

A *ULYSSES* MANUSCRIPTS WORKBOOK

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James Joyce developed a relatively consistent creative practice throughout his career from *Dubliners* to *Finnegans Wake*. Therefore, it is possible to organize the textual archive of *Ulysses* into various kinds of manuscripts. This analytic guide to the genetic dossier of *Ulysses* is comprised of several overlapping taxonomies that should be useful to scholars already familiar with these documents as well as to those who are exploring the material for the first time.

This workbook provides a standardized glossary of terms and categorizes the manuscripts accordingly. The Census in the Appendix sets out the relationships amongst the documents by episodes. Together they are revised and amplified versions of Appendices 1 and 2 in my *James Joyce and the Construction of Characters in 'Ulysses': Becoming the Blooms* (Oxford University Press, 2015). I have also included descriptions of both known missing manuscripts and postulated missing manuscripts, and have taken into account the fact that Joyce transferred notes not just once but a second and often third time, creating third- and fourth order notes on mixed note repositories. Since my analyses in *Becoming the Blooms* were focused solely on the extant manuscripts, the inclusion of missing and postulated manuscripts in this new census has necessitated a reclassification of the extant drafts as well. For more information, also see my 'Joyce at Work on *Ulysses*: 1917–22' ([GJS 2013](#)).

The hyperlinks in **bold** black font are to the relevant headings in this document. The hyperlinks in **green** font open the National Library of Ireland's web images of the manuscript, the hyperlinks in **red** font open the bibliographical descriptions I prepared of the Buffalo *Ulysses* manuscripts and notebooks, and the hyperlinks in **blue** font open other websites, all in separate windows.

I would like to thank Daniel Ferrer for his helpful suggestions as I was rewriting the glossary and preparing the census, and Ronan Crowley for sharing his research on the 'Circe' manuscripts.

ALPHABETICAL LISTING

AMANUENSIS OR SCRIBAL COPY OF A MANUSCRIPT

COLLATERAL FAIRCOPY MANUSCRIPT

EARLIER DRAFT

FAIRCOPY MANUSCRIPT FOR TYPESCRIPT

FIRST-ORDER NOTEBOOK

FOURTH-ORDER NOTES

INTERMEDIARY DRAFT AND INTERMEDIATE FAIRCOPY MANUSCRIPT

LATER DRAFT

MANUSCRIPT

MISSING EARLY/EARLIER DRAFT

MISSING LATER DRAFT

MISSING PROTO-DRAFT AND FRAGMENTARY TEXTS

MIXED FAIRCOPY MANUSCRIPT

MIXED-ORDER NOTE REPOSITORY

PAGE PROOF

PLACARD

POSTULATED MISSING EARLY/EARLIER DRAFT

SEQUENTIAL LISTING

EXTANT DRAFTS:

PROTO-DRAFT AND FRAGMENTARY TEXTS

EARLIER DRAFT

INTERMEDIATE DRAFT

LATER DRAFT

MISSING DRAFTS:

MISSING PROTO-DRAFT AND FRAGMENTARY TEXTS

POSTULATED MISSING PROTO-DRAFT AND FRAGMENTS

MISSING EARLY/EARLIER DRAFT

POSTULATED MISSING EARLY/EARLIER DRAFT

POSTULATED MISSING INTERMEDIATE DRAFT

MISSING LATER DRAFT

POSTULATED MISSING LATER DRAFT

POSTULATED MISSING FINAL DRAFT

FAIRCOPIES:

INTERMEDIATE FAIRCOPY

AMANUENSIS OR SCRIBAL COPY OF A MANUSCRIPT

ALPHABETICAL LISTING

POSTULATED MISSING FINAL DRAFT
POSTULATED MISSING INTERMEDIARY DRAFT
POSTULATED MISSING LATER DRAFT
POSTULATED MISSING PROTO-DRAFT AND FRAGMENTARY
PROOF LEVEL
PROTO-DRAFT AND FRAGMENTARY TEXTS
SECOND-ORDER NOTE REPOSITORY
SERIAL PUBLICATION
THIRD-ORDER NOTES
TYPESCRIPT FOR *ULYSSES* IN THE *LITTLE REVIEW*
TYPESCRIPT FOR *ULYSSES*
ULYSSES

SEQUENTIAL LISTING

COLLATERAL FAIRCOPY MANUSCRIPT
MIXED FAIRCOPY MANUSCRIPT
FAIRCOPY MANUSCRIPT FOR TYPESCRIPT

TYPESCRIPTS:
TYPESCRIPT FOR *ULYSSES* IN THE *LITTLE REVIEW*
TYPESCRIPT FOR *ULYSSES*

PROOFS:
PLACARD
PAGE PROOF

NOTES:
FIRST-ORDER NOTEBOOK
SECOND-ORDER NOTE REPOSITORY
THIRD-ORDER NOTES
FOURTH-ORDER NOTES
MIXED-ORDER NOTE REPOSITORY

ULYSSES IN PRINT:
SERIAL PUBLICATIONS
ULYSSES

Amanuensis or Scribal Copy of a Manuscript: These are handwritten faircopy manuscripts made by someone other than Joyce. While he wrote most of *Ulysses* in his own hand, when he was ill or too busy working on another episode, Joyce relied on friends and associates to transcribe his manuscripts to provide clean copy for a typescript and, in one case, for sale to John Quinn. Joyce dictated part of the Rosenbach manuscript of 'Wandering Rocks' to Frank Budgen because he was suffering from a recent eye attack and needed to complete the episode for publication in the *Little Review*. Furthermore, when Joyce had secured the publication of *Ulysses* by Shakespeare and Company, Sylvia Beach recruited her sister, Cyprian, and her friend, Raymonde Linossier, to transcribe portions of 'Circe' to fill in a lacuna in the episode's Rosenbach manuscript as well as to assist the typists.

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
10. 'Wandering Rocks'	Composite Rosenbach MS for the Typescript	January–February 1919: Zurich
15. 'Circe'	Buffalo MSS <u>13.b</u> & <u>13.d</u>	January–May 1921: Paris

Collateral Faircopy Manuscript: These are the most unusual manuscripts in the *Ulysses* archive. Given the variations in the text between these manuscripts and the typescripts that were used to setup the different episodes of *Ulysses* in print, it is not entirely clear when or why Joyce wrote them. One of the reasons he prepared these manuscripts was to produce clean faircopies for sale to John Quinn, but that alone cannot account for the wide disparity in places between the text on these manuscripts and the earlier drafts, or between the text on these manuscripts and the subsequent typescripts. Since Joyce almost always wrote in a linear, accretive manner whereby later manuscripts contain more and further advanced text, in effect portions of these Rosenbach manuscripts are authorial forgeries that do not correspond to the typescripts and often the episode's earlier manuscripts. (Therefore, they also differ in places from all the printed editions of *Ulysses* prior to the 1984 Gabler edition. The authority of these manuscripts in the line of textual transmission is at the crux of some of the debates about the editorial decisions made in the preparation of *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition* and so of the reading text in the Gabler edition of *Ulysses*.)

There are numerous and sometimes substantial variations in the text between the Rosenbach manuscripts for certain episodes and their typescripts, but there is not enough textual or contextual information to determine the precise relationships between the extant individual 'faircopy' manuscripts and their related typescripts. Obviously, the situation is different for different episodes. On the one hand, it is possible that for some episodes certain now lost manuscript(s), separately and differently,

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produced both its Rosenbach manuscript as well as its typescript. On the other hand, one or more subsequent manuscripts most likely intervened between the Rosenbach manuscripts and the typescripts, or possibly at times vice versa. Although the complexity of the textual issues surrounding the collateral Rosenbach manuscripts for certain episodes has been well known at least since the mid-1980s, further textual, material, and historical research still needs to be carried out. Until further manuscripts appear, all we can do is speculate about the textual relationships between the extant documents. For further information about this kind of manuscript, see [Faircopy Manuscripts for Typescripts](#), [Intermediate Faircopy](#), [Mixed Faircopies](#), and [Postulated Missing Final Manuscript](#).

