

Brothers at War in the *Wake*: The Iberian Battle of the Languages

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*I*n *Love in the Western World* (1956), Denis de Rougemont certified that “happy love has no history,”¹ and to judge by *Finnegans Wake* it would seem that brotherly love is no exception. The constant fights between Shem and Shaun indicate that “brothers” and “war” go hand in hand in Joyce’s last work. References to concrete battlefields (the Iberian peninsula, Crimea, China) appear in contexts where the conflict between the twins—and the sigla that refers to it—is ostensible.² Joyce’s interest in contrasting Shem and Shaun is further reinforced by assigning them different peninsular languages. Shaun tends to be associated with Castilian vocabulary, whereas Shem uses peripheral languages, namely Portuguese and Basque. In the following pages I investigate why this should be so, that is, why the war between Shem and Shaun should extend to the peninsular languages mentioned. If we take into consideration that some of these references are additions dating from 1937 and 1938, it is possible to entertain the idea that Joyce already had a place for the Spanish Civil War when it actually broke out; it was yet another instance of brothers at war in the *Wake*.

1. Brothers at War

To the extent that the first chapter of *Finnegans Wake* serves as a kind of overture to the whole book, we may start there to look for clues as to where and how this brotherly conflict appears. The place is usually—and evidently—the battlefield, and dialogue is often the manner. From the very first lines it is announced that “Tristram” (“tree” and “stone”, Shem and Shaun) “had passencore rearrived from North Armorica on this side the scraggy isthmus to wielderfight his penisolate war” (*FW* 003.04-06). In a family context, this war represents the sons’ effort to put together the lost father, an endeavour deployed throughout the resurrection process of Book III. In a national context, the “penisolate war” refers to the Napoleonic wars in Spain, where Napoleon and Wellington fought.

Glasheen's census informs us that Napoleon is also one of the twins in Boucicault's *The Corsican Brothers*, "one good, one bad."³ A few pages later, in the visit to the war museum, we are invited to the battlefields of this war, among them "Salamangra" (*FW* 009.13), "Dalaveras" (*FW* 009.36), and "Tarra's Widdars" (*FW* 009.21); respectively, "Salamanca," "Talavera" and "Torres Vedras." The third site—a battle between Spain and Portugal—gave the fight an additional, international dimension.

The second clue deriving from the first chapter is that the confrontation between the brothers usually entails dialogues, like the one that takes place between Jutt (Jim, Shem) and Mutt (mouth, Shaun), the first inhabitants of Ireland, where we also learn that Mutt's ancestors come precisely from "Finishthere Punct" (*FW* 017.23), "Finisterre," the northwesternmost part of Spain. Shem and Shaun's fights often appear in dialogue form all along Book III and in the many shorter pieces included here and there, like "The Mime of Mick, Nick and the Maggies" (*FW* 219-259), "The Norwegian Captain" (*FW* 311-332) and above all "How Buckley Shot the Russian General" (*FW* 337-355). Very early in the book Joyce also gives us the birth certificate of the twins:

II32. A.D. Two sons at an hour were born until a goodman and his hag. These sons called themselves Caddy and Primas. Primas was a santryman and drilled all decent people. Caddy went to Winehouse and wrote o peace a farce. Blotty words for Dublin. (*FW* 014.11-15)

A very brief history of brothers akin to Shem and Shaun would at least include Cain and Abel; Osiris, Isis and Set; Esau and Jacob; Noah's sons, Sem, Cam and Jafet; and Romulus and Remus. From the beginnings of composition Joyce identified Shem with Cain, although it seems that as time went by he gave less and less importance to this biblical reference.⁴ Incidentally, Stanislaus Joyce did consider it important, as he titled his own book *My Brother's Keeper*. There is in fact a critical current, not very much seconded by McHugh, that associates Shem-Cain with Joyce and Shaun-Abel with Stanislaus. Those who follow this line of inquiry sooner or later find support for their arguments in the game of "angels and demons" from "The Mime of Nick, Mick and the Maggies" (*FW* II.i), which is not exactly a war but rather an erotic game favoured by the presence of Issy, the apple of discord. In the fable of "The Ondt and the Gracehoper" (*FW* 414-9), the grasshopper has traditionally been associated with Shem-Joyce and the ant with Shaun-Stanislaus-Wyndham Lewis.

