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Tamara Cuerva Cuevas

"Genetic Criticism: Oxen of the Sun, Episode of Joyce's Ulysses"

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Abstract: The terms "genetic criticism" may sound unfamiliar to us, but they are becoming a very trendy part of literature studies. Although it is true that the interest on genetic criticism is not as well spread in English speaking countries as it is in France, it is a field that is gaining more and more supporters every day.

The paper begins with a brief introduction to the field by defining what genetic criticism is, and explaining a little bit of its history. The section summarizes the most important theoretical approaches taken in the subject.

Finally, this introduction is followed by a specific commentary on Genetic Criticism as applied to James Joyce. The paper mentions the genetic work made on Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*, because it is the most genetically studied of all Joyce's works. However, I decided to focus my attention in the genetic study of the *Oxen of the Sun*, an important chapter in Joyce's *Ulysses*.

Keywords: James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake*, Genetic Criticism, *Oxen of the Sun*, *Ulysses*.

Tamara CUERVA CUEVAS

Genetic Criticism: *Oxen of the Sun*, Episode of Joyce's *Ulysses*

0. Introduction: The Origins of Genetic Criticism

Genetic criticism refers to the analysis of literary writing as a process and as an interpretation of the author's work, including his rough drafts and preliminary documents. The scholars who work in this field of literature are called geneticists. Their major aim is to reconstruct and analyse the writing process of a specific author, and not the text that is sold at the libraries. That definite text has passed through different phases such as the research of information by the author, the different phases of writing or the making of the final fair copy.

Thirty years ago, it was unthinkable to develop a trend that would study in depth the rough drafts of writers. Thank to the apparition of structuralism, text studies began to be more common. But the real impulse to genetic criticism was the development of new technologies that make easier the geneticists' work. That is why it is said that genetic criticism is a relative modern or young field of literature. To date, not many literary works have been genetically studied.

A very important institution that should be highlighted because of its major role in the development of genetic criticism is the ITEM (Institut des Textes et Manuscrits Modernes). It is precisely Daniel Ferrer, who was its director from 1994 to 1998, who is also a leader in Joyce's Genetic Group investigation. He is also a member of the team engaged in editing Joyce's *Finnegans Wake's* notebooks.

The precursors to Genetic Criticism were the old-fashioned genetic studies. Both of them analyze tangible documents of the writers' work. However, they differ at one point. Meanwhile the old-fashioned studies aimed to identify the different changes that the final manuscript has passed through, not analysing the writers' rough drafts; Genetic Criticism aims to re-create the process of writing the final text throughout the rough drafts, the different documents that were used to create a work or the multiple corrections of the final manuscript.

It is important to point out that there are two different concepts of manuscript. Manuscript was the term used to refer to the hand writings of monks and scholars in medieval monasteries. However, this concept has been evolved all through the different ages. The ancient manuscripts had the role of being the support of writing and it was understood as a way of communication. Once the paper and the technique of printing were developed by Gutenberg in the 15th century, manuscripts gradually lost their function. Some time later, during the 19th century, people began to be interested in modern manuscripts. This is how the manuscript became the rough draft that a writer uses in the process of writing. In Germany and in France, this way of paying attention to modern manuscripts started to be really important. Papers by prestigious German authors like Goethe or Schiller began to be very valuable. The French author, Victor Hugo was the first to inaugurate the trend of preserving documents when he began to protect his papers after 1827; giving only a non-autograph copy of the final text to his editors. When he died he stated in his testament: "Je donne tous mes manuscrits et tout ce qui sera trouvé écrit ou dessiné par moi à la Bibliothèque Nationale qui sera un jour la Bibliothèque des Etats-Unis d'Europe" ["I give all my manuscripts and everything written or drawn by me that could be found, to the National Library which will become one day the Library of the United States of Europe"; trans. Mine.] (Hugo 51)

Maybe the first important English speaking writer to be mentioned here is Edgar Allan Poe with his book *The Philosophy of Composition*. It was later translated by the French author Charles Baudelaire as *La Genèse d'un poème*, and it has become one of the most important books for the French Genetic Criticism. Poe stated in this book that the author is that one who "would detail, step by step, the processes by which any one of his compositions

attained its ultimate point of completion." (Poe 743) He explained his idea with the analysis of the process of writing the poem *The Raven*. However this view was not well received by the general public because of two reasons: in most of the cases the rough drafts of writers were not easily accessible for them, and the fact that those rough drafts were not clearly understood and interpreted by them.