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
4. 'Calypso'	Rosenbach MS	February 1918: Zurich
6. 'Hades'	Rosenbach MS	March–May 1918: Zurich
7. 'Aeolus'	Rosenbach MS	January–May 1918: Zurich
8. 'Lestrygonians'	Rosenbach MS	January–July 1918: Zurich
9. 'Scylla and Charybdis'	Rosenbach MS	Autumn 1918: Zurich
11. 'Sirens'	Rosenbach MS	June 1919: Zurich

Earlier Draft: This term designates a manuscript for an episode for which there are one or more subsequent manuscripts before the faircopy. As far as is known, there are no extant complete first drafts of any episode, though quite often there is first draft text on most if not all of the *Ulysses* manuscripts. Also see [Proto-draft](#), [Missing Proto-drafts and Fragments](#), [Postulated Missing Proto-drafts and Fragment](#), [Intermediate Draft](#), as well as [Later Draft](#).

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
11. 'Sirens'	<u>NLI MS 7B</u>	Late 1917–Early 1919: Zurich
14. 'Oxen of the Sun'	<u>Buffalo MSS 11 and 12</u> & <u>NLI MSS 11A and 11B</u>	February–March 1920: Trieste
15. 'Circe'	<u>Buffalo MS 19</u>	Late Spring 1920: Trieste

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
16. 'Eumaeus'	Private Collection	Revised in January–February 1921: Trieste & Paris

Faircopy Manuscript For Typescript: Joyce wrote these holograph manuscripts to provide a clean copy of the episodes for the typist and subsequently for sale to John Quinn. For further information about this kind of manuscript, see **Collateral Faircopy Manuscript**, **Intermediate Faircopy**, and **Mixed Faircopy Manuscript**.

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
1. 'Telemachus'	Rosenbach MS	September–October 1917: Zurich
2. 'Nestor'	Rosenbach MS	October–Early December 1917: Zurich
3. 'Proteus'	Rosenbach MS	December 1917: Zurich
10. 'Wandering Rocks'	Composite Rosenbach MS	January–February 1919: Zurich
12. 'Cyclops'	Rosenbach MS	September–October 1919: Zurich
16. 'Eumaeus'	Rosenbach MS	Mid–Late February 1921: Paris
17. 'Ithaca'	Rosenbach MS	August–Late October 1921: Paris
18. 'Penelope'	Rosenbach MS & <u>Buffalo MS 21</u>	July–Mid-September 1921: Paris

First-Order Notebook: Joyce created all of his works from words, phrases, and fragments of text that he culled from a myriad of printed sources, which he then slowly and carefully made his own. He compiled his notes in simple pocket notebooks, usually in pencil. He may also have used intermediary slips of paper for his note taking, though none of the loose sheets survive. Frank Budgen vividly captured these preparatory stages of the writer's creative labour:

In one of the richest pages of *Ulysses* Stephen, on the sea shore [in 'Proteus'], communing with himself and tentatively building with words, calls for his tablets. These should have been library slips, acquired by the impecunious and ingenious

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poet from the library counter [at the National Library of Ireland]. On that occasion he had forgotten to provide himself with this convenient writing material, and was forced to use the fag-end of Mr. Deasy's letter. As far as concerns the need for tablets, the self-portrait was still like, only in Zürich Joyce was never without and they were not library slips, but little writing blocks specially made for the waistcoat pocket. At intervals, alone or in conversation, seated or walking, one of these tablets was produced, and a word or two scribbled on it at lightning speed as ear or memory served his turn. No one knew how all this material was given place in the completed pattern of his work, but from time to time in Joyce's flat one caught glimpses of a few of those big orange-coloured envelopes that are one of the glories of Switzerland, and these I always took to be store-houses of building material. The method of making a multitude of criss-cross notes in pencil was a strange one for a man whose sight was never good. A necessary adjunct to the method was a huge oblong magnifying glass. (*Budgen* 176–7)

Joyce used first-order notebooks to jot down words and phrases directly from whatever he was reading, though throughout his career he rarely recorded what the sources of his notes were. He wrote these notes hastily and only for himself, which accounts for the appearance of his handwriting in this kind of notebook (as opposed to the meticulous way in which he wrote his manuscripts for his typists and other readers). Then, with variously coloured crayons, he habitually crossed through the words he had incorporated into his writings. He did not use one particular crayon colour for different episodes as some scholars had thought previously. Instead, whether working on *Ulysses* or *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce would variously use one colour crayon to cross through the notes he used on a particular draft level (that is, during the same phase of composition or revision of the text) and then use other coloured crayons for further passes through the notes.

Although there must have been many similar notebooks, only one example is extant: [Buffalo NB 2a](#), which Joyce compiled in Zurich in early 1918. There was at least one further early (presumably first-order) *Ulysses* notebook that Joyce compiled in 1918 in tandem with Buffalo NB 2a, but it only survives in the form of a partial amanuensis's transcription in [Buffalo *Finnegans Wake* MS VI.C.16](#), pp. [232]–[274], which is also catalogued as [Buffalo MS VI.D.7](#), a so-called 'Missing [*Ulysses*] Notebook' (referred to throughout as Buffalo NB D7).

Joyce first used some of the notes in Buffalo NB D7 in the Autumn of 1917 to write and/or revise the extant drafts of 'Proteus'. He then used the notebook in 1918 to write and/or revise the missing proto-drafts and/or drafts of 'Lotus Eaters', 'Aeolus', 'Lestrygonians', and presumably some of the texts that he later incorporated in 'Cyclops' and 'Wandering Rocks'. While in Zurich from June to September 1919, Joyce transferred some of the unused notes from Buffalo NB D7 to BL 'Cyclops' Notesheets 6 and 7, and used some of those notes right away to write that episode's proto-drafts. He subsequently transferred some of the further unused notes directly from Buffalo NB D7 (along with other Buffalo NB D7 notes that had already passed through the BL 'Cyclops' Notesheet 6) to the BL 'Oxen of the Sun' Notesheets in February–May 1920 when he had returned to Trieste. Joyce then

transferred still other unused notes (along with other Buffalo NB D7 notes that had already passed through the BL ‘Cyclops’ Notesheet 7) from this notebook to BL ‘Eumaeus’ Notesheet 5 in January–February 1921 when he was in Paris. Finally, later in 1921, he also transferred some still further unused notes from Buffalo NB D7 to [NLI NB 5B](#), some of which had already passed through the BL Notesheets. A single note Joyce wrote in Buffalo NB D7 and transferred to BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 6 and then again to NLI NB 5B was eventually transcribed by Mme France Raphael in a *Finnegans Wake* MS [VI.C.7](#), though eventually he did not directly use this note in *Ulysses* or *Finnegans Wake*. Mme Raphael also transcribed all of the remaining uncrossed notes from the now missing notebook to Buffalo MS [VI.C.16](#) in 1936–7 in Paris.