The story of Osiris tells of another family feud echoed frequently in the *Wake*. Set killed his brother Osiris and, locking his corpse in a coffin, threw it into a river. As the body was recovered by Osiris's sister and wife Isis, brother Set dismembered it and scattered the pieces. Isis recovered again all the pieces, except the penis, which she made artificially and thus conceived Horus, who avenged his father by castrating his uncle Set, although he himself lost an eye in the fight. The Egyptian gods, as we can see, did not joke about among themselves, although we should quickly add that the feuds were strictly family-based. Odd bits and pieces of this myth appear faintly in *Finnegans Wake*. Anna Livia, again in Book III, tries to free her husband from death by putting together his separate pieces, that is to say, her own sons (possibly with the help of her daughter). What remains unclear is whether "Horus" is Shaun, because he is dressed by "Horace" the tailor, or Shem, since he walks about the pages of the *Wake* with a mysterious patch on his eye. It is likewise unclear whether we should think about the existence of a "third brother" in the book.

Another set of biblical twins that cause a lot of trouble in the *Wake* are Jacob and Esau. "Jerkoff and Eatsoup" (*FW* 246.30-1) were born, in that order, the foot of one touching the hair of the other—"We were wombful of mischief and initiumwise, everyliking a liked, hairytop on heeltipper" (*FW* 483.18-9)—and caused trouble already in the maternal womb: "*Uteralterance of the Interplay of Bones in the Womb*" (*FW* 293.22-5). Their history is also well known and is the source of conflict in *Finnegans Wake*. Because of the sale of birthright for a plate of lentils (*Genesis* 25-7), Shem and Shaun often argue over food. In I.vii Shem is compared to Esau: "He even ran away with hunsself and became a farsoonerite, saying he would far sooner muddle through the hash of lentils in Europe than meddle with Irrland's split little pea" (*FW* 171.04-06). He is also accused of being a usurper, or more concretely, the source "from which grief had usupped every smile" (*FW* 426.06).

Noah's descendants, Sem, Cam and Jafet, are one more example of troublesome brothers, particularly important in the *Wake* because they were responsible for the confusion of tongues after the deluge, around the year 1856 of the world, if we follow Vico:⁵ "The babbblers with their thangas vain have been (confusium hold them!) they were and went" (*FW* 015.12-3). Two other sets of brothers worth mentioning are Romulus, the murderer of Remus, both related to the reunion of brothers—"her arms encircling Isolabella, then running with reconciled Romas and Reims" (*FW* 209.24-5)—and Castor and Pollux, not very much developed in this respect, probably because "Castor" got in the way of "Helen Joyce, born

Helen Kastor.”⁶ A line of inquiry intending to go deeper into the causes of antagonism between Shem and Shaun would also probably have to come face-to-face with Giordano Bruno and William Blake.

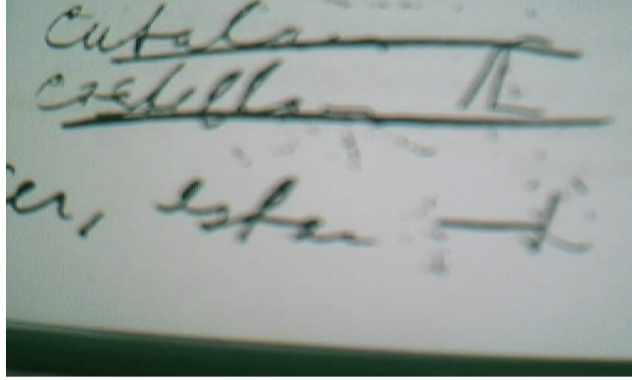
2. The Iberian Battle of Languages

The problem of languages in *Finnegans Wake*, slippery as it is, does not have to be different from others. For example, when Spanish vocabulary appears in the vicinity of Earwicker it is very difficult to distinguish it not only from other sister languages like Portuguese, but also from the whole jumble of words that is the text. In the following sample it is extremely difficult to decide why the encounter with the Cad requires so many languages:

Despenseme Usted, senhor, en son succo, sabez. O thaw bron orm, A'Cothraige, thinkinthou gaily? Lick-Pa-flai-hai-pa-Pa-li-si-lang-lang. Epi alo, ecou, Batiste, tuvavn dans Lptit boing going. Ismeme de bumbac e meias de portocallie. O.O. Os pipos mios es demasiada gruarso por O piccolo pocchino. Wee fee? Ung duro. Kocshis, szabad? Mercy, and you? Gomagh, thak. (*FW* 54.13-19, emphasis added)

That is to say, in looking for Spanish one is likely to make the same mistakes and encounter the same obstacles that other readers find in Vico, the *Egyptian Book of the Dead* or European history: the problem is *Finnegans Wake* itself. In the majority of cases, when a Spanish reference appears, we may expect more in the vicinity. “When there is one vocabulary item,” we might suspect, “there are more than one.” Some kind of recurrence appears to confirm our suspicion, and thus repetitions seem to become evidence. But then, when we find more than five or six coincidences, we probably have already become obsessed, and our obsession may eventually lead us to read the whole book in Spanish.

Nonetheless, Joyce’s plans for the portrayal of Shem and Shaun contemplated the idea of some kind of antagonism based on the use of different peninsular languages. That much can be derived from VI.B.23-29, dated 1928:⁷



The words “catalan” and “castellano” appear beside the sigla that refers to the brotherly conflict, and in addition the verbs “ser, estar”, that is, the peculiar distinction that Spanish makes in the verb “to be,” seem initially associated with Issy. Though I have not been able to find any systematic opposition between Spanish and Catalanian, it may be argued, with these annotations as encouragement, that references to Spanish, Portuguese and Basque announce a family conflict, that of the “sister languages” in Spain and that of Shaun’s conflict with Shem, at times with Issy participating.

In the relatively clearer Book III it may be possible to see how this all works. When Shaun speaks about Shem, he associates him with the gestures of Jesuits, “from the common for ignitious Purpalume to the proper of Francisco Ultramare” (*FW* 432.36-433.01). He also recalls Shem’s “old portugal’s nose” (*FW* 463.18-9) and pays respect to him in Portuguese, saying “Obbligado!” (*FW* 464.01-2). It is at this point that the attire that Shem wore in I.vii, the “Spanish dagger,” and the cross given to him by priests with Basque names—“Lindundarri,” “Carchingarri” and “Loriotuli”—acquire more sense:

a sponiard's digger at his ribs, (Alfaiate punxit) an azulblu
blowsheet for his blousebosom blossom and a dean's crozier
that he won from Cardinal Lindundarri and Cardinal
Carchingarri and Cardinal Loriotuli and Cardinal
Occidentaccia (ah ho!) in the dearby darby doubled forfalling
first over the hurdles. (*FW* 180.11-15)

Shaun, on the other hand, addresses his sister Issy, or rather the congregation of sisters who listen to his sermon, scattering Spanish all

