and Prose Works of Edward FitzGerald* (New York, 1902), vol. 6, pp. 201-83. This book was not left behind in Joyce's Trieste Library, but FitzGerald's, *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (Leipzig:

Tauchnitz, 1910) can be found there. References here are to the 1902 Variorum edition and Joyce's notes from this source are as follows:

armstrong halloring (N 17.2)

FitzGerald 207: 'ARMSTRONG. Arm in arm, "they came hallorin' down the street armstrong.'"

U 14.1440: 'All off for a buster, armstrong, hollering down the street.'

oily (N 17.3)

FitzGerald 207: 'BARM-SKIN. The oil skin, or "oily", which covers the fisherman's berm or bosom, and reaches to the "petticoats" of the same material, covering the lower man.'

U 14.152-4: 'And these fishes lie in an oily water brought there from Portugal land because of the fatness that therein is like to the juices of the olivepress.'

knife becket (N 17.4)

FitzGerald 207: 'BECKET. A sheath; knife-becket.'

betty betty (N 17.5)

FitzGerald 208: 'BETTY. To be over nice in putting things to order. "He go betty, betty, bettyin' about the boat like an old woman.'"

black meat (N 17.6)

FitzGerald 208: 'BLACK MEAT. Cured bacon.'

fanny about (N 17.7)

FitzGerald 213: 'FANNY ABOUT. A light variable wind fannies about.'

Horry war (N 17.8)

FitzGerald 217: 'HORRYWAUR.'

U 14.1522: 'Horryvar, mong vioo.'

query (N 17.9)

FitzGerald 219: The word 'query' appears twice.

U 14.1465: 'Query. Who's astanding this here do?'

sneaking regard (N 17.9)

FitzGerald 222: 'Old Nick (which by the way, is our most familiar name for him, &c., and implies a sort of sneaking regard, as if he wasn't quite so black after all, as painted.)'

U 16.1581-5: 'At his age when dabbling in politics roughly some score of years previously when he had been a *quasi* aspirant to parliamentary honours in the Buckshot Foster days he too recollected in retrospect (which was a source of keen satisfaction in itself) he had a sneaking regard for those same ultra ideas.'

Shreep (N 17.10)

FitzGerald 226: 'SHREEP. To clear away partially; as mist, &c.'

(v) John Oswald Francis, *Change: A Glamorgan Play in Four Acts* (Cardiff: Educational Publishing Co., 1910) or (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1914) [Colour-coded dark green on Transcription II]

As its title makes plain, *Change* is set in the Southern Welsh county of Glamorgan, and it concerns the changes that are afoot in the region's industrial districts. The play centers upon the Price family who are resident on the Twmp in the fictional town of Aberpandy, and the action and dialogue reflect a realist's eye for detail. Despite being all but forgotten today, *Change* was hailed as potentially signaling a literary renaissance in Wales akin to the one seen in Ireland.^{xxv} As Davison explores, there is some ambiguity over the edition that Joyce consulted. The catalogue of the Trieste Library records a c. 1910 edition from the Cardiff Educational Publishing Company. However, Joyce's note of 'Lloyd George' appears to be taken from an introduction to the play by Montrose J. Moses that only appeared in American editions, making it likely that Joyce consulted one such volume. References here are to the 1914 Doubleday edition. Joyce's brief notes from *Change* are as follows:

Meredith the bread (N 17.15)

Francis 102: 'There's Willie Meredith now, son of Meredith the Bread. Wears a box-hat every Sunday, so they do say.'

U 14.1486: 'Cribbed out of Meredith.'

U 14.1550: 'Bartle the Bread we calls him.'

Lewis bach (N 17.16)

Francis 25, 121, 137: 'Lewis bach'.

Lloyd George (N 17.17)

Francis, 'Introduction' xii: 'Now we are in the advance guard of democracy, and Lloyd George is our great man.'