1st-Order Notebook	BUFFALO NB D7 (SUMMER–AUTUMN 1917):		
	Mixed-Order Note Repository (Mid 1919–Early 1921)	3rd-Order Notes (Early–Mid 1920–February 1921)	4th-Order <i>FW</i> Note Repository (Early 1935)
Buffalo Notebook D7 → (MS VI.C.16, pp. [232]–[274])	BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 4 BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 6→ BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 6→ BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 6→ BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 6→ BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 6	BL ‘Oxen of the Sun’ NS 5 BL ‘Oxen of the Sun’ NS 17 BL ‘Eumaeus’ NS 5 NLI NB 5B, p. [8r]: ‘Cyclops’→	□□□□□lo <i>FW</i> NB VI.C.7, p. [221]
	BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 7 BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 7→	BL ‘Eumaeus’ NS 5, f. 23r	
	BL ‘Oxen’ NS 8 BL ‘Oxen’ NS 17		
	BL ‘Eumaeus’ NS 5→ BL ‘Eumaeus’ NS 5 BL ‘Eumaeus’ NS 7	NLI NB 5B, p. [6v]: ‘Eumaeus’	

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1st-Order Notebook	Mixed-Order Note Repository (Mid 1919–Early 1921)	3rd-Order Notes (Early–Mid 1920–February 1921)	4th-Order <i>FW</i> Note Repository (Early 1935)
	NLI NB 5B, p. [6v]: ‘Eumaeus’		

Buffalo NB 2a (Late 1917–Spring 1918):

This is the only surviving first-order notebook that Joyce compiled for *Ulysses*. He used some of the notes in it almost immediately to write and/or revise one or more of the missing drafts of ‘Lotus Eaters’, ‘Hades’, and ‘Lestrygonians’. Later, while in Zurich from June to September 1919, he transferred some of the unused notes from this notebook to several BL ‘Cyclops’ Notesheets, some of which he subsequently transferred to BL ‘Eumaeus’ Notesheet 5 when he was in Paris in January–February 1921. Joyce also transferred some of the unused notes in Buffalo NB 2a to BL ‘Nausicaa’ Notesheet 6 and ‘Oxen of the Sun’ Notesheet 6 when he was in Trieste from September to May 1920. In Paris in 1920, he also transferred some notes from this notebook directly to BL ‘Circe’ Notesheet 3, while another note passed through BL ‘Oxen of the Sun’ Notesheets 6 before ending up there. Then, in 1921, he transferred some of the remaining unused notes from this notebook to two BL ‘Eumaeus’ Notesheets.

1st-Order Notebook	Mixed-Order Note Repository (Mid 1919–Early 1921)	3rd-Order Notes (Early–Mid 1920–Early 1921)
Buffalo NB 2a→	BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 4	
	BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 6	
	BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 7→ BL ‘Cyclops’ NS 7	BL ‘Eumaeus’ NS 5
	BL ‘Nausicaa’ NS 6	
	BL ‘Oxen’ NS 6→	BL ‘Circe’ NS 3
	BL ‘Circe’ NS 3	
	BL ‘Eumaeus’ NS 5	

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1st-Order Notebook	Mixed-Order Note Repository (Mid 1919–Early 1921)	3rd-Order Notes (Early–Mid 1920–Early 1921)
	BL 'Eumaeus' NS 6	

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For further information regarding these notes and how Joyce transferred them to later note repositories, see **Second-Order Note Repository** and **Mixed-Order Note Repository**, as well as **Third-Order Notes** and **Fourth-Order Notes**.

Fourth-Order Notes: These are notes in mixed-order note repositories that Joyce had previously gathered as third-order notes in other mixed-order note repositories. Given the large number of missing notebooks and notesheets, it is almost certain that many of the notes that are now considered second-order notes are actually third-order notes and therefore there are probably many more fourth-order notes. For information about the documents from which Joyce transferred the third-order notes, see **First-Order Note Repository** and **Second-Order Note Repository**; also see **Mixed-Order Note Repository** as well as **Third-Order Notes**.

BL NOTESHEETS WITH FOURTH-ORDER NOTES:

BL Notesheet:	Active Dates and Location:	BL ADD MS 49975 (JJA Citation):
BL 'Oxen of the Sun' NS 7	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 12v (JJA 12.29)
BL 'Circe' NS 16	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 20r (JJA 12.58)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 5	January–February 1921: Paris	f. 23r (JJA 12.69)

Intermediate Draft and Intermediate Faircopy Manuscript: These manuscripts are later versions of the episode's earlier drafts that were also written before a subsequent extant version of the text. For further information about this kind of manuscript, see **Earlier Drafts**, **Later Drafts**, **Collateral Faircopy Manuscripts**, **Faircopy Manuscripts for Typescripts**, and **Mixed Faircopies**.

INTERMEDIATE DRAFT:

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates and Location:
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Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates and Location:
15. 'Circe'	NLI MS 12	July–December 1920: Paris
15. 'Circe'	NLI Quinn MS	July–December 1920: Paris
18. 'Penelope'	NLI MS 14	Spring–Summer 1921: Paris

COLLATERAL INTERMEDIATE FAIRCOPY MANUSCRIPT FRAGMENT:

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates and Location:
14. 'Oxen of the Sun'	Cornell 'Oxen of the Sun' MS	May 1920: Trieste

Later Draft: Joyce prepared these manuscripts from either the intermediate or earlier drafts and they are the last extant drafts before the faircopy. See also **Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts**, **Missing Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts**, **Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts**, **Earlier Draft**, **Missing Early/Earlier Draft**, **Postulated Missing Early/Earlier Draft**, **Intermediate Draft**, **Postulated Missing Intermediate Draft**, **Missing Later Draft**, **Postulated Missing Later Draft**, and **Postulated Missing Final Draft**.

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates and Location:
3. 'Proteus'	Buffalo MS 3	Autumn 1917: Zurich
9. 'Scylla and Charybdis'	NLI MSS 8A , 8B , and 8C	Summer 1918: Zurich
12. 'Sirens'	NLI MS 9 & Buffalo MS 5	Early 1919: Zurich
14. 'Oxen of the Sun'	Buffalo MSS 13 , 14 & NLI MS 11C & Buffalo MS 15 & NLI MS 11D & Buffalo MSS 16 , 17 , 18 & NLI MSS 11E , and 11F	March–May 1920: Trieste
15. 'Circe'	NLI Quinn MS	July–December 1920: Paris
16. 'Eumaeus'	Buffalo MS 21	January–February 1921: Paris

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Manuscript: This is a general term that refers to all the holograph, typed and printed documents in the production of the text and the book.

Missing Early/Earlier Draft: Common sense and what we know of Joyce's creative process suggests that he wrote early/earlier drafts of all the episodes of *Ulysses*. Furthermore, his correspondence confirms that this was true of at least five of them. Joyce wrote Stanislaus Joyce on 16 June 1915: 'I have written something. The first episode of my new novel *Ulysses* is written' (SL 209). Two weeks later he announced to Ezra Pound: 'I have written a play *Exiles* and was engaged on a novel *Ulysses* of which I have written the first two episodes' (30 June 1915; unpublished; Beinecke Library, Yale University). Then, in April 1917 Joyce made his initial arrangements with Pound to publish *Ulysses* in serial form: 'As regards excerpts from *Ulysses*, the only thing I could send would be the Hamlet chapter, or part of it – which, however, would suffer by excision' (9 April 1917; SL 224–5). Just a few months later he wrote to Pound again to report his steady progress: 'As regards *Ulysses*, I managed to finish the draft of Hades' house and also the Lotus eaters and am getting together the notes for the Eolian episode' (5 June 1917; Beinecke Library, Yale University). **Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts, Missing Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts, Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts, Earlier Draft, Postulated Missing Early/Earlier Draft, Intermediate Draft, Postulated Missing Intermediate Draft, Later Draft, Missing Later Draft, Postulated Missing Later Draft, and Postulated Missing Final Draft.**

Episode:	Active Dates:	Location:
1. 'Telemachus'	July 1915–October 1916	Zurich
2. 'Nestor'	1916–October 1917	Zurich
3. 'Proteus'	1916–October 1917	Zurich
5. 'Lotus Eaters'	Before June 1917	Trieste and Zurich
6. 'Hades'	June 1917–February 1918	Zurich, Locarno, and Zurich
9. 'Scylla and Charybdis'	1916–April 1917	Zurich
15. 'Circe'	June–July 1920	Trieste and Paris

Missing Later Draft: Since the surviving later draft of ‘Eumaeus’ begins mid sentence in a new copybook, it is clear that Joyce must also have prepared at least one now missing later draft of the episode’s opening. In mid August 1920 Joyce wrote to Harriet Shaw Weaver: ‘The final adventure *Circe* is giving me in all ways a great deal of worry. I have written the greater part of it four or five times’ (16 August 1920; *LIII* 15). Even if Joyce were exaggerating the number of drafts he had written, it is quite likely that he also wrote a now missing later draft of this episode.

