

## Bullfighting in *Ulysses*

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When James Joyce chose Gibraltar as Molly Bloom's homeland, he had, for the sake of credibility, to include a certain amount of references to Spain and some Spanish words.<sup>1</sup>

However, the picture portrayed by Joyce, who was definitely informed of the Spanish customs of the inhabitants of the British colony, is rather stereotyped. That is the reason why he offers a couple of references to bullfighting, a Spanish cultural feature that has usually called foreigners' attention.

Thus, Leopold Bloom, amongst the ideal places that he would like to visit, mentions, "the Plaza de Toros at La Linea, Spain (where O'Hara of the Camerons had slain the bull)" (*U* 17.1986-87). On the other hand, later in the novel, his wife Molly remembers her attendance at a bullfight, "at the bullfight at La Linea when that matador Gomez was given the bull's ear" (*U* 18.626). The picture is completed by means of a scene that shows fear in front of the bull: "ferocious old Bull began to charge the banderilleros with the sasher and the 2 things in their hats and the brutes of men shouting bravo toro" (*U* 18. 629-32).

The reader can assume that Bloom, who never visited the Iberian Peninsula in his fictitious life, heard of the bullfight in conversation with his wife. The author could have added this detail in chapters 17 and 18 at the same time, as the last four chapters were written in pairs.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the bullfight does not necessarily have to be the same one; the married couple might refer to two different bullfights.

In spite of the fact that Joyceans have researched deeply into the connection between Gibraltar and *Ulysses*, very little has been said about this topic.<sup>3</sup>

Consequently, the purpose of this article is threefold: firstly, to date the bullfight(s) in time; secondly, identify who the bullfighters O'Hara and Gomez were or could be; and, finally, find out Joyce's sources for including these details in *Ulysses*.

To begin with, we have to admit that it is impossible to know exactly when the bullfight that Molly Bloom attended in La Línea took place, but we can date it between 1883 and 1888; i.e., when Molly went to the bullfight she was between 13 and 18 years old.

The second date refers to the year when Marion Tweedy left Gibraltar for good. The first one is the year in which that bullring was opened on 20 May 1883,<sup>4</sup> a date that Joyce had to know, as it is included in the *Gibraltar Directory and Guidebook*, his main source for Gibraltar.

The first bullfighter, John O'Hara, was a British officer who was stationed in Gibraltar in the 1870s. Joyce says he belonged to the Camerons, but, again, he cannot be "close to fact", as we will show below. He left his military career and became a bullfighter, as Sullivan pointed out,<sup>5</sup> although we can add some new data. Even if he is unknown today, however, he became somehow famous in his time both in Spain and Ireland, his homeland.

In order to learn about O'Hara, we have two kinds of contemporary sources: Spanish (by journalists and bullfighting writers) and military (by a British officer).

Starting in Spain, we can read the words by Sánchez de Neira, the author of the first bullfighting encyclopedia. This author was the first to write about the Irishman. He must have seen him fighting in Madrid in 1876 and, assuming that he was rather an Englishman,<sup>6</sup> said that, basically, he was not a good bullfighter.<sup>7</sup>

According to Sánchez de Neira, O'Hara started being keen on bullfighting at the bullfights that he saw in San Roque, whose bullring was opened in 1853,<sup>8</sup> and Algeciras, which had had a bullring since 1868.<sup>9</sup> These shows were not only attended by people from Gibraltar, but also by the British soldiers stationed at the garrison. That is the reason why the posters for the Algeciras Bullring were published both in English and Spanish, as well as the programs that were handed out at the bullring and in Gibraltar.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, O'Hara could never have even attended a bullfight at La Línea, due to the date. On the other hand, he could have taken part in some minor shows outside a bullring, since some of them took place in 1873, 1875, and 1876.<sup>11</sup>