1. Genetic Criticism and Joyce's Notebooks on *Finnegans Wake*

This section deals with the second part of this paper: the genetic study of James Joyce's work *Finnegans Wake*. Almost by accident I came across the James Joyce Collection and the *Finnegans Wake Notebooks* edited at the University at Buffalo, the largest campus in the State University of New York. It gave me the opportunity to go deeper into Joyce drafts. It should be mentioned that the interest on Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* notebooks started in the early 50's. Peter Spielberg began at that time to catalogue the notebooks at Buffalo University and he mentioned in his study the importance of the relationship between Joyce and Mallarmé. Then in 1961, Thomas B. Connolly published the first full notebook transcription in *James Joyce's Scribbledehobble: The Ur-Wordbook for "Finnegans Wake"*. It was also in the 1960's when the journal *A Wake Newslitter* began to publish some short studies on the notebooks. Later, in 1971, Roland McHugh edited the first identification of a source in a notebook, and since this publication the focus of attention of scholars changed to the language lists and sources. At the end of the same decade, David Hayman and Danis Rose published facsimiles of all the notebooks at the *James Joyce Archive*. Rose even published a complete edition of the notebook VI.B.46. Finally in the last decades, the notebooks became a core object for study of many groups of geneticists, such as Geert Lernout, Vincent Deane or Daniel Ferrer.

By the year 1922, writers had acquired the habit of keeping their manuscripts, rough drafts and any papers relate to the drafting of a work. James Joyce was one of those writers, and when he started to write *Finnegans Wake* at that time he always had with him a notebook. This notebook was very important for him, but also for today geneticists because there Joyce noted down all the words and phrases he founded in books, newspapers or conversations that he considered for inclusion in his book.

Once the author died, the notebooks were kept in possession of his family. However, in the early 1950's, all Joyce's materials (Joyce's library, manuscripts, notebooks, letters, personal possessions...) were acquired by the Lockwood Library of the University of Buffalo. There are 48 notebooks of *Finnegans Wake* kept until today- although the notebooks and drafts had previously been published in the *James Joyce Archives*; they included no transcriptions and annotations. Until now, only 6 notebooks have been published entirely analysed by the University at Buffalo. Scholars would like to publish all of them in the future. Those 6 notebooks are only the beginning of an exhaustive work made for different groups of scholars. They included facsimile reproductions of the amount of notes and drafts which Joyce wrote down during the 17 years that it last the creation of *Finnegans Wake*.

Although researchers have tried to establish the dates of this diverse material, it is important to be aware of the complexity of the task and understand any possible mistakes. Joyce was an author with a very additive and revisionist style, which is not easy to decode. It could even be said that a manuscript without any kind of transcription would be of limited used for common readers. It has to be pointed out that Joyce's notes were written for his own use and not for publication. Geneticists and editors have decided to first publish the earliest notebooks, to make easy to the readers to follow the themes and character's development. Each volume that has been brought out contains:

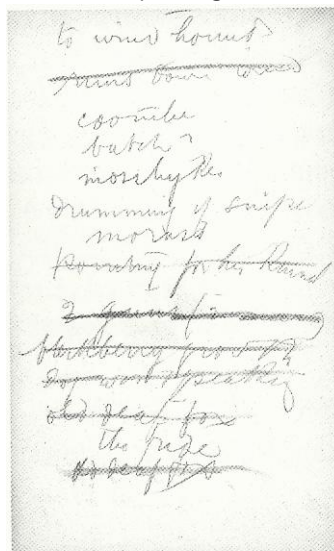
- An introduction.
- A bibliographic description, which specifies the size and condition of the notebook.
- An abstract of draft usage, which indicates the colour crayon that Joyce used in his drafts.