(vi) Bret Harte, *Tales of the West* (London etc.: T. Nelson & Sons, n.d.) [Colour-coded orange on Transcription II]

This is another of the volumes in Joyce's Trieste Library. The book is divided into two sections. The first contains a series of nine sensational stories set on the Western Frontier, and the second a series of parodic 'Condensed Novels' the likes of 'Muck-a-Muck' described as 'A Modern Indian Novel After Cooper', 'Miss Mix' by CH—L—TTE BR—NTE, 'N.N.: Being A Novel in the French Paragraphic Style' and 'No Title' by W—LK—E C—LL—NS. It seems particularly appropriate that Joyce should draw inspiration from this popular literary parodist while working on 'Oxen of the Sun', but the notes found here mostly derive from Harte's own stories, namely 'Mliss', 'The Luck of Roaring Camp', 'The Outcasts of Poker Flat', 'Miggles' and 'The Idyl of Red Gulch'. The only parody Joyce canvassed was 'Muck-A-Muck' (see Davison). The Nelson edition is pocket-sized and light weight and was clearly designed for the mass market. The back page proudly boasts that Nelson Libraries are 'the cheapest books in the world'. Joyce also owned a copy of Harte's novel *Gabriel Conroy* (Boston and New York, 1903).

cuss (N 17.21)

Harte, 'The Luck of Roaring Camp', *Tales of the West* 49, 50, 52 : "The d—d little cuss!"

U 14.1548-9: 'Seedy cuss in the Richmond?'

teached (N 17.21)

Harte, 'Mliss', *Tales of the West* 9: '[...] I want to be taught!'

cock won't fight (N 17.23)

Harte, 'Mliss', *Tales of the West*, 40: 'Want her yourself, do you? That cock won't fight here, young man!'

This phrase is also listed in Baumann.

all serene (N 17.24)

Harte, 'The Luck of Roaring Camp', *Tales of the West* 50: "'All serene" replied Stumpy.'

U 14.1444: 'Where's Punch? All serene.'

handed in his checks (N 17.25)

Harte, 'The Outcasts of Poker Flat', *Tales of the West* 77: 'BENEATH THIS TREE / LIES THE BODY / OF / JOHN OAKHURST, / WHO STRUCK A STREAK OF BAD LUCK / ON THE 23RD OF NOVEMBER 1850, AND HANDED IN HIS CHECKS / ON THE 7TH DECEMBER 1850.'

U 14.1554: 'Chum o' yourn passed in his checks?'

madam (N 17.26)

Madame appears 13 times in *Tales of the West*.

U 14.1404-6: 'Then all being gone, a glance of motherwit helping, he whispers close in going: Madam, when comes the storkbird for thee?'

skunk (N 17.26)

Cf. Harte, 'Muck-A-Muck', *Tales of the West* 145-6: "'Why", said the Indian, in a low sweet tone, "why does the Pale Face still follow the track of the Red Man? Why does he pursue him, even as O-keechow, the wild-cat, chases Ka-ka, the skunk?'"

Cf. Harte, 'Miggles', *Tales of the West* 80: "'Extraordinary d—d skunk!" roared the driver, contemptuously.'

This term also appears in *Limehouse Nights* as follows: 'Ar, you can skulk, yeh little copper's nark, but yer in for it now. What d'I tell yeh I'd do? Answer, yeh skunk, answer! Come on!' (p. 265).

U 14.1537-8: 'Where's the buck and Namby Amby? Skunked?'

help me get tea (N 17.27)

Harte, 'Miggles', *Tales of the West* 85: 'But Miggles's laugh, which was very infectious, broke the silence. 'Come', she said briskly, 'you must be hungry. Who'll bear a hand to help me get tea?'

I reckon (N 17.29)

Harte, 'The Outcasts of Poker Flat', *Tales of the West* 61, 70, 90, 138.

tight (N 17.29)

Harte, 'The Idyl of Red Gulch', *Tales of the West* 112: "'Abner", responded Mrs. Stidger reflectively, "let's see! Abner hasn't been tight since last 'lection.'"

U 14.1507: 'In the speakeasy. Tight. I shee you, shir.'

bestest (N 17.31)

Harte, 'The Idyl of Red Gulch', *Tales of the West* 120: '[...] for I come to ask you to take my Tommy, – God bless him for the bestest, sweetest boy that lives, – to – to – take him with you.'

U 14.1541-2: 'Tarnally dog gone my shins if this beent the bestest puttiest longbreak yet.'

our Jenny (N 17.91)

Harte, 'Muck-A-Muck', *Tales of the West* 149: 'Dern their pesky skins, ef they dare to touch my Jenny'

Tarnally dog gone my shins if this aint the puttiest chance yet (N 17.92)

Harte 149, 'Muck-A-Muck': 'Eternally dog-gone my skin ef this ain't the puttiest chance yet'.