The truth is that O'Hara enjoyed bullfighting and decided to practice the activity. We cannot know how he entered that world, but it seems clear that he did not follow the traditional hierarchy, that is, he did not start by becoming a member of a *matador's* support team, as was customary at the time. On the contrary, he became a *novillero*, i.e., a bullfighter who kills young bulls, and began working in important bullrings. Perhaps it was easy for him, due to his social and economical

status, if Sánchez de Neira's statement was right when claiming that he was quite wealthy. O'Hara might even have offered some money for being allowed to bullfight. Cossío, the well-known bullfighting historian, connects O'Hara with veteran *Matador* Manuel Domínguez "Desperdicios" ("Waste"), and tells an anecdote: O'Hara asked him for a light purple costume, but an indiscreet person told him that he never wore any underwear and so "Desperdicios" refused to lend him his costume. Nevertheless, O'Hara fought on that day with a suitable costume.<sup>12</sup>

Unfortunately, Cossío, who, when referring to O'Hara, usually follows Sánchez de Neira's data without quoting his sources, simply says, "I know for sure".<sup>13</sup> It is difficult to know how old O'Hara was, but he must have been born in the 1840s.<sup>14</sup>

In any case, O'Hara began to fight *novilladas* towards 1874 in some bullrings in Andalucía and Barcelona. His best season was in 1876. On 6 August he did it in Sevilla,<sup>15</sup> together with "el Cirineo"<sup>16</sup> and Fernando Gómez "Gallito" ("Little Rooster").<sup>17</sup> The audience anxiously awaited O'Hara's appearance in the Maestranza Bullring—maybe the best reputed in the world, owing to the fact that he was a foreigner. The local press published some reviews that were not precisely flattering.<sup>18</sup>

O'Hara fought again on 20 August in that year, in Málaga, with Hipólito Sánchez Arjona.<sup>19</sup> On 10 December 10, he fought in a small bullring, *Los Campos Eliseos*, where Sánchez de Neira must have seen him. The prospect of this bullfight did not create such a great deal of excitement. The reason is that it was in the winter and in an insignificant bullring.<sup>20</sup> From then on, very little can be found about O'Hara. However, he fought again in Alicante in 1877 and a local newspaper published that he was a handsome and brave gentleman, but knew very little about bullfighting. That year, he fought in Valencia too.<sup>21</sup>

The British contemporary source on O'Hara is General Horace Smith-Dorrien, who, in a section in his memoirs, wrote that he met him personally in Cork in 1877, that is to say, when O'Hara had just gone back from Spain.<sup>22</sup> That is the reason why he could not have belonged to the Camerons, since the Cameron Highlanders had been in Gibraltar between July 1879 and August 1882 for the first time and they came back in February 1895 and left in October 1897.<sup>23</sup> His economical situation was not good. Thus, Smith-Dorrien's testimony contradicts Sánchez de Neira's, but perhaps he had a rich background but felt forced to leave the army for some reason. According to Smith-Dorrien, O'Hara was an unlucky person and that is the reason why he had become a bullfighter. When he was in Cork, he boasted about his success but surely said nothing about his failure in Madrid. Two years later, towards 1879, when

Smith-Dorrien returned from the Zulu Wars, he met him again and learnt that O'Hara had rejoined the army as a gymnastic instructor and had been quickly promoted to sergeant.

No more news was heard of this curious character, so let us try to figure out who could have been "matador Gomez". If we pay attention to the dates that Molly may be referring to, there are three possibilities.

On the one hand, he has been identified as Juan Gómez de Lesaca.<sup>24</sup> We do not know if he ever fought in La Línea, although he certainly did in neighboring Algeciras in 1894.<sup>25</sup> In any case, Molly could never have seen him, since he did not become a professional until 1895 in Sevilla and died in 1896 from his injuries after a bullfight in Guadalajara. As a curiosity, we can say that that day he was accompanied by a *picador* (one of the assistants on a horse) named or nicknamed "Inglés".<sup>26</sup>

It has also been pointed out that "matador Gómez" might have been Fernando Gómez "Gallito" o "el Gallo" ("the Rooster"),<sup>27</sup> and Molly could have seen him, since he was fighting between 1876 and 1896.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, he fought in La Línea at least in 1895,<sup>29</sup> and consequently Joyce could have read somewhere of a connection between Fernando Gómez's name and La Línea's. We must not forget that Fernando Gómez had fought with O'Hara at La Maestranza in Sevilla.<sup>30</sup>