- Facsimile reproductions of the actual notebook pages.
- Transcriptions of Joyce's illegible writing next to the facsimile reproductions.
- Sources of the notes, sometimes with annotations.
- Catalogue numbers which indicate where the original rough drafts can be found in the British Library collection.
- An elaborate coding system, which indicates where the word can be found in the original rough draft, in the *James Joyce Archives* and in *Finnegans Wake*.

It is necessary to point out that once Joyce used a word or phrase from *Finnegans Wake's* notebooks, he crossed it out with different colours. Therefore we need the abstract of draft usage to clearly understand the facsimile reproductions. This is a very arduous work even for geneticist that sometimes they have asked themselves if Joyce himself was able to distinguish some of the colours, such as red and orange. Although one could think that only those words and phrases that have been crossed out are really interesting; scholars discovered that there is a lot of interest also in those words that have not been used. Those words and phrases not used in *Finnegans Wake* are also part of Joyce's mind and therefore important for geneticists' work.

Moreover it should be mentioned that Joyce, suffered from a problem in his eyes and sometimes he had to use an amanuensis, someone who wrote for him. Usually it was his wife Nora, his son Georgio, his daughter Lucia or his friend Paul Léon who were enrolled in that job. However, Joyce also employed Mme France Raphael as amanuensis for a long time. All the sources have been quoted extensively, which allow readers to go deeper in the lecture and draw their own conclusions.

Joyce's notebook entries have been divided into units for its edition by scholars at Buffalo University. A unit could be defined as a word, a line, a part of a line or even several lines which constitute a package of meaning. As an example, the fac-simile reproduction of VI.B.10.006 is included bellow. There it can be seen clearly that the first line "to wind hounds" constitutes a unit because it has meaning all together. On the contrary the third, fourth and fifth lines of the fac-simile, which say "coombe", "batch" and "mosshykes", are units of only one word which constitute a package of meaning.



VI.B.10.006 JJA 46:047

Something which I have found extremely useful of this book is that when a notebook page has a lot of entries and it needs to turn the page, the editors have decided to repeat that page in order to avoid the reader to turn back to see the reference.

Finally, it must be said that notably valuable appendices have been included at the end of the book. Some of them even include high quality colour reproductions of special or important pages of the notebooks.

2. Genetic Criticism and Joyce's Chapter *Oxen in the Sun*

This final section of the paper provides a possible genetic study of Joyce's chapter *Oxen in the Sun* included in his famous book *Ulysses*. The ten major categories into which Peter Spielberg split all Joyce's manuscripts that are kept at Buffalo University have not been mentioned until now. These ten categories are: "Epiphanies", "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man," "Exiles," "Verses," "Ulysses," "Finnegans Wake," "Criticism," "Notebooks," "Miscellaneous Manuscripts" and "Letters from Joyce." The paper will focus now in those manuscripts that are included in the category of "Ulysses."

The great resemblance between *Finnegans Wake Notebooks* and the *Ulysses Notebooks* should be immediately highlighted. For this reason, I decided to try myself as a geneticist with the popular chapter *Oxen of the Sun* in the *Ulysses*. In both notebooks, Joyce jotted down his ideas and a lot of phrases and words. Then, in both notebooks too, he used colour crayons to indicate whether or not he included a word or a phrase in the draft of the novel. Moreover, in both processes of writing, Joyce put into practice his process of composition of constant addition and expansion. Although this method was nothing new, because even Aristotle talked about it in his *Poetics*, it is unique the amount of expansion between the first and the final draft.