Also see **Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts**, **Missing Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts**, **Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts**, **Earlier Draft**, **Missing Early/Earlier Draft**, **Postulated Missing Early/Earlier Draft**, **Intermediate Draft**, **Postulated Missing Intermediary Draft**, **Later Draft**, **Missing Later Draft**, **Postulated Missing Later Draft**, and **Postulated Missing Final Draft**.

Episode:	Active Dates:	Location:
14. ‘Eumaeus’	January–February 1921	Paris
15. ‘Circe’	July–December 1920	Paris

Missing Proto-draft and Fragments: Proto-drafts are collections of fragmentary texts based on notes that Joyce usually compiled before he wrote a linear early draft of an episode. Manuscripts of this kind exist for ‘Proteus ([NLI MS 7A](#))’, ‘Sirens’ ([NLI MS 7B](#), pp. [5v]–[10r]), ‘Cyclops’ ([Buffalo MS 8](#) & [NLI MS 10](#) and [Buffalo MS 6](#)), ‘Circe’ ([Buffalo MS 19](#) and [NLI 12](#)), and ‘Ithaca’ ([NLI MS 14](#)), but it seems likely that he wrote all of the episodes of *Ulysses* from proto-drafts and fragments.

A similar kind of manuscript for ‘Scylla and Charybdis’ was part of the La Hune ‘James Joyce’ Exhibition and auction in Paris in 1948. It was part of the collection acquired by the Poetry Collection, University at Buffalo (as it is now called), but it did not arrive there with the other La Hune Joyce material in 1950 (*Spielberg* vii). What became of that manuscript is not known and it has never reappeared. The La Hune catalogue describes it as:

CHARYBDE ET SCYLLA. / (Neuvième episode) 10 grandes feuilles de papier blanc uni, manuscrit à l’encre uniquement recto. Fragments de conversations qui réapparaissent, sous une forme très différente, dans la scène de la Bibliothèque. Nombreuses marques au crayon rouge. (*La Hune* n.p., item 254; also see *Slocum and Cahoon* Item 5.b.iii, 140).

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[SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS. / (Ninth episode) 10 large white unlined sheets of paper, holograph in ink only on the rectos. Fragments of conversations that reappear, in a very different form, in the Library episode. Numerous red crayon markings.]

Joyce also wrote and dictated 'Wandering Rocks' from fragmentary texts and/or a proto-draft. On the last page of the episode's Rosenbach manuscript, he wrote: 'PP. 32–48 were written by my friend Francis Budgen at my dictation from notes during my illness January–February 1919'. While he calls them 'notes', the advanced state of the text on the Rosenbach manuscript suggests that Joyce was dictating from what we understand as a proto-draft or collection of fragmentary texts. See also **Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts**, **Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragmentary Texts**, **Earlier Draft**, **Missing Early/Earlier Draft**, and **Postulated Missing Early/Earlier Draft**.

Episode:	Active Dates:	Location:
9. 'Scylla and Charybdis'	1914–1916	Trieste and Zurich
10. 'Wandering Rocks'	1915–1918	Trieste, Zurich, and Locarno
15. 'Circe'	July–December 1920	Trieste and Paris

Mixed (Collateral and for the Typescript) Faircopy Manuscript: These are holograph manuscripts that Joyce wrote to provide a clean copy of the episode for the typist, but some individual pages are collateral to the typescripts. He probably rewrote these pages in most cases so that they would be suitable for sale to John Quinn. For further information about this kind of manuscript, see **Collateral Faircopy Manuscript**, **Faircopy Manuscripts for Typescripts**, **Intermediate Faircopy**, and **Postulated Missing Final Manuscript**.

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates and Location:
5. 'Lotus Eaters'	Rosenbach MS	February–May 1918: Zurich
13. 'Nausicaa'	Rosenbach MS	January–February 1920: Trieste

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates and Location:
14. 'Oxen of the Sun'	Rosenbach Manuscript	May 1920: Trieste
15. 'Circe'	Rosenbach Manuscript	December 1920–January 1921: Paris

Mixed-Order Note Repository: These documents are compilations of notes that contain entries that Joyce had previously gathered at various stages. While currently relatively few in number, it is most likely that many more notebook pages and notesheets in fact contain notes that Joyce had repeatedly transferred. For information about these documents, see **First-Order Note Notebook**, **Second-Order Note Repository**, **Third-Order Notes**, and **Fourth-Order Notes**.

BL NOTESHEETS WITH MIXED-ORDER NOTES:

BL Notesheet:	Drawn from the Earlier Notes:	Active Dates and Location:	BL ADD MS 49975 (JJA Citation):
BL 'Cyclops' NS 1	Second-Order and Third-Order	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 6r (<i>JJA</i> 12.02)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 8	Second-Order and Third-Order	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 8r (<i>JJA</i> 12.11)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 10	Second-Order and Third-Order	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 8r (<i>JJA</i> 12.10)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 4	Second-Order and Third-Order	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 9v (<i>JJA</i> 12.17)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 6	Second-Order and Third-Order	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 10r (<i>JJA</i> 12.19)
BL 'Oxen' NS 5	Second-Order and Third-Order	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 12r (<i>JJA</i> 12.27)
BL 'Oxen' NS 6	Second-Order and Third-Order	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 12v (<i>JJA</i> 12.28)
BL 'Oxen' NS 7	Second-Order, Third-Order, and Fourth-Order	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 12v (<i>JJA</i> 12.29)
BL 'Oxen' NS 8	Second-Order and Third-Order	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 12r (<i>JJA</i> 12.26)
BL 'Oxen' NS 17	Second-Order and Third-Order	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 15r (<i>JJA</i> 12.39)

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BL Notesheet:	Drawn from the Earlier Notes:	Active Dates and Location:	BL ADD MS 49975 (JJA Citation):
BL 'Oxen' NS 20	Second-Order and Third-Order	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 15r (<i>JJA</i> 12.38)
BL 'Circe' NS 3	Second-Order and Third-Order	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 16v (<i>JJA</i> 12.45)
BL 'Circe' NS 6	Second-Order and Third-Order		f. 17v (<i>JJA</i> 12.48)
BL 'Circe' NS 16	Second-Order, Third-Order, and Fourth-Order	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 20r (<i>JJA</i> 12.58)
BL 'Circe' NS 17	Second-Order, Third-Order, and Fourth-Order	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 20v (<i>JJA</i> 12.57)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 5	Second-Order, Third-Order, and Fourth-Order	Early 1921: Paris	f. 23r (<i>JJA</i> 12.69)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 6	Second-Order and Third-Order	Second-Order and Third-Order	f. 23v (<i>JJA</i> 12.70 and 71)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 12	Second-Order and Third-Order	Second-Order and Third-Order	f. 26r (<i>JJA</i> 12.83)

NLI NOTEBOOKS WITH MIXED-ORDER NOTES:

NLI Notebook, page: Heading:	Drawn from the Earlier Notes:	Active Dates and Location:
NLI NB 5A, p. [2r]: 'Lotus Eaters'	Second-Order and Third-Order	January–February 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5A, p. [19r]: 'Eventuali'	Second-Order and Third-Order	January–February 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5B, p. [1v]: 'Ithaca'	Second-Order and Third-Order	February–May 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5B, p. [2r]: 'Calypso'	Second-Order and Third-Order	February–May 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5B, p. [7v]: 'Eventuali'	Second-Order and Third-Order	February–May 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5B, p. [8r]: 'Cyclops'	Second-Order and Third-Order	February–May 1921: Paris

Page Proof: The process of getting a book printed is usually comprised of two basic stages: *placard* proofs (a.k.a. galley proofs; see [Placard](#)) and [Page Proofs](#). Page proofs are the latter settings of the text in printer's proofs. For *Ulysses*, these page proofs were printed as sixteen non-consecutively arranged pages; that is, these sheets were printed as a signed gathering with eight 37-line pages of text on each side that were then folded in such a way that the sixteen pages become sequential for the published book.