Another possible "Gomez" could be Rafael Gómez "Gallito" or, again, "el Gallo" ("the Rooster"), Fernando's son and one of the most famous *matadores* at the time, who performed in La Línea at least in 1903.<sup>31</sup>

But, supposing that Joyce had known that any of these three Gómez had fought at La Línea, he could never have learnt that they had been given a bull's ear. The reason is quite simple: no ears were awarded to successful bullfighters at the time.<sup>32</sup>

In the days in which Molly Bloom attended a bullfight, ears were not prizes. Bullfighters rather took a lap of honor and the audience clapped. Sometimes, spectators made gifts and threw them, for instance, cigars. As a consequence, Joyce had to learn this detail later, at a time in which the three former Gómez were already dead. Again, this is a clear anachronism, as O'Hara's bullfight is.

It was not until as late as 2 October 1910 when good bullfighters began receiving bull's ears. That day, Vicente Pastor got his first one in Madrid. Those trophies were certainly rare at first. As a matter of fact, the second one was gotten by "Machaquito" the following year and the third one was for Ricardo Torres "Bombita" ("Little Bomb") in 1912, that is, one ear a year. Although this is the official History of Bullfighting, people had begun asking for those trophies in some towns, despite the

fact that they were hardly ever conceded. The first one in La Línea was for “Machaquita” in 1908.<sup>33</sup> In Algeciras, *novillero* Posadas got one on 17 April 1910.<sup>34</sup> The *Plaza de Toros* of La Línea began from then on to ask for as many ears as possible.<sup>35</sup> Some time later, the new fashion arrived at Sevilla’s bullring.

The first ear at that bullring was given to another Gómez: José Gómez Ortega “Gallito”, popularly known as “Joselito”, Fernando “el Gallo”’s son and Rafael’s brother, in San Miguel’s Fair in 1915.<sup>36</sup>

If, as we pointed out above, Molly Bloom could not have seen a bullfighter while he was given a bull’s ear between 1883 and 1886, it is an anachronism that Joyce included because he surely made use of another source. In that source he could have found that a “matador Gomez” got a bull’s ear and that had to be between 1914-1920, when he was writing *Ulysses*.

Joselito was definitely the most important bullfighter in those years—and arguably of all time. He was awarded many ears all over Spain. The first one was in Madrid on 5 July 1913 and in Sevilla in 1915,<sup>37</sup> as pointed out above. He fought in La Línea every year between 1915 and 1919. He was quite successful there, as we have counted at least ten ears, four tails and a leg (i.e. more important trophies) in the eight bullfights in which he took part during those years.<sup>38</sup> Joselito became an idol for both Gibraltar and La Línea’s *aficionados*, as we can infer from the fact that the first *Peña Taurina* (Bullfighting Club) founded at that town was called *Club Taurino Joselito*. When a bull killed “Gallito” on 16 May 1920 in Talavera de la Reina, the country was shaken by the news of his death. He was expected to bullfight in La Línea the following Sunday, but the show was cancelled.<sup>39</sup>

Joyce must have gotten some of these data from some source. However, the sources that Joyce made use of to gather information about Gibraltar offer very few details about bullfighting.

Joyce could not have read anything about bullfighting and a bullring in La Línea de la Concepción in a guide that he used and was published in 1844, entitled *The Traveller’s Hand-Book for Gibraltar*,<sup>40</sup> since neither the bullring or both bullfighters existed at the time.<sup>41</sup>

After reading this short guide, Joyce may have found out that there was another book on Gibraltar, John Drinkwater’s on the last Spanish siege to Gibraltar.<sup>42</sup> Joyce asked Frank Budgen for a copy of this book in a letter on 16 August 1921, when he was finishing the chapter (*Letters I* 169). As this book was published in 1785, he could get no information on the topic from this source.

In the same way, Henry Field's *Gibraltar* does not include any notice on bullfighting.<sup>43</sup> Consequently, one has to think of other sources.