As it is generally known, the *Ulysses* is a novel which describes the adventures of Leopold Bloom in Dublin. However, all those adventures take place in just one day: 16th June 1904. Perhaps when the name "Ulysses" is heard, people immediately trace a line with the *Ulysses* written by Homer in the ancient times. That same line was traced by James Joyce when writing his novel. In fact, there are a lot of parallelisms between the two works which is reflected in the characters and events. The 14th chapter in Joyce's novel which is named *Oxen of the Sun* corresponds to the 12th book entitled *The Cattle of the Sun* in Homer's poem. In order to easily trace the parallelisms between the two chapters and to make easier the geneticist's work, the paper will now give an account of both arguments.

The Cattle of the Sun is a chapter that continues with Odysseus' story. At that time, Odysseus returns to Aeaea in order to give his fellow Elpenor the traditional funeral rites. Before starting the trip, Circe provides him instructions and advice which will help them to reach their destination. Odysseus transmits this advice to his troop and then they continue their trip. Initially, they must deal with the Sirens' irresistible songs, which try to attract sailors to their coast reef. Odysseus obeys Circe's instructions and fills his men's ears with beeswax and obliges them to tie him to the mast of the ship. He is the only man who hears the Sirens' song and begs his troop to release him in order to go to the sirens. Fortunately, his fellows do not hear him. Then, they have to avoid the "Clashing Rocks" which only the ship of the Argonauts had succeeded in doing. Odysseus' decision to bypass the "Clashing Rocks" proves right, but now, they have to choose to combat either "Schylla" or "Charybdis," two terrible marine monsters. Schylla is a six-headed monster who swallows one sailor for each head when a ship passes near her. Charybdis is a huge whirlpool that could swallow the entire ship. Odysseus follows Circe's advice again and the ship confronts Schylla, who ingests 6 men of his troop. After all those dangers, they have to overcome the temptation of Thrinacia Island of the Sungod Helios. Once they are at this island, they can do whatever they want except for harming the sacred cattle of the Sungod. At the beginning, the troop respects the island and rests there with the supplies they have. But once the supplies are over, one of the sailors, Eurylochus, convinces the rest of the troop to kill and eat the cattle of the Sungod Helios. They do this while Odysseus sleeps. When the Sungod Helios discovers it, he asks Zeus to punish Odysseus and his troop. As Circe's predicted, the whole troop dies in a storm at sea which causes the ship to sink. Only Odysseus, after escaping from Charybdis again, survives and arrives to Ogygia, Calypso's island.

Oxen of the Sun tells the story of Leopold Bloom going to the maternity hospital to visit Mina Purefoy who has just given birth to a child. Then, Bloom meet Stephen, Buck Mulligan and some medical student friends and they go to a pub to drink and celebrate the birth of the baby. During that meeting, Bloom sometimes feels out of place because he is the only man who has not medical knowledge. They discuss different themes in a very high tone, such as the decision of saving either the mother or the baby in a complicate birth. Therefore the nurse comes several times to ask them to be quiet. Finally they decided to continue with the celebration in a pub. Bloom decides to go with them in order to accompany Stephen, who is severely drunk.

Apparently there are not parallelisms between the two stories. However, this paper proves all the connections that Joyce traced between Homer's work and his own work. This information could be found in the *Ulysses Notebooks* previously mentioned, where 8 sections are dedicated to the writing of the *Oxen of the Sun*: V.A.11, V.A.12, V.A.13, V.A.14, V.A.15, V.A.16, V.A.17 and V.A.18. All these notebooks were written by Joyce's hand in ink. The two first, V.A.11 and V.A.12 contain many corrections, insertions and additions in ink and pencil on versos (the back side of a page) and in margins of rectos (the front side of a page) of each page. However, the rest of the notebooks just contain some corrections, insertions and additions, also in ink or pencil. Having a look at these notebooks, it is clearly understood that Joyce, besides drawing parallelisms to Homer's story, also attempted to summarise the entire history of the English language from Beowulf to Dickens. Therefore, from this point on, the paper deals with two topics: parallelisms with Homer and tracing the history of English literature.