For use in *Ulysses* see the above note for 'bestest'. Note that 'bestest' overlaps with Baumann's description of the colloquial use of the '-est' suffix in London dialect.

(vii) *Freeman's Journal*, Saturday April 17, 1920 [Colour-coded pink on Transcription II]

Joyce's notes are taken from two adjacent columns that appear on page 3 of the above issue, both of which contain reports of the previous days' horseracing fixtures. The first, entitled 'Square Measure Wins Chief Event', is an account of the racing at Derby, and 'Remarkable Double' features the victory of a horse named St. Pam in the Leopardstown Chase. Horseracing is, unsurprisingly, the most heavily featured sport in this section of the paper, but a range of other sports are also covered, including football. This is possibly the source of inspiration for the notes 'schedule time', 'free (touch kicking)' and 'free kick', but it has not been possible to firmly source these entries. In keeping with his established approach on the 'Oxen' notesheets (cf. Davison) Joyce concentrates his attentions on the most idiomatic terms. These notes might also be said to represent a telling addition to Joyce's research on the 1904 Ascot Gold Cup. It is noteworthy that he does not return to the historic race, but rather chooses the most contemporary source possible. Indeed the references to the Gold Cup race that appear in 'Oxen' could now be seen as a composite of the earlier and later race reports. The notes derived from the *Freeman's Journal* are as follows:

did the donkey work (N 17.39)

'Square Measure': 'Orange Prince did the donkey work for five furlongs'.

a strong order (N 17.40)

'Square Measure': 'The chief attraction was the Doveridge handicap, for which Lord Derby's Dauegolt was a strong order'.

entered into the picture (N 17.41)

'Square Measure': 'At half way Mr. Reid Walker's sea green jacket entered into the picture'.

stripped a credit (N 17.42)

'Remarkable Double': 'Bred and trained by himself at his Co. Meath establishment, St. Pam stripped a credit to him.'

U 14.1475: 'Peels off a credit.'

got on terms with (N 17.93)

'Square Measure': 'Inside the distance Spring challenged, but failed to get on terms with Miserable'.

drew level/ drew away (N 17.94 & 95)

'Square Measure': 'before another furlong had drawn level.' 'Square Measure': 'At the distance Rigolo challenged but Natuminor drew away, to win by two lengths'.

U 14.1131-3: 'But in the straight on the run home when all were in close order the dark horse Throwaway drew level, reached, outstripped her.'

took it up/ took it up running (N 17.94 & 95)

'Square Measure': 'After going half way, Isauria took it up, followed by Night Bell colt.'

'Square Measure': 'At the distance Square Measure took it up, followed by Oberto'.

'Square Measure': 'After going half a mile Natuminor took up the running'.

fancy (N 17.94)

Sudden Fancy is the name of one of the horses featured in 'Square Measure'. The word 'fancied' appears in the sentence preceding the one quoted immediately below from 'Remarkable Double'.

flattered / compounded (N 17.95 & 96)

'Remarkable Double': 'A well-backed candidate, Kanowna, flattered until half a mile from the finish, when he compounded'.

jady (N 17.96)

'Square Measure': 'but I fear that Mapledurham must be termed jady, as she had every chance to win and was well treated.'

U 14.1514-5: 'The ruffin cly the nab of Stephen Hand as give me the jady coppaleen.'

told its tale (N 17.97)

'Remarkable Double': 'the going told its tale where many of the runners were concerned.'

U 14.1403-4: 'Ward of watching in Horne's house has told its tale in that washed out pallor.'

facer (N 17.98)

'Remarkable Double': 'My Land's defeat in the Stand Plate was a bit of a facer for those who laid the odds on this much-talked-of five years old'.

hot order (N 17.100)

'Remarkable Double': 'it was on his reputation of the long ago that he was such a screamingly hot order yesterday.'

U 14.1516-7: 'Mare on form hot order.'

(viii) Unknown source relating to methods of birth control [Colour-coded red on Transcription II]

These notes most likely come from a single Italian source describing various methods of birth control. However, it is also possible that Joyce was using an English source, which he himself then translated.