The *Gibraltar Directory and Guidebook*, first edited by Captain George James Gilbard, is the only Joycean source in which something about the matter can be found.

This guide was expanded from 1906 on, with a selection of curious events which happened at the Rock.<sup>44</sup> This book includes some references to the bullfights held in San Roque and Algeciras,<sup>45</sup> obviously because they were attractive to Gibraltarians and the great amount of visitors. Thus, as early as in 1882, when La Línea's bullring was still under construction, Gilbard said that it was one of the most important buildings in town.<sup>46</sup> In addition, from 1906 on, the guide lists the inauguration on 20 May 20 1883 as one of the important events.<sup>47</sup>

Despite this, it seems unlikely that Joyce had read there about the "Plaza de Toros at La Línea" or O'Hara or Gómez. We have to take into account that Joyce wrote it in Spanish, "Plaza de Toros", whereas Captain Gilbard does it in English, "bull-ring". Moreover, Joyce names the town in Spanish too, "La Línea", and Gilbard, in the same way, mentions an English translation of the name, "The Lines", although he also includes "Línea de la Concepción", but without an article. In another section, one can read "Bull Ring at Línea", omitting the article again.<sup>48</sup> As a result, it seems that Joyce saw somewhere the Spanish name of the bullring and the town, and it was not in any edition of the *Gibraltar Directory and Guidebook*.

We said above that it was customary for Gibraltarians, the military, officials and visitors to attend bullfights in La Línea. The *Plaza de Toros* was also frequented by tourists and travellers, and one of the attractions was attending a bullfight in July, when they took place. Joyce wrote two letters to his aunt Josephine on 14 October and 2 November 1921 asking for information on the Powells and the Dillons, who had been at the Rock (*Letters I* 174). Did Joyce get any information about attending a bullfight in which "matador Gómez" (i. e. Joselito) was given a bull's ear? If this is so, we also know that this detail was added to the proofs between 1921 and 1922, quite far in time from the year in which Molly saw that matador.<sup>49</sup>

Nevertheless, perhaps Joyce never heard of a *matador* Gómez and simply named him that way because it is a quite common Spanish last name and so might prove very realistic.<sup>50</sup>

One can easily figure out that both visitors and inhabitants of the Rock mailed postcards to the British Isles and there were some postcards of the bullring in La Línea. These cards were published in Gibraltar itself

and had been taken by photographers like V. B. Cumbo, who took some at the bullring portraying different bullfighting scenes between 1915 and 1920.<sup>51</sup> Several of them, dating from the 1910s, can be seen at the *Archivo Histórico Municipal de La Línea* (Historical Archive in La Línea). One can see in some of them British soldiers, women wearing *mantillas* and, of course, Spanish gentlemen (“the brutes of men?”). Similarly, the Archive keeps some postcards from the same time with the text “La Línea, Plaza de Toros”. Could Aunt Josephine get one of these postcards from her friends? Did Joyce see any of them while in Paris, Zurich or Trieste? If this is so, he simply had to add “where O’Hara of the Camerons had slain the bull”, an information that, as we are going to show below, he took from another source.

This might be a plausible hypothesis since, as we showed above, it is clear that Joyce did not learn much about bullrings in his Gibraltar sources. Furthermore, postcards and *toreros* are connected in *Ulysses*, the “nude torero” (*U* 17. 1810-13).<sup>52</sup> Bloom claims he bought it from Paris by post. We do not know if Joyce himself bought that postcard, but he could have also seen other bullfighting scenes on postcards.

As far as the O’Hara source is concerned, Joyce’s father can help us to find it. Mr John Joyce was a very popular person in Cork and so was O’Hara, as General Smith-Dorrien wrote.<sup>53</sup> He did not necessarily have to meet him, but he could probably have heard of him, bearing in mind that the population of Cork at the time was not very large. A person fond of stories and anecdotes like John Joyce might have told his son that a British soldier that he had heard of had become a bullfighter in Spain.<sup>54</sup>

No matter what sources Joyce used, the bullfighting scenes in *Ulysses* are one of the several anachronisms that can be found in a novel that attempts to achieve realism. Yet Joyce was very close to detail, and one can easily believe that Molly Bloom could see *matadores* O’Hara and Gómez bullfighting at La Línea’s bullring while she was living in Gibraltar in the 1880s.