The publisher usually provides the printer with a complete, final working manuscript—either an author's handwritten manuscript, or, preferably, a clean, professionally prepared typescript—from which the process of setting the work in print begins. Usually the author returns one or sometimes more sets of corrected *placards* to the printer, who then sets up the gatherings of page proofs for the final printing of the book. The author indicates at each stage what corrections and revisions still need to be made. Based on the contract between the publisher, the printer, and sometimes the author, a certain number of proof settings are provided until the final proofs are all 'signed off' for the book to be printed. Then, in general, the printed gatherings are assembled, the covers are attached, and so the book is ready. Joyce's manual artistry was matched by his printers' artisanship in preparing the book: *Ulysses* was all set, printed, gathered, stitched, and bound with paper covers by hand. Also see Luca Crispi and Ronan Crowley, ['The Ulysses Proof^finder'](#) (GJS 8), and my ['A Chronology of Ulysses in Proofs'](#) (GJS 13).

Placard: These manuscripts are the initial settings of *Ulysses* in proofs. These proofs are also known as the setting of the text in 'galleys', a term that comes from the long metal trays of typeset text from which proof sheets are pulled. This initial phase of proofs for *Ulysses* is more accurately understood as a setting of text as 'galleys in page' because, although the text is set continuously down the sheet, it is already separated into 37-line page-length blocks. *Ulysses* placards are most often comprised of eight pages of text printed on only one side on inexpensive, often pulp paper, set in four vertical columns of two pages each. The proofs were set as eight unnumbered pages of text, four across and two high, arranged with the second page printed below the first, the fourth below the third, the sixth below the fifth and the eighth below the seventh. There are many instances when a single placard setting contains text for two consecutive episodes. Also see [Page Proofs](#) as well as Luca Crispi and Ronan Crowley, ['The Ulysses Proof^finder'](#) (GJS 8), and my ['A Chronology of Ulysses in Proofs'](#) (GJS 13).

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Postulated Missing Early/Earlier Draft: Based on what we know of Joyce's creative process, it is evident that for most episodes Joyce usually wrote one or more basic linear early drafts from proto-drafts, fragments, and notes. A letter Joyce wrote in Italian to his brother while he was working on 'Cyclops' in Trieste in late 1919 confirms that there were various forms of missing early/earlier drafts (and possibly also proto-drafts, fragments, and notes) for at least six other episodes: 'I sent you my folders of *Ulysses* (chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7) Acknowledge receipt' (Joyce to Stanislaus Joyce; 25 August 1919; *LII* 448–9). These manuscripts are not part of the Stanislaus Joyce Collection at Cornell, and are not known to be extant. Also see **Proto-draft and Fragments**, **Missing Proto-drafts and Fragments**, **Postulated Missing Proto-drafts and Fragment**, **Earlier Draft**, **Intermediate Drafts**, as well as **Later Drafts**.

Episode:	Active Dates:	Location:
4. 'Calypso'	Before June 1917	Trieste and Zurich
7. 'Aeolus'	June 1917– January 1918	Zurich, Locarno, and Zurich
8. 'Lestrygonians'	After June 1917–January 1918	Locarno and Zurich
11. 'Sirens'	1914–October 1916	Trieste and Zurich
12. 'Cyclops'	Mid June–August 1919	Zurich
14. 'Oxen of the Sun'	Before February–April 1920	Trieste
15 'Circe'	1916–June 1920	Trieste, Zurich, and Trieste
17. 'Ithaca'	Before August 1921	Paris
18. 'Penelope'	1914–October 1916	Trieste and Zurich

Postulated Missing Intermediate Draft: It is possible to posit an intermediary draft after the extant proto-draft and its faircopy manuscript of 'Cyclops' as well as between the draft levels of 'Oxen of the Sun' and 'Circe'. Also see **Proto-draft and Fragments**, **Missing Proto-drafts and Fragments**, **Postulated Missing Proto-drafts and Fragment**, **Earlier Draft**, **Intermediate Drafts**, as well as **Later Drafts**.

Episode:	Active Dates:	Location:
12. 'Cyclops'	Mid June–August 1919	Zurich
14. 'Oxen of the Sun'	March–May 1920	Trieste
15. 'Circe'	July–December 1920	Paris

Postulated Missing Final Draft: A collation of an episode's surviving early or later drafts, its collateral Rosenbach manuscript, and its typescript indicates that Joyce must also have written a now missing final draft that, depending on the episode, variously served as the source of its Rosenbach manuscript as well as its typist's copy. On the one hand, for some episodes certain of these now lost manuscripts, Joyce separately and differently used these manuscripts to prepare both their Rosenbach manuscripts as well as their typescripts. On the other hand, one or more subsequent manuscripts most likely intervened between the episode's Rosenbach manuscripts and its typescripts, or possibly at times vice versa. Gabler refers to this level as the 'Final Working Draft'. For further information about this kind of manuscript, see **Proto-draft and Fragments**, **Missing Proto-drafts and Fragments**, **Postulated Missing Proto-drafts and Fragment**, **Earlier Draft**, **Intermediate Drafts**, **Faircopy Manuscripts for Typescripts**, **Intermediate Faircopy**, **Mixed Faircopies**, **Postulated Missing Intermediate Draft**, **Missing Later Draft**, **Postulated Missing Later Draft**, as well as **Later Drafts**.

Episode:	Active Dates:	Location:
4. 'Calypso'	January–February 1918	Zurich
5. 'Lotus Eaters'	February–May 1918	Zurich
6. 'Hades'	Before March 1918	Zurich
7. 'Aeolus'	January–Early May 1918	Zurich
8. 'Lestrygonians'	January–July 1918	Zurich
9. 'Scylla and Charybdis'	Summer–Autumn 1918	Zurich

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Episode:	Active Dates:	Location:
11. 'Sirens'	June–July 1919	Zurich
13. 'Nausicaa'	January 1920	Trieste
14. 'Oxen of the Sun'	March–May 1920	Trieste
15. 'Circe'	July–December 1920	Paris

Postulated Missing Later Draft: A collation of the extant 'Penelope' draft and its Rosenbach manuscript indicates that Joyce must have also written an intervening now missing later draft in Paris in Spring–Summer 1921. Also see **Proto-draft and Fragments**, **Missing Proto-drafts and Fragments**, **Postulated Missing Proto-drafts and Fragment**, **Earlier Draft**, **Intermediate Drafts**, **Faircopy Manuscripts for Typescripts**, **Intermediate Faircopy**, **Mixed Faircopies**, **Postulated Missing Intermediate Draft**, **Missing Later Draft**, as well as **Later Drafts**.

Postulated Missing Proto-draft and Fragments: Proto-drafts are collections of fragmentary texts based on notes that Joyce usually compiled before he wrote a linear early draft of an episode. Based on the proto-drafts and fragments that are known for 'Proteus' (**NLI MS 7A**), 'Sirens' (**NLI MS 7B**), 'Cyclops' (**Buffalo MS 8** & **NLI MS 10** and **Buffalo MS 6**), 'Circe' (**Buffalo MS 19** and **NLI 12**), and 'Ithaca' (**NLI MS 14**), as well as for Joyce's earlier works and for *Finnegans Wake*, it seems likely that the first stage of his creative process for an episode was to work from notes to compile one or more proto-drafts and/or fragmentary texts before he wrote an early linear draft.