Notes on the Transcription

The transcriptions below provide an approximation of the layout of 'Oxen' notesheet 17. In Transcription I, entries are shaded the same colour as Joyce's original strike-through. Entries that remain uncrossed by Joyce are shown in plain black type. Transcription II is colour-coded to show Joyce's sources using the key described above. Entries that have not been firmly sourced are shown in plain black type. There are also a small number of

corrections to Herring's original transcription that are substantiated by evidence from sources, as follows:

'black meat' for 'block meat' (N 17.6): 'black meat' from Fitzgerald, p. 208.

'Lewis bach' for 'Lewis boch' (N 17.16): from *Change*. Lewis is a character in the play, and 'bach' is a Welsh term of endearment that appears therein.

'namow' for 'naurow' (N 17.62): from Baumann, p. xxxv [example of backslang, namow = woman].

'his n' for 'his u' (N 17.62): from Baumann, p. xxvi 'hisn = his'.

'brismeela' for '?brigmella' (N 17.87): from Baumann's glossary (p. 19): 'brismeela [hebr.] beris hamilo'.

'took it up running' for 'took it up swing' (N 17.95): from 'Square Measure' in the *Freeman's Journal*.

'facer' for '?faces' (N 17.98): Horseracing terminology from 'Remarkable Double', as above.

Conclusion

Despite the apparent chaos, notesheet 17 turns out to be an extremely focussed document. As Davison discusses at length, many of the notes are inspired by particular kinds of English dialect. These are dialects that occupy both cultural and geographical margins, be it the language of the sea, the racing turf, or the Welsh valleys, the East London docklands, or opposite coasts of the United States. The rationale underpinning Joyce's note-taking strategy is, however, not wholly straightforward. Certain terms might be included simply because they are odd and very unusual. For example, 'brismeela' (N 17.87) from *Londinismen*, and 'Shreep' (N 17.10) from FitzGerald's sea-faring vocabulary. Others occur frequently in the contexts to which they belong, and seem to be present as typical representations of a particular dialect or idiom. With such notes as 'Crikey' (N 17.66) and 'Golly' (N 17.90) from *Londinismen* it is clear that Joyce is making a written record of the most commonplace expressions. The fact that Joyce took very light notes from diverse locations in some of his sources (notably *Change* and *Limehouse Nights*) suggests that despite his clear vision for the notesheet, serendipity played a part, as is typical for him. But this does not undermine the sense of an overarching vision for the whole.

The incorporation of material from notesheet 17 into the text of *Ulysses* also shows a clear pattern. While there is, as ever, some variation in the way in which the notes are used, a large number of the entries from this sheet find a home in the chapter's tailpiece; a most appropriate destination for these unconventional Englishes. The use of the material from notesheet 17 bears witness to Joyce's ability to draw connections across diverse traditions. In several instances entries from different sources on notesheet 17 are recombined within single sentences in the tailpiece, forming new patterns of expression that blur the distinction between the various dialectical sources that were canvassed for material, be they American or native to the British Isles. Moreover, such a pattern can be discerned in the source material itself and, as shown above, a handful of notes on this sheet appear in more than one source. It is also possible that certain overlaps inspired new directions. For example, the note 'sheath' (N 17.47) appears directly beneath the word 'scabbard' (N 17.46), leading one to surmise that both notes relate to a sheath used to hold a sword or other weaponry. However, below this note are a series of entries in Italian relating to

contraceptive methods, and it is possible that the reference to battle dress inspired Joyce to think of sheaths of a very different kind.

Earlier work on sourcing the 'Oxen' notesheets has revealed Joyce's heavy use of literary anthologies, notably those by Saintsbury and Peacock. Another kind of preference is evident on notesheet 17 – an interest in dictionaries and word lists. Joyce's use of such sources suggests that he was not solely interested in literary uses of language, but in more technical ways of defining and understanding English as it is spoken. This impulse is further illustrated by the cluster of notes from the introductory chapters to *Londinismen*, which charts the history of London slang, culminating with a chapter on Jewish-English. It is possible that this study prompted Joyce's thoughts about the future direction of the language.

Finally, the relatively late date of some of the material on notesheet 17 is revealing. The evidence from the *Freeman's Journal* has implications for dating the extant drafts, and it also highlights the fact that further material was added to the notesheets while the chapter was in progress. It is therefore clear that Joyce did not simply treat these sheets as preliminary stages to writing, but that he returned to them as and when the need arose, garnering more material for specific purposes. These particular notes might be a consequence of happenstance, of reaching for the nearest paper to hand when it became apparent that more horseracing terminology was required. Then such an approach seems wholly appropriate for a document that is concerned with the language of the now, and the future.