In conclusion, the “nude torero” and the “señorita”, an Irish and a Spanish bullfighter, are some of the many details that depict the relationship between an Irishman (Bloom) and a half-Spaniard (Molly). This adds also to the mystery of Molly’s past: the daughter of a British officer (like O’Hara), and a Spanish Jewess, Lunita Laredo, “whoever she was” (*U* 18. 846-47).

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> On the relationship between Joyce and Spain, see J. M. Fiol and J. C. Santoyo, "Joyce, *Ulysses* y España," *Papeles de Son Armadans* 67.192 (1972) 121-140; José M. Ruiz, "El componente hispánico en la lengua y en la obra literaria de James Joyce," *Letras de Deusto* 14.28 (1984) 103-27; Francisco García Tortosa, "España y su función simbólica en la narrativa de *Ulysses*," *Revista canaria de estudios ingleses* 8 (1984) 13-31; and Francisco García Tortosa, "España en Joyce," *Catálogo Exposición James Joyce* (Madrid: Círculo de Bellas Artes, 2004) 59-73. On the Spanish language and Joyce's *oeuvre*, Francisco García Tortosa, "Función de los hispanismos en *Finnegans Wake*," *Joyce en España (I)*, Eds. Francisco García Tortosa & Antonio R. de Toro Santos (La Coruña, Universidade da Coruña, 1994) 113-20.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Groden, *Ulysses in Progress* (Princeton: University of Princeton Press, 1977) 52-53. According to this scholar, based on Joyce's letters, this stage was the last of the three stages in which the composition of *Ulysses* can be divided, although all chapters were corrected simultaneously.

<sup>3</sup> On Molly Bloom's Gibraltar, see Robert Adams, *Surface and Symbol: The Consistency of James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962); Phillip F. Herring, "Toward an Historical Molly Bloom," *English Literary History* 45.3 (1978) 501-21; Jonathan Quick, "Molly Bloom's Mother," *English Literary History* 57.1 (1990) 223-240; and Rafael García Valdivia, "Santa Marion Calpense. Gibraltar en el *Ulysses* de James Joyce," *Almoraima* 4 (suplemento) (1990).

<sup>4</sup> According to the original poster, which hangs in the Bullfight Museum "Pepe Cabrera" in La Línea, the first bullfight took place on 20 May 1883, as a part of the Corpus Christi festival. The bullfighters were Antonio Carmona "Gordito" ("Fatty"), Salvador Sánchez "Frascuero" y Antonio Ortega "El Marinero" ("The Sailor"), who slew Teresa Núñez de Prado's bulls, from Arcos de la Frontera. This date is misquoted in some books as 29 May, especially in those published by Espasa-Calpe, for instance in the well-known encyclopedia by J.M. Cossío et al., *Los Toros. Tratado técnico e histórico* (Espasa-Calpe, Madrid 1960-1997) I:510.

<sup>5</sup> Philip Sullivan, *A Wake Newslitter* (11 March 1963) 3-4. This information was also gathered by W. Thornton in *Allusions in "Ulysses": An Annotated List* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969) 481 and Don Gifford & Robert J. Seidman, *"Ulysses" Annotated. Notes for James Joyce's "Ulysses"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982) 599.

<sup>6</sup> One should not forget that Ireland did not become independent until 1922. Thus, a British citizen at the time could have been easily mistakenly taken for an English person.

<sup>7</sup> José Sánchez de Neira, *El Toreo. Gran diccionario tauromáquico* (Madrid: Turner 1879) 426. According to him, he would have been a better bullfighter if he had been Spanish: "[a] pesar del entusiasmo que en Andalucía causó, nunca vimos en él disposición para ser torero; así que desde finales de



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1876 no se ha vuelto a hablar de él, y su carrera taurómaca ha durado escasamente unos dos años. Fáltale a Inglaterra lo que a España le sobra”.

<sup>8</sup> Cossío I 544: 20 August 1853.