Episode:	Active Dates:	Location:
1. 'Telemachus'	April 1914–March 1915	Trieste
2. 'Nestor'	March–July 1915	Trieste and Zurich
3. 'Proteus'	April 1914–1917	Trieste, Zurich and Locarno
4. 'Calypso'	Before June 1917	Trieste and Zurich

5. 'Lotus Eaters'	April 1914–1916	Trieste and Zurich
6. 'Hades'	September 1906–1916	Rome, Trieste, and Zurich
7. 'Aeolus'	June 1917–January 1918	Zurich, Locarno, and Zurich
8. 'Lestrygonians'	1916–17	Zurich and Locarno
11. 'Sirens' (sibling)	1914–October 1916 Late 1917–March 1919	Trieste and Zurich Locarno and Zurich
12. 'Cyclops' (sibling)	Mid June–August 1919	Zurich
13. 'Nausicaa'	December 1919	Trieste
14. 'Oxen of the Sun'	January–February 1920	Trieste
15. 'Circe'	1916–June 1920	Zurich and Trieste
16. 'Eumaeus'	June 1915–October 1916	Trieste and Zurich
17. 'Ithaca' (sibling)	June 1915–Spring 1921	Zurich, Locarno, Zurich, and Paris
18. 'Penelope'	June 1915–October 1916	Trieste and Zurich

Proof Level: This is an editorial convention established in *Ulysses: A Critical and Synoptic Edition* as a standardized reference system for the various stages in the process of setting the text in both placard and page proof. While there are some instances when an episode's notional proof level coincides with a particular manuscript, more often a single proof level is comprised of several sets of placards or page proofs, and at times a single level will combine placards and page proofs. For further information, also see Luca Crispi and Ronan Crowley, '[The Ulysses Proof^finder](#)' (GJS 8) and my '[A Chronology of Ulysses in Proofs](#)' (GJS 13).

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Proto-Draft and Fragmentary Texts: These manuscripts are storehouses of text blocks and fragmentary texts that Joyce wrote or rewrote and then collected before he created the coherent linear narrative that readers of the various published episodes would recognize. The extant evidence suggests that Joyce usually compiled fragmentary, non-sequential collections of previously written texts, which he often further revised before incorporating them into a narrative of the episode. See also **Postulated Missing Proto-drafts and Fragment**, **Earlier Draft**, **Intermediate Drafts**, as well as **Later Drafts**.

Episode:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:	Location:
3. 'Proteus'	<u>NLI MS 7A</u>	July 1915–October 1916	Zurich
11. 'Sirens'	<u>NLI MS 7B</u>	Late 1917–Summer 1919	Zurich, Locarno, Zurich
12. 'Cyclops'	<u>Buffalo MS 8</u> & <u>NLI MS 10</u>	Mid-June 1919	Zurich
12. 'Cyclops'	<u>Buffalo MS 6</u>	Summer 1919	Zurich
15. 'Circe'	<u>Buffalo MS 19</u>	June–July 1920	Trieste and Paris
17. 'Ithaca'	<u>NLI MS 13</u>	Spring–Summer 1921	Paris

Second-Order Note Repository: Whenever Joyce rearranged his first-order notes either under subject headings (as in [NLI NB 3](#)) or under the book's episode headings (as he did in all the other *Ulysses* notebooks and notesheets), these are by definition later-order note repositories. More specifically, second-order note repositories are the initial compilations of first-order notes under topical headings. Joyce almost always used some of these notes immediately to write and revise the text he was working on, but these compilations were often not the final destination of all the unused second-order notes. He regularly returned to these second-order repositories to gather further notes from them and then transfer them yet again (thereby making them third-order notes), and he sometimes repeated this process again (thereby making them fourth-order notes).

The notebooks are of the same kind as the copybooks in which he wrote the drafts of *Ulysses*, while the notesheets are usually large folded folio sheets of paper. In general, Joyce was quite methodical in the way he organized his later-order notebooks and notesheets. Joyce wrote all of the headings in the notebooks first, underlined them in coloured crayon, and then filled the

pages with notes as he came across earlier words and phrases that he thought were appropriate to one or another subject or episode heading, but it was not uncommon for him to ultimately use a note in a different context or episode.

Quite pragmatically, Joyce often started on the right-hand (recto) page of the notebook and, when that was full, he continued gathering notes on its facing left-hand (verso) page, so that he would have a two-page opening of related notes before him as he wrote and revised his texts. He sorted his notes in the main body of the page and left himself an ever-expanding left-hand margin—just as he did with his drafts—because he knew that he would use that space to add yet more words and phrases. Joyce would also fill the margins of these notebook pages with words and phrases in any open space, and often in several different directions. Whereas the notes in the notebooks are arranged horizontally, usually separated by commas, the ones in the notesheets are usually arranged in long vertical columns. He usually filled the central column first and then later added further columns of notes arranged around the ones he had already prepared.

Although they all served similar functions—to gather and consolidate unused notes in new constellations for future use—there are several distinct kinds of second-order note repositories: the 1917 ‘Subject’ Notebook ([NLI NB 3](#)), the 1919–21 BL Notesheets (BL ADD MS 49975, ff. 6–29), and the 1921 NLI Notebooks (NLI NBS [4](#), [5A](#), and [5B](#)) along with [Buffalo NB 2b](#). Based on the notes that survive, it appears that NLI NBS 3 and 4, as well as Buffalo NB 2b are solely second-order note repositories. On the other hand, NLI NB 5A is primarily a second-order note repository, except for p. [2r]: ‘Lotus Eaters’ and p. [19r]: ‘Eventual’, which are mixed-order note repositories; and all of NLI NB 5A is a second-order note repository, except for p. [1v]: ‘Ithaca’; p. [2r]: ‘Calypso’; p. [7v]: ‘Eventuali’; p. [8r]: ‘Cyclops’; and p. [9r]: ‘Eumaeus’ that are all mixed-order note repositories. Similarly, while most of the BL Notesheets are second-order note, the remainder are mixed-order note repositories that contain second-, third, and fourth-order notes, as I detail under the relevant headings here. (While Herring’s transcriptions are useful and have become the standard reference when citing the notesheets, his ordering of the sheets and the notes on them does not reflect the various ways in which Joyce actually compiled and used these note repositories.)

Although it is unique among the surviving *Ulysses* notebooks, NLI NB 3 is similar in kind to several other notebooks that Joyce compiled at times when he was unsure how he would continue with the work at hand. For example, Joyce organized the Cornell Alphabetical Notebook under a variety of personal and conceptual headings at a crucial late juncture in the composition of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, NLI NB 3 is also similar in kind, for example, to the Buffalo *Finnegans Wake* ‘Scribbledehobble’ Notebook ([Buffalo MS VI.A](#)) in which Joyce organized many of his first notes under the titles of his previous works and miscellaneous headings.

It is only possible to directly trace how Joyce transferred the notes from the two partially extant first-order note repositories (Buffalo NBS D7 and 2a) in the later-order note repository. The rest of what are now considered second-order notes are presumably a distillation of words and phrases that Joyce collected in other first-order note repositories that have not survived.

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Furthermore, while a relatively large number of second-order note repositories do survive, it is clear that many more of these are still missing as well. Should further note repositories come to light, it will become evident that what are now considered second-order note repositories are in fact mixed-order ones. For more information, see [First-Order Note Repository](#) and [Mixed-Order Note Repository](#), as well as [Third-Order Notes](#), and [Fourth-Order Notes](#).