As it has been previously mentioned, there are some parallelisms with Homer's *Odyssey*. It is a very important part of geneticists' work to find these parallelisms between the two authors because their work does not only consist on analysing the authors' writing, but in trying to place them among all the important authors in literary history. The first simple correlation that can be drawn is that at the beginning of Joyce's chapter, Bloom has just woken up from his nap in "Nausicaa" as Odysseus has just woken up in the island next to Circe. The fact that Joyce used the name "Nausicaa" is another wink to Homer's *Odyssey*, but it is not related to the chapter *Oxen of the Sun*. The second similarity that can be traced is presented in Joyce's chapter, when men mock women and the process of giving birth. Bloom call out to them to moderate their comments resembles Odysseus warning his men against any harm to the sacred cattle of the Sungod Helios, and their subsequent disobedience.

The theme of profaning the sacred cattle in Homer's *Odyssey* is associated with the disrespectful discussion of pregnancy and birth in Joyce's *Ulysses*. Another correlation is Zeus' thunderbolt to provoke the fatidic storm in Homer's *Odyssey*, which comes as the thunderclap which makes Stephen to fear that his blasphemies has been heard by God. However, the core similarity here is made between the sacred oxen and fertility. In Joyce's *Ulysses* the principal theme of conversation among the men is pregnancy and giving birth. Despite the pain that women have to endure when giving birth, men make jokes on it and do not sympathized with women's torment. Bloom is the only man who feels empathy with women and recognizes some kind of sacred value in them, which traces a direct link with the sacred cattle in Homer's *Odyssey*. Bloom thinks of his absent mother and explains how he "felt with wonder women's woe in the travail that they have of motherhood." (Joyce, 14.316) Like Bloom, Odysseus is the only man of his troop to take seriously Circe's advice of not harming the sacred cattle.

By now, it should be obvious that *Oxen of the Sun* is possibly the hardest chapter of Joyce's *Ulysses*. It is even more difficult when attention is directed to the technique used by Joyce to trace the entire history of English literature by drawing the parallel to women's gestation. Therefore, it could be stated that the progression of the language corresponds to the nine-month gestation period before the birth of the child. However, that difficulty is also the reason why this chapter is one of the most remarkable chapters in the book. To

represent this gestation and evolution of the English literature, Joyce adopted different prose styles from various time periods of literature and imitated the most famous authors in a chronological order. It begins with Latinate prose, followed by Anglo-Saxon alliterate verse, and moving on first to the Renaissance, then to the characteristic style of the 18th and 19th centuries, and finally ending in a contemporary 20th century mix of Irish dialects and Dublin slang, which anticipates the mixture of languages in *Finnegans Wake*.

As Sarah Davison says in her article "Genetic analysis reveals Joyce's practice in this episode to be less consistent than hitherto thought." (Davison 1) She explains that genetic studies have felt to really understand this chapter. Most of the scholars have based their studies on this chapter in the following letter written by Joyce to Frank Budgen on 20 March 1920:

[I] am working hard at *Oxen of the Sun*, the idea being the crime committed against fecundity by sterilizing the act of coition. Scene, lying-in hospital. Technique: a nineparted episode without divisions introduced by a Sallustian-Tacitean prelude (the unfertilized ovum), then by way of earliest English alliterative and monosyllabic and Anglo-Saxon ('Before born the babe had bliss. Within the womb he won worship.' 'Bloom dull dreamy heard: in held hat stony staring') then by way of Mandeville ('there came forth a scholar of medicine that men clepen etc') then Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* ('but that franklin Lenehan was prompt ever to pour them so that at the least way mirth should not lack'), then the Elizabethan chronicle style ('about that present time young Stephen filled all cups'), then a passage solemn, as of Milton, Taylor, Hooker, followed by a choppy Latin-gossipy bit, style of Burton Browne, then a passage Bunyanesque ('the reason was that in the way he fell in with a certain whore whose name she said is Bird in the hand') after a diarystyle bit Pepys-Evelyn ('Bloom sitting snug with a party of wags, among them Dixon jun., Ja. Lynch, Doc. Madden and Stephen D. for a languor 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') and so on through Defoe-Swift and Steele-Addison-Sterne and Landor-Pater-Newman until it ends in a frightful jumble of Pidgin English, nigger English, Cockney, Irish, Bowery slang and broken doggerel. This progression is also linked back at each part subtly with some foregoing episode of the day and, besides this, with the natural stages of development in the embryo and the periods of faunal evolution in general. The double-thudding Anglo-Saxon motive recurs from time to time ('Loth to move from Horne's house') to give the sense of the hoofs of oxen. Bloom is the spermatozoon, the hospital the womb, the nurse the ovum, Stephen the embryo. How's that for high? (Gilbert 139-40)

Although the letter promises that *Oxen of the Sun* will reveal the evolution of English literature, it was not written with the intention of being a study guide for the chapter. Therefore scholars should not only base their work in this letter but in other sources too. Among the most important scholars that document this episode are Robert Janusko, who wrote the fullest study of the episode to date, Jeri Johnson and Terence Killeen. It is interesting to see that each scholar uses a different term to describe the variations in this chapter: "source" for Janusko, "style" for Johnson and "parody" for Killeen.

Although the quotations in parenthesis of the letter do not correspond entirely to the final text of the *Ulysses*, most of them remain easily recognisable. The schema set out in the letter to Budgen and its relation to the final text is part of the geneticist's work. Before writing *Oxen of the Sun*, Joyce produced an amount of notes related to vocabulary, embryology and the stages of human gestation. In 1938 nearly 3000 notes arrived to the British Museum where they were transcribed by Phillip Herring in *James Joyce's Notesheets in the British*

Museum (1972). As Joyce was particularly interested in showing period diction, he tried to conserve the vocabulary and syntax that he initially thought to a particular period.

Janusko, who has been previously mentioned, was the first scholar who used these British Museum note-sheets to identify Joyce's sources. It is a very laborious work that he achieved that extraordinary success in an age without computers. Janusko began with the clue of an interview made to Joyce by Richard Ellmann in 1954, where Joyce stated that he was studying George Saintsbury's *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (1912) meanwhile he was writing *Oxen of the Sun*. In his thesis, Janusko was able to identify 400 sources and nearly 800 when he published in 1983 his work under the title of *Sources and Structures*. Nowadays with the progress in genetic Studies, it is known that Joyce also used other anthologies such as William Peacock's *English Prose from Mandeville to Ruskin* (1903); A.F. Murison's *Selections from the Best English Authors (Beowulf to the Present Time)* (1901); or Annie Barnett and Lucy Dale's *An Anthology of English Prose (1332 to 1740)* (1912).

The most recent study of the notes for *Oxen of the Sun* was made by Gregory Downing in 2002 for *Genetic Joyce Studies*. Still to the date, it has only been unearthed 1000 sources. Therefore, *Joyce's Note-sheets in the British Museum* written by Phillip Herring has an important role in the decoding of *Oxen of the Sun's* genesis. They consist of 6 double sheets folded, which Herring numerated in 20 individual note-sheets. Although it could seem that apparently there is not order in the entries, there is enough evidence to think that Joyce made it in that way on purpose to stage the historical progression of English literature.

One of the most studied note-sheets is the third one. As the rest of the note-sheets, it is composed by a centre column horizontal and a left margin horizontal. The centre column horizontal collects fragments from contemporary text which Joyce named as the group of the "Elizabethan chronicle style." It is unique because it contains the notes and the names of the authors that Joyce intended to explore: Berners, Elyot, More and Latimer. The left margin horizontal is a mix sack, completed probably after the centre column horizontal. It is composed by a series of entries of Swift's works, some excerpts from Holinshed in Peacock and a glimpse from *The Study of Words* (1892) on language change. Most of the notes do not have the typical characteristics of the author depicted by Joyce. Therefore it is amazing how Joyce transformed these earliest notes in the final extraordinary work they became.