<sup>9</sup> Cossío I 478: 2 June 1868.

<sup>10</sup> Cossío II 723 reprints a poster from the bullfight at Algeciras on 2 June 1879: “Algeciras Bull-Ring. Ganadería Widow of Varela. Cara-Ancha and Fernando Gómez el Gallito”. In the Bullfighting Museum “Pepe Cabrera”, La Línea, in the poster gallery, there is a poster in English for the bullfights on 3 and 4 June 1886 of the old “Algeciras bull’s circus”, designed by La Marina, Cádiz. A Spanish newspaper was published in Gibraltar between 1869 and 1970, *El Calpense*, where a journalist announces that the fliers had already been handed out both in English and in Spanish, 13 June 1910.

<sup>11</sup> De la Vega Cuevas, *La Línea de la Concepción (Cádiz). Cien años de historia (1870-1970)* (Jerez: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 1973) 337 and ff.

<sup>12</sup> Cossío III 680.

<sup>13</sup> Cossío III 680.

<sup>14</sup> Don Ventura, who devotes two pages to him, says he was over thirty when he took up bullfighting. Bagüés Nasarre de Letona, Ventura (Don Ventura), *Efemérides taurinas. Hoy hace años... Segunda serie, de Julio a Diciembre* Barcelona: Lux, 1928) 398-400.

<sup>15</sup> Antonio de Solís Sánchez-Arjona, *Anales de la Real Plaza de Toros de Sevilla II (1836-1934)* (Sevilla: Real Maestranza de Caballería, 1994) 94. O’Hara is alluded to as a young Englishman.

<sup>16</sup> Marcelino Ortiz Blanco, *Diccionario de la Tauromaquia* (Madrid Espasa-Calpe: 2000) 180-181. Manuel Hermosilla Llanera “el Cirineo” was born in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Cádiz on January 1, 1847, bullfought for the first time in El Puerto de Santa María on 28 August 1873, although he may have done it before in Mexico. He retired in 1909 and died in his hometown in 1918.

<sup>17</sup> Ortiz Blanco 334-335 and Luis Nieto Manjón, *Toreros de Sevilla (de Costillares a Espartaco)* (Sevilla: Editorial Andaluza de Periódicos Independientes, 2000) 69-75. He was born in Sevilla on 18 August 1847; made his debut in Sevilla, 16 April 1876; fought for the last time in Barcelona, 25 October 1876; and died in Gelves, Sevilla, in 1897.

<sup>18</sup> *La Andalucía*, 8 August 1876 and *El Porvenir*, 8 August 1876.

<sup>19</sup> Cossío III 680. On Hipólito Sánchez Arjona, see Cossío III 874. He was born in Sevilla on 4 December 1850 and made his debut in Sevilla, 28 March 1875.

<sup>20</sup> Edmondo De Amicis describes some of these shows in his travel book *Spagna* (Firenze 1875).

<sup>21</sup> Pieter Hilderling, “Los toreros ingleses”, lecture for “Peña Taurina de Holanda” (Dutch Bullfighting Club), Amsterdam, November 2000. N. D. 15 January 2004 <<http://www.portaltaurino.com/noticias/inglaterra.htm>>.

<sup>22</sup> O’Hara had belonged to the same regiment to which young Smith-Dorrien had been stationed, “95th on Foot”, before being sent to Gibraltar. See

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Horace Smith-Dorrien, *Memories of Forty-Eight Years Service*, London 1925, *The War Times Journal*. N. D. 27 December 2003 <<http://www.richthofen.com/smith-dorrien>>. The full quotation reads as follows: “Cork was a lively station, and the people hospitable and attractive, but I can think of only one story of sufficient interest to record. One day an individual, looking somewhat out-at-elbows, appeared in the Mess and turned out to be rather a remarkable person. He had been an officer in the regiment and was well known to most of those then present. It seemed he had been very popular, but that shortage of the wherewithal to enjoy life had forced him to exchange to another regiment. Gibraltar had become his new station, and the dangers of the curse of shortage of cash still pursued him, he left the Army and became a matador, and a very popular one, for to this day the skill and bravery of the famous “Matador Ingles” O’Hara is talked of in the south of Spain. I remember O’Hara showing us with pride the matador pig-tail neatly plaited and curled up on the crown of his head. The next time I met him was two years later as gymnastic instructor on the Curragh. He was a man of fine physique, had enlisted in a Dragoon Regiment, and quickly been promoted Sergeant. After that I lost sight of him.”