SECOND-ORDER BL NOTESHEETS:

BL Notesheet:	Active Dates and Location:	BL ADD MS 49975 (JJA Citation):
BL 'Cyclops' NS 2	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 6r (<i>JJA</i> 12.03)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 3	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 6v (<i>JJA</i> 12.04)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 4	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 7r (<i>JJA</i> 12.06)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 5	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 7r (<i>JJA</i> 12.07)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 6	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 7v (<i>JJA</i> 12.08)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 7	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 7v (<i>JJA</i> 12.09)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 9	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 8v (<i>JJA</i> 12.13)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 1	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 9r (<i>JJA</i> 12.14)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 2	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 9r (<i>JJA</i> 12.15)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 3	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 9v (<i>JJA</i> 12.16)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 5	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 10r (<i>JJA</i> 12.18)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 7	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 10v (<i>JJA</i> 12.20)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 8	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 10v (<i>JJA</i> 12.21)
BL 'Oxen' NS 1	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 11r (<i>JJA</i> 12.23)
BL 'Oxen' NS 2	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 11v (<i>JJA</i> 12.24)

BL Notesheet:	Active Dates and Location:	BL ADD MS 49975 (JJA Citation):
BL 'Oxen' NS 3	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 11v (<i>JJA</i> 12.25)
BL 'Oxen' NS 4	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 11r (<i>JJA</i> 12.22)
BL 'Oxen' NS 9	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 13r (<i>JJA</i> 12.31)
BL 'Oxen' NS 10	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 13v (<i>JJA</i> 12.32)
BL 'Oxen' NS 11	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 13v (<i>JJA</i> 12.33)
BL 'Oxen' NS 12	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 13r (<i>JJA</i> 12.30)
BL 'Oxen' NS 13	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 14r (<i>JJA</i> 12.35)
BL 'Oxen' NS 14	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 14v (<i>JJA</i> 12.36)
BL 'Oxen' NS 15	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 14v (<i>JJA</i> 12.37)
BL 'Oxen' NS 16	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 14r (<i>JJA</i> 12.34)
BL 'Oxen' NS 18	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 15v (<i>JJA</i> 12.40)
BL 'Oxen' NS 19	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 15v (<i>JJA</i> 12.41)
BL 'Circe' NS 1	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 16r (<i>JJA</i> 12.41)
BL 'Circe' NS 2	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 16v (<i>JJA</i> 12.44)
BL 'Circe' NS 4	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 16r (<i>JJA</i> 12.43)
BL 'Circe' NS 5	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 17r (<i>JJA</i> 12.47)
BL 'Circe' NS 7	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 17v (<i>JJA</i> 12.49)
BL 'Circe' NS 8	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 17r (<i>JJA</i> 12.46)
BL 'Circe' NS 9	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 18r (<i>JJA</i> 12.51)
BL 'Circe' NS 10	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 19v (<i>JJA</i> 12.57)

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BL Notesheet:	Active Dates and Location:	BL ADD MS 49975 (JJA Citation):
BL 'Circe' NS 11	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 19r (<i>JJA</i> 12.54)
BL 'Circe' NS 12	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 19r (<i>JJA</i> 12.55)
BL 'Circe' NS 13	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 19v (<i>JJA</i> 12.56)
BL 'Circe' NS 14	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 18r (<i>JJA</i> 12.50)
BL 'Circe' NS 15	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 20v (<i>JJA</i> 12.57)
BL 'Circe' NS 18	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 21r (<i>JJA</i> 12.60)
BL 'Circe' NS 19	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 21r (<i>JJA</i> 12.61)
BL 'Circe' NS 20	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 21v (<i>JJA</i> 12.62)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 1	Early 1921: Paris	f. 22r (<i>JJA</i> 12.64)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 2	Early 1921: Paris	f. 22v (<i>JJA</i> 12.66)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 3	Early 1921: Paris	f. 22v (<i>JJA</i> 12.67)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 4	Early 1921: Paris	f. 21v (<i>JJA</i> 12.62)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 7	Early 1921: Paris	f. 23r (<i>JJA</i> 12.68)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 1	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 24r (<i>JJA</i> 12.73)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 2	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 23r (<i>JJA</i> 12.68)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 3	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 24v (<i>JJA</i> 12.75)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 4	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 24r (<i>JJA</i> 12.72)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 5	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 25r (<i>JJA</i> 12.77)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 6	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 25v (<i>JJA</i> 12.78)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 7	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 25v (<i>JJA</i> 12.79)

BL Notesheet:	Active Dates and Location:	BL ADD MS 49975 (JJA Citation):
BL 'Ithaca' NS 8	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 25r (<i>JJA</i> 12.76)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 9	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 23r (<i>JJA</i> 12.68)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 10	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 26v (<i>JJA</i> 12.82)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 11	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 26v (<i>JJA</i> 12.80)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 13	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 27r (<i>JJA</i> 12.84)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 14	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 27v (<i>JJA</i> 12.87)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 15	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 27v (<i>JJA</i> 12.86)
BL 'Penelope' NS 1	Mid-Late 1921: Paris	f. 28r (<i>JJA</i> 12.89)
BL 'Penelope' NS 2	Mid-Late 1921: Paris	f. 28r (<i>JJA</i> 12.90)
BL 'Penelope' NS 3	Mid-Late 1921: Paris	f. 28v (<i>JJA</i> 12.91)
BL 'Penelope' NS 4	Mid-Late 1921: Paris	f. 28r (<i>JJA</i> 12.88)
BL 'Penelope' NS 5	Mid-Late 1921: Paris	f. 29r (<i>JJA</i> 12.93)
BL 'Penelope' NS 6	Mid-Late 1921: Paris	f. 29v (<i>JJA</i> 12.94)
BL 'Penelope' NS 7	Mid-Late 1921: Paris	f. 29r (<i>JJA</i> 12.92)

Serial Publication: These are the first appearances of *Ulysses* in print in the *Little Review* (1918–20) and in the *Egoist* (1919). Joyce did not read proofs for any of the episodes in the *Little Review* and the text was not properly set or professionally copy-edited. Therefore, these documents are completely out of the direct line of textual transmission. Nonetheless, in those cases when the episode's typescript is missing, it is possible to collate the text on the episode's Rosenbach manuscript, the *Little Review*, and *Ulysses* to determine the additions and changes that Joyce must have made on the missing typescripts. The *Egoist* only managed to publish about three and a half non-consecutive episodes. Since the relatively small portions of *Ulysses* that appear in the *Egoist* were set from printed copies of the *Little Review* and only lightly copy-edited by Harriet Shaw Weaver that are now in the

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[Department of Special Collections](#), McFarlin Library, University of Tulsa, they are twice-removed collateral documents in the direct transmission of the text.