along chapter III.ii. If Shem looked like a Jesuit, Shaun appears as a discalced Carmelite, specifically as Saint John of the Cross, a “jam of the cross” (*FW* 448.08) who travels to “Carmen of cities crawling with mendicants in perforated clothing” (*FW* 448.12-3) and is in need of “footwear for these poor discalced” (*FW* 448.29-30). He often insists on three elements. First, his tired and sore feet. He is called “Brave Footsore Haun!” (*FW* 473.19-21) at the end of this chapter because he belongs to a “discalced” order. Secondly, food and eating are often the reason for his disputes; he confuses boiled potatoes with “boiled protestants” (*FW* 456.03) after exclaiming “Santos Mozos!” (*FW* 455.36). And thirdly, he makes use of basic Spanish vocabulary. When he is crucified towards the end of this chapter, he tries to remain calm and says: “no es nada” (*FW* 470.01); “it’s nothing.” And when his soul is about to depart, his farewell is also a “Juan Jaimesan *hastaluego*” (*FW* 470.33). In III.iii many of the Spanish references keep a similar pattern as Shaun-Yawn begins to speak. He says goodbye in Spanish—“Hastan the vista!” (*FW* 485.05-6)—and refers to his previous drowsy state as a “siesta” (*FW* 501.10). When he counts his toes (he is discalced) he includes Spanish to name his “largos” (the big toes) and the “peekweeny” (*FW* 519.10-11). When Anna Livia, or perhaps Issy, comes out of Yawn’s mouth, she names the days of the week in Spanish: “Loonacied! Marterdyed!! Madwakemiherculossed!!!” (*FW* 492.05). Finally, when Earwicker comes out of Yawn, he is reminded that he has some possessions, “stolemines or something of that sorth in the sooth of Spainien” (*FW* 539.13-14). At this point presumably Earwicker has reunited all his broken pieces, as well as the different members of the family.

We might also remember at this point that there have been attempts on the part of critics like Tindall or Cumpiano to link Shaun’s wanderings and suffering in these chapters to a mystical reunion with God, very much in keeping with the mystical process of purgation, illumination and union, and also with the fourteen stations of the *via crucis*.⁸ Although we are far from clarifying the parallels, purgation seems to be underscored by Shaun’s constant references to food and his *via crucis* signalled by the references to his sore feet. We should also remember that Saint John was proclaimed “father of the church” in 1926, that in 1928, as Ellmann tells us, Joyce had a tutor of Spanish for some time (*JJ II* 607) and that in 1929 Joyce mentioned explicitly the importance of Saint John’s “Dark Night” for *Finnegans Wake* (*Letters I* 281). It was also during these years that he was composing Book III.

The distinction of Spanish and Portuguese in the third book, though a rudimentary one based on basic vocabulary, seems relatively

clear, as it points to the contrast between the Spanish Carmelite Shaun and the Portuguese-Basque Jesuit Shem. Shaun uses the central language, Shem is more fluent in the peripheral one. Book II, especially those parts composed in the late thirties, show again an attempt to use the different peninsular languages, including now Basque, to reinforce the conflict between Shem and Shaun. Glugg-Shem uses Basque in II.i, not Castilian. Curiously enough, a number of lexical units that would look like Spanish or even Basque—"osco," "basco," "finis erbo"—are listed in VI.B.46 as Provençal by Joyce himself.⁹ Whether this was Joyce's alternative for Catalanian is anybody's guess.

A similar distinction appears in the story of "Kerse and the Norwegian Captain" (*FW* 311-332). Though Norwegian, the captain also speaks Portuguese. Scattered on pages 309-328 we find "jantar" (*FW* 316.36), "perus" (*FW* 317.01), "relogion" (*FW* 317.02) or "dinamarqueza" (*FW* 328.14). A quick glance at VI.B.46.57-8 shows that most of these words are in the list of Portuguese vocabulary compiled by Joyce in 1938.