<sup>23</sup> The *Gibraltar Directory and Guidebook for 1914* lists the regiments stationed at the Rock (20-23).

<sup>24</sup> Francisco García Tortosa, “España y su función simbólica en la narrativa de *Ulysses*”, *Revista canaria de estudios ingleses* 8 (1984) 30.

<sup>25</sup> In the Bullfighting Museum “Pepe Cabrera” in La Línea, there is a poster for the old Algeciras bullring, dated 4 November 1894, on which Gómez de Lesaca is announced as the third bullfighter (that means the youngest), together with “Cara-Ancha” (“Broad-Face”) and “El Guerra” (“The War”).

<sup>26</sup> Ortiz Blanco 355 y Nieto Manjón 73.

<sup>27</sup> Phillip Sullivan 4. This is the source of Thornton 491 and Gifford 617.

<sup>28</sup> Ortiz Blanco 334-335 y Nieto Manjón 69-75.

<sup>29</sup> Crescencio Torres Butrón, *Paisajes Linenses* (Algeciras: Ayuntamiento de La Línea 1999) 181. According to him, it was on 6 October, 1895, and introduced Antonio López Calderón, offering one of José Clemente’s bulls for the latter’s debut.

<sup>30</sup> See footnote 16.

<sup>31</sup> Historic Archive at La Línea de la Concepción, folder “Plaza de Toros”: contract for the bullfight, 3 May 1903.

<sup>32</sup> On the origins of trophies, Díaz Cañabate wrote a chapter entitled “De orejas y rabos” (Cossío II 22-23).

<sup>33</sup> It is difficult to be sure that this ear was the first one, but a contemporary local newspaper reports this event (*Las Noticias*, Algeciras, 24 August 1908).

<sup>34</sup> *El Calpense*, Gibraltar 18 April 1910.

<sup>35</sup> The first ones given in La Línea were for Juan Belmonte on 13 July 1914, according to Leiva and Ávila, 401; but perhaps some had been given

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before. In February 1915, the satiric journal *Pero Grullo*, published that critics wanted to forbid the practice in Madrid.

<sup>36</sup> Cossío V 133.

<sup>37</sup> Cossío IX 137.

<sup>38</sup> All of Joselito's bullfights in La Línea are listed in a document displayed at the *José y Juan* room at the Bullfighting Museum in La Línea. He bullfought for the first time on 18 July 1915, with Belmonte, and was given two ears. Two days later, two ears, a tail and a leg, the first leg ever given in Spain. On 16 July 1916, one ear. On 17 July 1916, two ears and a tail. On 15 July 1917 an ear and a tail. No trophies on 18 May 1918. On 20 July 1919, he got two ears and the following day, a tail. This information has been gathered from Torres Butrón 194-199.

<sup>39</sup> Bullfighting Museum "Pepe Cabrera": there is a picture of the six bulls on that day.

<sup>40</sup> Herring 505 posits that this is another Joycean source for Gibraltar.

<sup>41</sup> Bell, James, *The Traveller's Hand-Book for Gibraltar, with Observations on the Surrounding Country, by an Old Inhabitant*. (London: Cowie, Jolland and Co., 31, Poultry, 1844). The author's name had been omitted by the publishers, but in the copy at the Garrison Library in Gibraltar, someone has written his name on the first page with a pencil.

<sup>42</sup> *History of the Late Siege of Gibraltar with a Description and Account of that Garrison from the Earliest Periods*, by John Drinkwater, Captain of the Seventy-second Regiment, or Royal Manchester Voluntaries. (London: printed by T. Spilbury, Snowhill, 1875). Bell's book mentions this book on page 33.