ULYSSES IN THE LITTLE REVIEW:

Episode:	Volume:	Page Numbers:
1. 'Telemachus'	IV.11: March 1918	pp. 3–22
2. 'Nestor'	IV.12: April 1918	pp. 32–45
3. 'Proteus'	V.1: May 1918	pp. 31–45
4. 'Calypso'	V.2: June 1918	pp. 39–52
5. 'Lotus Eaters'	V.3: July 1918	pp. 37–49
6. 'Hades'	V.5: September 1918	pp. 15–37
7. 'Aeolus'	V.6: October 1918	pp. 26–51
8. 'Lestrygonians'	V.9: January 1919	pp. 27–50
8. 'Lestrygonians'	V.10–11: February–March 1919	pp. 58–62
9. 'Scylla and Charybdis'	V.12: April 1919	pp. 30–43
9. 'Scylla and Charybdis'	VI.1: May 1919	pp. 17–35
10. 'Wandering Rocks'	VI.2: June 1919	pp. 34–45
10. 'Wandering Rocks'	VI.3: July 1919	pp. 28–47
11. 'Sirens'	VI.4: August 1919	pp. 41–64
11. 'Sirens'	VI.5: September 1919	pp. 46–55
12. 'Cyclops'	VI.7: November 1919	pp. 38–54
12. 'Cyclops'	VI.8: December 1919	pp. 50–60
12. 'Cyclops'	VI.9: January 1920	pp. 53–61

Episode:	Volume:	Page Numbers:
12. 'Cyclops'	VI.10: March 1920	pp. 54–60
13. 'Nausicaa'	VI.11: April 1920	pp. 43–50
13. 'Nausicaa'	VII.1: May–June 1920	pp. 61–72
13. 'Nausicaa'	VII.2: July–August 1920	pp. 42–58
14. Oxen of the Sun'	VII.3: September–December 1920	pp. 81–92

ULYSSES IN THE EGOIST:

Episode:	Volume:	Page Numbers:
2. 'Nestor'	VI.1: January–February 1919	pp. 11–14
3. 'Proteus'	VI.2: March–April 1919	pp. 26–30
6. 'Hades'	VI.3: July 1919	pp. 42–6
6. 'Hades'	VI.4: September 1919	pp. 56–60
10. 'Wandering Rocks'	VI.5: December 1919	pp. 74–8

Third-Order Notes: These are notes on mixed-order note repositories that Joyce had previously gathered in the extant second-order note repositories. Given the large number of missing notebooks and notesheets, it is almost certain that many of the pages of notes that are now considered second-order note repositories are actually mixed-order note repositories with third and possibly fourth (as well as possibly layer-order as well) notes. For information about the documents from which Joyce transferred the third-order notes, see **First-Order Note Notebook** and **Second-Order Note Repository**; also see **Mixed-Order Note Repository** as well as **Fourth-Order Notes**.

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BL NOTESHEETS WITH THIRD-ORDER NOTES:

BL Notesheet:	Active Dates and Location:	BL ADD MS 49975 (JJA Citation):
BL 'Cyclops' NS 1	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 6r (<i>JJA</i> 12.02)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 8	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 8r (<i>JJA</i> 12.11)
BL 'Cyclops' NS 10	Mid-1919: Zurich	f. 8r (<i>JJA</i> 12.10)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 4	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 9v (<i>JJA</i> 12.17)
BL 'Nausicaa' NS 6	Late 1919: Trieste	f. 10r (<i>JJA</i> 12.19)
BL 'Oxen of the Sun' NS 5	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 12r (<i>JJA</i> 12.27)
BL 'Oxen of the Sun' NS 6	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 12v (<i>JJA</i> 12.28)
BL 'Oxen of the Sun' NS 7	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 12v (<i>JJA</i> 12.29)
BL 'Oxen of the Sun' NS 8	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 13r (<i>JJA</i> 12.30)
BL 'Oxen of the Sun' NS 17	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 15r (<i>JJA</i> 12.17)
BL 'Oxen of the Sun' NS 20	Early–Mid-1920: Trieste	f. 15r (<i>JJA</i> 12.38)
BL 'Circe' NS 3	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 16v (<i>JJA</i> 12.45)
BL 'Circe' NS 6	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 17v (<i>JJA</i> 12.48)
BL 'Circe' NS 16	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 20r (<i>JJA</i> 12.58)
BL 'Circe' NS 17	Spring-Summer 1920: Trieste and Paris	f. 20v (<i>JJA</i> 12.57)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 5	January–February 1921: Paris	f. 23r (<i>JJA</i> 12.67)
BL 'Eumaeus' NS 6	January–February 1921: Paris	f. 23v (<i>JJA</i> 12.70 and 12.71)
BL 'Ithaca' NS 12	Mid-1921: Paris	f. 26r (<i>JJA</i> 12.83)

NLI NOTEBOOKS WITH THIRD-ORDER NOTES:

NLI Notebooks:	Active Dates and Location:
NLI NB 5A, p. [2r]: 'Lotus Eaters'	January–February 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5A, p. [19r]: 'Eventuali'	January–February 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5B, p. [1v]: 'Ithaca'	February–May 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5B, p. [2r]: 'Calypso'	February–May 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5B, p. [7v]: 'Eventuali'	February–May 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5B, p. [8r]: 'Cyclops'	February–May 1921: Paris
NLI NB 5B, p. [9r]: 'Eumaeus'	February–May 1921: Paris

Typescript for *Ulysses* in the *Little Review*: Joyce had these manuscripts prepared for the serial publication of episodes 1–14 ('Telemachus'– 'Oxen of the Sun'). Subsequently, he used other copies of the same typescripts for the printing of the Shakespeare and Company 1922 first edition of the book. Therefore, the same documents contain three differentiable levels of text: 1) the text as typed, 2) Joyce's earlier revisions of the typescripts for the serial publication from 1917 to 1920, and 3) his later round of revisions of the typescripts of the episodes in *Ulysses* in Paris in 1921. In most cases, it is not known who the typists were, but some of the typists were not professionals. In fact, some were Joyce's friends and acquaintances, including Claud Sykes and Robert McAlmon.

Episode:	Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates for the <i>Little Review</i> :	Active Dates for <i>Ulysses</i> :
2. 'Nestor'	Partial Typescript	Buffalo TS 1	December 1917: Zurich	April–June 1921
3. 'Proteus'	Partial Typescript	Buffalo TS 2	January 1918: Zurich	April–June 1921
4. 'Calypso'	Partial Earlier	Buffalo TS 3a.i	February 1918: Zurich	April–June 1921

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Episode:	Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates for the <i>Little Review</i> :	Active Dates for <i>Ulysses</i> :
	Typescript	and 3.a.ii		
4. 'Calypso'	Partial Later Typescript	Buffalo TS 3b	March–May 1918: Zurich	NA
6. 'Hades'	Partial Typescript	Buffalo TS 4	Early–Mid-1918: Zurich	June–August 1921
7. 'Aeolus'	Complete Typescript	Buffalo TS 5	Mid-May 1918: Zurich	June–August 1921
8. 'Lestrygonians'	Complete Typescript	Buffalo TS 6	Summer 1918: Zurich	June–August 1921
9. 'Scylla and Charybdis'	Complete Typescript	Buffalo TS 7	Late 1918–Early 1919: Zurich	June–August 1921
10. 'Wandering Rocks'	Partial Typescript	Buffalo TS 8	February 1919: Zurich	June–August 1921
11. 'Sirens'	Complete Typescript	Buffalo TS 9	June 1919: Zurich	September 1921
12. 'Cyclops'	Partial Typescript	Buffalo TS 10	October–November 1919: Zurich	September 1921
13. 'Nausicaa'	Complete Typescript	Buffalo TS 11	February–March 1920: Trieste	September–Mid-October 1921
14. 'Oxen of the Sun'	Complete Typescript	Buffalo TS 12	June 1920: Trieste	September–Mid-October 1921

Typescript for *Ulysses*: Once Joyce, Sylvia Beach, and the printer had signed an agreement for the Shakespeare and Company publication of *Ulysses*, Beach arranged for the typing of the final four episodes of the book in Paris.

Episode:	Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
15. 'Circe'	Partial Typescript	Buffalo TS 13.h	Mid-February–Mid-October 1921
16. 'Eumaeus'	Complete Typescript	Buffalo TS 14	February–March 1921

Episode:	Kind of Manuscript:	Manuscript:	Active Dates:
17 'Ithaca'	Composite Typescript	Buffalo TSS 15.c & 15.g	October–Early December 1921
18. 'Penelope'	Complete Typescript	Buffalo TS 16	16 August–September 1921

Ulysses: Shakespeare and Company published a limited first edition of *Ulysses* on 2 February 1922. The Modernist Versions Project made available a digitized copy of [Ulysses](#) on 15 June 2013.

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