The story of "How Buckley Shot the Russian General" (*FW* 338-355) is probably the most relevant for our purposes. The date of composition for this episode is very late, 1938, though the anecdote as we know was a favourite one for John Joyce and in *Scribbledehobble* Joyce had already planned to develop a story like this under the heading of his previous "The Sisters."¹⁰ Taff and Butt (Shaun and Shem) are at a pub, talking, drinking, while a screen at the back is showing some pictures. Taff tells the story, known well to readers of Joyce, of Buckley, the Irish soldier who shot the Russian general in the Crimean War. As in previous examples mentioned, "brothers," "dialogue" and "war" are major components of the episode. Taff and Butt have some familiar features because they are brothers from different orders, one Carmelite, the other Jesuit:

*TAFF (a smart boy, of the peat freers, thirty two eleven, looking through the roof towards a relevation of the karmalife order privious to his hoisting of an emergency umberolum in byway of paraguastical solation to the rhyttel in his hedd). . . . pied friar . . . digarced. . . . (*FW* 338.05-14, emphasis added)*

Taff is "*digarced*" and belongs to the "*peat freers*," that is, the "discalced Carmelite order," just like Shaun in III. These three references are very late additions to a second typescript version of the episode (47480.38 v). The number "*thirty two eleven*," 1132 (the well-known number for the

Fall), was originally in Spanish in VI.B.46-53, where we also find three lexical items related to rain (“llova, lluvia, llover”) and the word “paraguas”(??) crossed out, which becomes “*paraguistical*” in this quotation. Furthermore, the initial eight pages of this notebook also list different thematic lines for the episode. In VI.B.46-4, under the heading “War and Peace,” Joyce had jotted down “the rytel in his head (W),” which is incorporated to the opening of the piece in the final version as “*the rhyttel in his hedd*” (FW 338.08). As the episode proceeds, two more references, one to Spanish colonial conflicts, the other to the Napoleonic war, are mentioned: “TAFF (*strick struck . . . who strungled Attahilloupa with what empoisoned El Monte de Zuma*” (FW 339.31-3, emphasis added); and “TAFF (*who still senses that heavinscent houroines that entertrained him who they were sinuorivals from the sunny Espinonia but plied wopsy with his wallets in thatthack of the bustle Bakerloo. . .*)” (FW 348.29-31, emphasis added). With these clues from “The Sisters” (from *Scribledehobble*), “War and Peace,” and the lexical entries from Spanish (from VI.B.46), we may entertain the idea that Joyce planned to add up “brothers,” “war” and “Spanish” at this point.

The other participant in the dialogue, Butt, also has a clerical appearance: “BUTT (mottledged youth, clerigical appealance) (FW 338.11). Indeed, as we know by now he is more of the Jesuit strain, while the vocabulary he uses is half Basque—“No more basquibezigues for this pole aprican! With askormiles’ eskermillas” (FW 350.201)—and half Portuguese: “(BUTT) his bigotes bristling” (FW 352.28). Again, the notebooks and drafts confirm our suspicions.¹¹ VI.B.46-13-14 is a list of Basque vocabulary that includes the entry “esker mila,” “many thanks.” The list of Portuguese (VI.B.46-57-58) includes “bigote,” “relogion,” “alfaiate” (tailor), all of them words that end up near Shem.¹² The entries “askermillas,” “circunstancias” are again very late modifications added to the first printed copy (47480-31v). Butt’s “bigotes bristling” is also a late addition to the first printed copy (47480-34v).

The object of their discussion, the Russian General, has traces of Spanish, too. Early on in composition he had already appeared under the assumed name of “Blanco Fusilovna Bucklovitch” (FW 49.08). Does “Blanco” refer to “Blanco White”, as McHugh suggests? Or is it “blanco” because Paul León was a “white” Russian? Or both? What is clear at least is that Joyce thought about this general “Blanco” already in 1923 (VI.B.3.080).¹³ In addition, there was a real General Blanco, Catalonia’s Captain-General and Governor in the Philippines in 1894. His obituary, together with a biographical sketch, appeared in *The Times* on April 5, 1906.