A new step is made when those notes and sources are incorporated in the final text of *Oxen of the Sun*. To analyze where the note-sheets are finally integrated in the chapter is not easy and it requires a lot of readings of it. In the analysis of the Notesheet 3, it is specially examined the notes related to Swift. For instance, Stuart Gilbert in his *James Joyce's "Ulysses"* argued that Dixon's "bovine fantasia" is similar to Swift's discourse in *A Tale of a Tub*. However, not many notes were written by Joyce saying that they correspond to Swift's works. Janusko once suggested that it could be due to the fact that Joyce was familiar enough to Swift's style and vocabulary that he was able to reproduce it without taking notes. Surprisingly, most of the entries related to Swift are made at the end of the chapter, in the last 200 lines. Base on the evidence available, it appears that each paragraph of *Oxen of the Sun* depicts many authors and their correspondent English literary periods. It could even be affirmed that no paragraph can be described as "univocal," in Michael Bakhtin's sense of the word. A good example for this plurality of voices is lines U 14.533-545:

He was a kind of sport gentleman that went for a merryandrew or honest pickle and what belonged of women, horseflesh or hot scandal he had it pat. To tell the truth he was mean in fortunes and for the most part hankered about the coffeehouses and low taverns with crimps, ostlers, bookies, Paul's men, runners, flatcaps, waistcoateers, ladies of the bagnio and other rogues of the game or with a chanceable catchpole or a tipstaff often at nights till broad day of whom he picked up between his sackposssets much loose gossip. He took his ordinary at a boilingcook's and if he had but gotten into him a mess of broken victuals or a

platter of tripes with a bare **tester** in his purse he could always **bring himself off with his tongue**, some randy quip he had from a **punk** or whatnot that **every mother's son** of them would **burst their sides**.

Key: **Daniel Defoe** **Jonathan Swift** **Sir Henry Wotton** **Sir Philip Sidney**

As it can be easily seen, the dominant echo is from Daniel Defoe, but three other authors are present too: Jonathan Swift, Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Philip Sidney.

Despite all the information that scholars have gathered, little is known about the last lines U 14.941-1309. These lines are perhaps the least identified lines of the whole chapter. This could be due to the fact that the last lines derive into a series of dialects and slangs. However, Janusko found enough evidence of Carlyle's style and said that it was the last distinguishable voice of the chapter. It could be declared that the final work is more complicated than the initial work that Joyce mentioned in his letter to Budgen.

3. Conclusion

In this paper I have offered a brief introduction to Genetic Criticism, referring in particular to James Joyce's work and subsequent critical studies. Genetic criticism is a promising critical approach that enables scholars to trace the writing steps behind a literary piece. It is especially important in the case of complex works such as Joyce's *Ulysses* or *Finnegans Wake*.

After presenting the most important landmarks in Genetic Criticism, I have offered a close reading of *Oxen of the Sun*, possibly the most important episode in *Ulysses* along with *Circe*.

Acknowledging that Joyce's work in this episode will deserve a much more in depth study, and under the limitations imposed by the format of this TFG, I hope I have succeeded in drafting the potentialities of Genetic Criticism for the analysis of literary works in general, and of Joyce's creations in particular.

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Bioprofile of the author

Tamara Cuerva Cuevas has a degree in English Studies in the Complutense University of Madrid, 2009-2013 year. She studied one year in the Université Catholique de Louvain-la-Neuve in Belgium, where she had the chance to get in touch with the French literature too. Now, she is going to course the master of teachers' training. In the future, she plans to be specialized in one of the fields of the English literature. Contact: <tamarasotillo@msn.com>

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