Transcription I

Sea
 armstrong halloring
 oily
 knife becket
 betty betty
 black meat
 fanny about
 Horry war
 query.
 Shreep
 for he swore a round hand
 impregnated
 chestnut blossoms
 yeast
 Meredith the bread
 Lewis bach
 Lloyd George
 contrive to
 dead cert
 I'm about
 ad lib
 Under
 cow
 skunk
 Seedy & washed out
 afeard ax
 childer
 he've slep
 of they sailors
 namow his n
 most wonderfullest
 bricky soaker
 nine pound
 See? Crikey
 stunned like
 polis
 got any chink?
 a pushing
 sorrowful tail
 [a ?roaming] I suppose
 storm and strife
 ?panoe
 Poldy bloom
 duds
 Rome boose
 down with the dust
 tell a cram
 trumpery insanity
 Dutch oven
 my avuncular relative
 bilker
 like old Billio.
 bookies ?square
 break from off
 brismeela buckled
 broolly
 this bunch Golly
 buster nix
 our Jenny
 Tarnally dog gone my shins
 if this aint the puttiest
 chance yet
 did the donkey work drew level got on terms with
 a strong order " away took it up
 entered into the picture jady - - running
 stripped a credit fancy told its tale out of the -
 up to you flattered facer
 break compounded spurt
 jubilee mutton schedule time hot order
 ?Tarn scabbard free (touch kicking) paddock
 coito interrotto sheath - kick into his stride
 mezzo ritiro in the straight
 coit. intermet LB & bumblebee bare socks
 (8 days before & aft. not) Maledicity astounding
 pessario Culpepper to -
 spugna ovuline
 assorbente irrigate
 Fr letter powder
 capuchon

Transcription II

Sea

armstrong halloring
oily
knife becket
betty betty
black meat
fanny about
Horry war
query.
Shreep
sneaking regard
for he swore a round hand
impregnated
chestnut blossoms
yeast

Meredith the bread
Lewis bach
Lloyd George
contrive to

Acid alkali
cooked bread
tickle nipple abort

loins
handed in his
madam

sorrowful tail
help me get tea
going it some
I reckon tight
want it bad
bestest
tootsy
come a home
lou'll
all same
heap good
d come in door
Tarnally dog gone my shins
if this aint the puttiest
chance yet

apostate's creed
chokey caught
cowslips scrum
copper's nark
a spell ago
where in tunket
clam fritters
abaft real
I dime sartin I do

did the donkey work
a strong order
entered into the picture
stripped a credit
up to you
break
jubilee mutton
?Tarn scabbard
coito interrotto
mezzo ritiro
coit. internet
(8 days before & aft. not)
pessario
spugna
assorbente
Fr letter
capuchon

move a motion
cuss
precious glad
cock won't fight
all serene
checks
skunk

dead cert
I'm about
ad lib

Under
cow
skunk

Seedy & washed out
afear'd ax
childer
he've slep
of they sailors
namow his n
most wonderfulest
bricky soaker
nine pound
See? Crikey
stunned like
polis
got any chink?
a pushing
sorrowful tail
[a ?roaming] I suppose
storm and strife
?panoe
Poldy bloom
duds
Rome boose
down with the dust
tell a cram
trumpery insanity
Dutch oven
my avuncular relative
bilker
like old Billio.
bookies ?square
break from off
brismeeela buckled
brolly
this bunch Golly
buster nix
our Jenny

got on terms with
took it up
- - running
out of the -
facer
spurt
hot order
paddock
into his stride
in the straight
bare socks
astounding
Culpepper to -