Another Spanish connection with the Russian General assaults us in the last part of the book, specifically in the conversation between Muta and Juva. Juva mentions “the burkeley buy but he has holf his crown on the Eurasian Generalissimo” (*FW* 610.12-3). Most probably the “Eurasian Generalissimo” is, among others, “Chian-Kai-Shek,” who was titled “Generalissimo” in Western papers from 1936 to 1938.¹⁴ However, we cannot discard too easily the fact that General Franco (not “Blanco”) was also called “Generalísimo,” from September 12, 1936 onwards. Apart from other moments when the Russian general has certain Spanish connotations (*FW* 242.n1, 290.n7, 375.23, 447.24), it is again in the story of II.iii where his Spanish background shines forth: “the jesuneral of the russuates. The idolon exhibisce the seals of his orders: the starre of the Son of Heaven, the girtel of Izodella the Calottica” (*FW* 349.19-21, emphasis added). Joyce revised this addition a few times between January and May of 1938. The draft reads “Calottica” (47480-120v), but the publication in *Transition* from the same year has “Cattolica” so that Joyce had to correct it again to “Calotica” (47480-143). This could mean, at least, that he was polishing the episode very late in 1938. Why he included the “girtle” of “Isabel la Católica” as a military award for the Russian General is again anybody’s guess. The name of Queen “Isabella” is probably the best known in Spanish history and blends itself easily with “Chapelizod” and “Isobel.” It needs to be emphasized, nevertheless, that the order of “Isabel la Católica” was first awarded in 1806 and later reinstated by Franco’s regime (collar, cross and band) on June 15, 1938.¹⁵ If, as Glasheen contends, the general represents “every tyrant and father, slain by every son,”¹⁶ General Franco was very close by at the time.

The abundant vocabulary referring to television seems to indicate, apart from its modernity, that the Russian General appears on a television screen.¹⁷ As a matter of fact, Notebook VI.B.46 also includes a list of vocabulary relative to television and another to “armory,” both of which shed light on the episode. The screen broadcasts news, “tellavicious nieces” (*FW* 349.28), about military combats and other events, including this “nuclear” explosion:

The abnihilisation of the etym by the grisning of the grosning of the grinder of the grunder of the first lord of hurtreford expolodotonates through Parsuralia with an ivanmorinthorrorumble fragoromboassity amidwhiches general uttermosts confussion are perceivable moletons skaping with mulicules which coventry plumpkins fairlygosmotherthem-selves in the Landaunelegants of Pinkadindy. (*FW* 353.22-29)

Once again we need to reiterate that the dialogue between the brothers means conflict, and this time it is even televised. In the first chapter it was already announced that “Television kills telephony in brothers’ broil” and that the violent scene is to take place in front of our eyes: “our eyes demand their turn. Let them be seen! And wolfbone balefires blaze the trailmost” (*FW* 52.18-20).

If we now add up a number of ingredients we may assign coincidences a certain sense. What war were these two brothers watching on television in 1938? Who are these brothers, one a Carmelite, the other a Jesuit, one closer to Castilian, the other to Portuguese-Basque, one central, the other peripheral? Which General? What girdle of “Isabel la Católica”? One brotherly war that appeared almost daily in the news was China’s (1937-45); the other was the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). Newsreels of the time also followed the strife. The archives from “Pathé-Gaumont,” for example, hold more than sixty documentaries on the evolution of the Spanish Civil War from 1936-8.¹⁸

The question is not whether Joyce knew about the Spanish Civil War when he was revising the episode in 1938. He simply could not not know about it; the news was everywhere. It is true that at the time Joyce refused to answer a questionnaire “about his views on the Spanish War” (*JJII* 717), but it is equally true that for him all wars were the same. And he already had a place for the Civil War when it actually broke out: “he explained to Sweeney that Cain and Abel were the origin of war” (*JJII* 720). Joyce’s perfidious prose never projects evidence, but always ghostly coincidences, thereby conjuring up the cyclical nature of history. The conflicts between brothers—Shaun and Shem, Taff and Mutt, Carmelites and Jesuits, Castilian, Basque and Portuguese—are all causes of war.

Notes

¹ Denis de Rougemont, *Love in the Western World* (New York: Fawcett, 1956) 15.