<sup>43</sup> This source was discovered by Card, after examining Joyce's notes. The book is Henry M. Field, *Gibraltar* (London: Chapman and Hall Limited, 1989). See James Van Dyck Card, "A Gibraltar Sourcebook for Penelope," *James Joyce Quarterly* 8 (Winter 1971) 163-75. Field does not say much about La Línea, but he points out that the bullring was one of the important buildings: "At a little distance we came to a row of sentries—a line of red-coast that kept guard over the majesty of England. Then a half-mile walk across a low, sandy plains—the Neutral Ground—and we came to another line of sentinels in different uniforms and speaking a different tongue, a little beyond which is Linea (so named from its being just which has the three requisites of a Spanish town—a church, a market, and a bull-ring!)" (112).

<sup>44</sup> Several authors wrote a chapter entitled "Chronicle of Events", "A Selection of Historical, Important and Curious Events in Gibraltar, since the British occupation in 1704 . . . to July 1904; being extracts from . . . Gibraltar Chronicle and information collected from private sources". Gilbard, G. J; *A Popular History of Gibraltar, its Institutions, and its Neighbours on Both Sides of the Straits and a Guidebook* (Gibraltar: Garrison Library Printing Establishment, 1882) n/p. This title changed to *Gibraltar Directory and Guidebook* in 1883. The *Gibraltar Chronicle* published a facsimile edition of the 1883 edition, with an introduction and a list of the British and Gibraltar libraries

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where the different editions can be found. However, some of them have disappeared.

<sup>45</sup> Gilbard 73.

<sup>46</sup> Gilbard 67-68: “The Lines (Línea de la Concepción). On the ruins were erected what was formerly a collection of squalid houses, with two Barracks for the Spanish troops; but within the last two or three years houses of a much better pretension have been erected on the sand, with some cafés, a large church, a theatre, and a bull-ring; and the place is spreading extensively, the inhabitants now numbering thousands where formerly they were only in hundreds”.

<sup>47</sup> VV.AA, *Gibraltar Directory and Guidebook, 1914* n/p: “May, 20: Inauguration of the Bull Ring at Linea, 1883”. However, Benedict R. Miles’ 1916 edition omits this fact.

<sup>48</sup> La Línea has changed its name several times. See De la Vega Rodríguez, José, *La Línea de la Concepción (Cádiz). Cien años de historia (1870-1970)* (Jerez de la Frontera: Diputación Provincial de Cádiz, 1973): 55-57.

<sup>49</sup> Driver, Clive, *James Joyce. Ulysses. The Manuscript and First Printing Compared* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975) 709. This facsimile edition lets us see what Joyce added to the galley proofs.

<sup>50</sup> Perhaps for being a very common Spanish last name, Joyce also included it in *Finnegans Wake III. iii*, “the game for a Gomez” (FW 561.14). According to Adeline Glasheen, it is an allusion to a Spaniard killed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. See Adeline Glasheen, *Third Census of “Finnegans Wake”* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1977) 175.

<sup>51</sup> For instance, there is one with the following text: “LINEA, Suerte de vara. B. Cumbo, Gibraltar”. This must have taken place prior to 1928.

<sup>52</sup> “2 erotic photocards showing : a) bucal coition between nude señorita (rare presentation, superior position) and nude torero (fore presentation, inferior position); b) anal violation by male religious (fully clothed, eyes abject) of female religious (partly clothed, eyes direct), purchased by post from Box 32, P.O., Charing Cross, London, W. C.”

<sup>53</sup> John Joyce moved to Dublin in 1874-75, although he never lost contact with his hometown (*JIII* 14).

<sup>54</sup> He might have heard of him in two ways. On the one hand, in 1877 John Joyce became a shareholder of the Dublin and Chapelized Distillery Company with a man from Cork (*JIII* 16), who might have met O’Hara personally. In addition, Joyce accompanied his father on a trip to Cork in 1894 (*JIII* 37-38). The episode is included in *A Portrait* (P 86-89). Here, young Stephen sees his father talking to a waiter asking about people in Cork, both dead and alive (P 89). Maybe one of them was John O’Hara.