bating
barring

- i I am grateful to the librarians in the Manuscripts Reading Room at the British Library for generously allowing access to the ‘Oxen of the Sun’ notesheets.
- ii Sarah Davison has discussed the perils of relying on Joyce’s well-known description of the chapter in a letter to Frank Budgen from late March 1920. See Davison, ‘Joyce’s Incorporation of Literary Source in “Oxen of the Sun”’, *Genetic Joyce Studies*, Issue 9 (Spring 2009).
- iii A more extensive account of the history of sourcing the ‘Oxen’ notesheets can be found in Gregory M. Downing, ‘Joyce’s “Oxen of the Sun” Notesheets: A Transcription and Sourcing of the Stylistic Entries, A Compilation of the Existing Transcriptions and Sourcings, Supplemented by New Sourcing Work’, *Genetic Joyce Studies*, Issue 2 (Spring 2002). It is not necessary to reiterate all of the details of that narrative, but I have made reference to key landmarks.
- iv A. Walton Litz, *The Art of James Joyce: Method and Design in ‘Ulysses’ and Finnegans Wake* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 13-5.
- v Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 489.
- vi See Downing (2002) for further details.
- vii Notably in Michael Patrick Gillespie’s article ‘A Critique of Ellmann’s List of Joyce’s Trieste Library’, *James Joyce Quarterly*, 19, no. 1 (Fall 1981), 27-36, and his *Inverted Volumes Improperly Arranged: James Joyce and his Trieste Library* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983). Gillespie ultimately published a full catalogue, with the assistance of Erik Bradford Stocker: *James Joyce’s Trieste Library: A Catalogue of Materials at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin* (Austin: Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, 1986).
- viii Downing, *ibid.*
- ix More information can be found on the project web-page, which is hosted by the Centre for Regional Literature and Culture at the University of Nottingham <<http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/crlc/research-projects/intertextual-joyce.aspx>>.
- x Downing (2002) has called attention to the importance of the actual physical details of how Joyce lays out entries on a sheet, but this information is not represented visually.
- xi Phillip Herring, *Joyce’s ‘Ulysses’ Notesheets in the British Museum* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971), p. 249.
- xii Forest Read, ed., *The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce, with Pound’s Essays on Joyce* (New York: New Directions, 1967), p. 1.
- xiii Downing, *ibid.*
- xiv All references are to James Joyce, *Ulysses*, ed. by Hans Walter Gabler et al (London: The Bodley Head, 1986).
- xv Following the conventions developed by scholars working on Joyce’s archive, I use the term ‘copybook’ to refer to a notebook or exercise book that contains draft material.

- ^{xvi} Luca Crispi, 'A Chronological List of Extant *Ulysses* Manuscripts and Typescripts', *Genetic Joyce Studies*, Issue 13 (Spring 2013).
- ^{xvii} 'James Joyce Collection – Karl Weigl Papers at Yale University, Series I. Correspondence, 1900-1952', <http://drs.library.yale.edu/HLTransformer/HLTransServlet?style=yul.ead2002.xhtml.xml&pid=beinecke:joyce&query=&clear-stylesheet-cache=yes&hlon=yes&big=&adv=&filter=&hitPageStart=&sortFields=&view=c01_1#SI>
- ^{xviii} Herring (1971) acknowledges that the sequence imposed on the *Ulysses* notesheets is somewhat arbitrary, but states that 'where a large double notesheet has been folded, it is possible to establish the sequence for as many as four sides'. The sequence for the 'Oxen' sheets was originally set up by Litz (p. 79).
- ^{xix} 'Hippocrates' is revised to read 'Empedocles of Trinacria', presumably inspired by the entry 'Empedocles of Sicily' on the same notesheet (*N* 18.24).
- ^{xx} Danis Rose and John O'Hanlon (eds), *The Lost Notebook: New Evidence on the Genesis of 'Ulysses'* (Edinburgh: Split Pea, 1989), pp. 43-8. Rose and O'Hanlon argue that these notes were entered in reverse order.
- ^{xxi} See Anne Veronica Witchard, *Thomas Burke's Dark Chinoiserie: 'Limehouse Nights' and the Queer Spell of Chinatown* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 1-2.
- ^{xxii} See Witchard, 'Thomas Burke, The "Laureate of Limehouse": A New Biographical Outline', in *English Literature in Transition (1880-1920)*, 48/2 (January 2005), 164-87.
- ^{xxiii} For details see Wim Van Mierlo, 'James Joyce and Caradoc Evans', *Genetic Joyce Studies*, Issue 7 (Spring 2007).
- ^{xxiv} This pamphlet survives in the collections of the British Library.
- ^{xxv} Montrose J. Moses, 'Introduction' to *Change*, by John Oswald Francis (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co, 1914), p. vi.