² See Roland McHugh, *The Sigla of “Finnegans Wake”* (London: Arnold, 1976) chapter 6. Such family conflict is not much developed in *Ulysses*. Neither Bloom nor Molly have brothers or sisters, and Stephen’s rarely show up, whereas violence (the citizen’s, Private Carr’s) only occasionally appears connected to family affairs, as is the case of Tommy and Jacky Caffrey, the twins of “Nausicaa.”

³ Adaline Glasheen, *Third Census of "Finnegans Wake": An Index of Characters and their Roles* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1977) 63.

⁴ McHugh 8.

⁵ See Giambattista Vico, *Principios de Ciencia Nueva* (Barcelona: Orbis, 1985) I [62] 78.

⁶ Glasheen 53.

⁷ See *The James Joyce Archive. "Finnegans Wake": A Facsimile of Buffalo Notebooks VI.B.21-24*, prefaced and arranged by David Hayman (New York: Garland, 1978). Francisco García Tortosa has analysed this notebook in depth in "Tracing the Origins of Spanish in Joyce: A Sourcebook for the Spanish Vocabulary in *Buffalo Notebook VI.B.23*," *Papers on Joyce* 7/8 (2001-2002) 5-15.

⁸ See William York Tindall, *A Reader's Guide to "Finnegans Wake"* (New York: Farrar, 1969) 223-83 and Marion Cumpiano, *Saint John of the Cross and the Dark Night of FW* (Colchester: A Wake Newsletter, 1983). I have also attempted a limited account of the relationship; see Ricardo Navarrete Franco, "La Cruz de San Juan en Joyce," in *Silverpowdered Olivetrees: Reading Joyce in Spain*, eds. Jefferey Simons, José María Tejedor Cabrera, Margarita Estévez Saá and Rafael I. García León (Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2003) 265-72.

⁹ See *The James Joyce Archive. "Finnegans Wake": A Facsimile of Buffalo Notebooks VI.B.45-50*, vol 13, prefaced and arranged by David Hayman (New York: Garland, 1978). Further references to this notebook are from this volume.

¹⁰ See David Hayman, *A First Draft Version of "Finnegans Wake"* (Austin: U of Texas P, 1963). Hayman comments that "under 'The Sisters' there is a treatment of the oral tale, a theme which was designed to contribute largely to the content and form of II.iii" (18). See also Thomas E. Connolly, *James Joyce's Scribbledehobble* (Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1961) 25. For a correction of the date of composition of this notebook, see Danis Rose, *The Textual Diaries of James Joyce* (Dublin: Lilliput P, 1993) 15.

¹¹ See *The James Joyce Archive. "Finnegans Wake": Book 2, Chapter 3. A Facsimile of Drafts, Typescripts and Proofs*, vol. 2, prefaced and arranged by David Hayman (New York: Garland, 1978).

¹² Danis Rose suggests in his *James Joyce's The Index Manuscript. "Finnegans Wake" Holograph Workbook VI.B.46* (Colchester: A Wake Newsletter P, 1978) that they are "associated primarily to [Shem] and . . . used only in two chapters, I.7 and II.3" (116).

¹³ James Joyce, *The "Finnegans Wake" Notebooks at Buffalo: VI.B.3*, eds. Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001) 67. The transcription reads: "Blanco is the / wild goose."

¹⁴ See, for example, *The Times*, August 12, 1936, December 14, 1936, and April 19, 1938.

¹⁵ See Federico Fernández de la Puente y Gómez, *Condecoraciones españolas: órdenes, cruces y medallas civiles, militares y nobiliarias* (Madrid: Gráficas Osca, 1953) 35.

¹⁶ Glasheen 42.

¹⁷ The episode is certainly difficult. I follow Danis Rose's reading in his *Understanding "Finnegans Wake"* (New York: Garland, 1982), where he contends that "amid a great deal of fluorescence there appears on the screen a 'still', the figure of 'Popey O'Donoshough, the jesugeneral of the russuates'" (184).

¹⁸ See <www.gaumontpathearchives.com>.