『제임스조이스저널』
제29권 2호(2023년 12월) 107-130
http://dx.doi.org/10.46258/jjj.2023.29-2.107

"But I Say: Let My Country Die for Me" (*U* 15.4473): Postnationalism and the Jesuit Adaptation of Joyce and Vico

Eishiro Ito

I. Introduction

This paper aims to explore how James Joyce developed and transformed Irish nationalism in his Dublin-based novels into globalism, adding some Oriental elements, influenced by the Italian philosopher Giambattista Vico and the Jesuit missionary records on East Asia and their adaptation method.

In nighttown hallucination of *Ulysses*, Stephen Dedalus positively declares in the presence of Edward VII, the British king of the time, that he is not a British royalist: "You die for your country. Suppose. . . . Not that I wish it for you. But I say: Let my country die for me. Up to the present it has done so. I didn't want it to die. Damn death. Long live life!" (*U* 15.4471-74) It is a bitter sarcasm to the king, although Stephen seemingly just talks to Private

Carr. It indicates his will that he never wants to be a soldier to die for his country and that each citizen is more important than his/her nation. Stephen's country is not the British Empire, but Ireland, which was under the British control then. Nationalism may be considered as thoughts or actions occurring when a less-developed country aims to emulate developed countries. Ireland was the first colony of the British Empire and colonial policy suggests Ireland was regarded as an uncivilized country.

On the other hand, Leopold Bloom claims that his native country is Ireland: "—What is your nation if I may ask? says the citizen. —Ireland, says Bloom. I was born here. Ireland" (*U* 12.1430-31). Shortly after the interpolation, Bloom supplements his complicated identity with his Hungarian Jewish background: "—And I belong to a race too, says Bloom, that is hated and persecuted. Also now. This very moment. This very instant" (*U* 12.1467-68). Doubtlessly, Bloom's Irish-Jewish identity adds some tastes of cosmopolitanism and universality to the Dublin-set novel.

Can James Joyce be regarded as an Irish nationalist? Opinions differ greatly. Davin, a university friend of Stephen, claims in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* that he is an Irish nationalist and encourages Stephen to be so, too, but Stephen disagrees (*P* 206), probably reflecting the young Joyce's refusal to serve his country (Nolan 11). On October 8, 1904, Joyce left Ireland with his future wife Nora Barnacle for the European continent. He had no choice but to leave Ireland to pursue his desires: freedom and fame in literature that he could never obtain in his homeland. Except for three brief homecomings, he never went back to Ireland. He did not participate in the Easter Rising and other Irish struggles for independence. Instead, he exclusively described his hometown Dublin in his novels throughout his lifetime.

II. Jesuit Schools vs. Christian Brothers

As a young man, Joyce once declared without hesitation: "I began with the Jesuits and I want to end with them" (Ellmann 47). In fact, he was educated at three Jesuit schools, Clongowes Wood College, Belvedere College and University College [Dublin]. Joyce seemed to have been deeply affected by his Jesuit education. Having said that, he did not learn Christianity or Catholicism or Jesuitism in the classroom as Kevin Sullivan and Bruce Bradley explained, showing the results of Joyce's examinations at Belvedere College.[1] UCD was dominated by the Society of Jesus between 1893 and 1908, but they did not introduce much religious instruction (Ellmann 58). In the late nineteenth-century Ireland, the Jesuit priests and educators acknowledged that teaching religion was very arduous (Bowman and O'Donoghue 125). Joyce's younger brother Stanislaus wrote that "in Dublin and in Ireland . . . in Catholic homes and in Catholic schools the Bible is never read" (*MBK* 101). However, it is widely known that Joyce was once invited to be a priest at Belvedere College, although he politely declined. He seemed to have thought it a great honor and commemorated it by using it as the basis of an episode in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*.

His father John Joyce's economic descent and moving down to the northside of Dublin made him send his children to the O'Connell Christian Brothers School "with the greatest reluctance" (Ellmann 35). Joyce never disclosed any memory of his Christian Brothers' life in his writings presumably because he did not want to remember it. Stanislaus, who attended the same school with Joyce, vaguely remembered that "my class was so large that I felt lost in it, and sitting in a back bench I heard little and understood less. In any case it did not matter" (*MBK* 52). At the Christian Brothers, Joyce

1) See Sullivan pp. 236-7 and Bradley, pp. 110-11, 116-17, 130-31, 140-41.

would have met Éamonn Ceannt (1881-1916), one of the sixteen executed leaders of the Easter Rising, who also attended the same school where two other executed leaders of the Rising, Con Colbert (1888-1916) and Seán Heuston (1891-1916) studied later.[2] The tuition fees of the Christian Brothers were said to have been very modest owing to their religious austerity and devotion to Catholic education to the poor (Ledden 127). The Irish Christian Brothers placed much importance on teaching the Irish language and encouraging their students to play Irish sports exclusively, such as Gaelic football and hurling, and produced many Irish nationalists.

Among Ireland's Jesuit schools, Clongowes and Tullabeg held a sort of premier position as boarding schools. Clongowes was the oldest Irish Jesuit school, having opened in 1814, the year of the Jesuit restoration. It was not uncommon for the wealthier parents of Belvedere in particular to move their boys to Clongowes or Tullabeg, in a reverse process to that which Joyce experienced (McMahon 114). The curriculum at these Jesuit schools was based on the Jesuits' *Ratio studiorum*, first codified in the late sixteenth century, but after the British Empire created the intermediate schools in the 1870s, the Jesuits changed their curriculum into one that was more results-oriented (McMahon 114). Since then, the Jesuit schools organized the sports of gravel football (later rugby), association football (soccer), cricket, lawn tennis, rowing, cycling and water sports (McMahon 114). It was not until 1922 that Clongowes announced that hurling would replace football as one of the sports regularly played at school (McMahon 114). Practically speaking, Jesuit

2) Joyce was severely shocked at the Easter Rising, knowing the loss of the two graduates of University College Dublin he knew: his Irish teacher Patrick Pearse and his close friend Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, "the cleverest man at University College" with whom he published "The Day of the Rabblement" in 1901 (Ellmann 61 & 399). Skeffington is known as a model of MacCann in *A Portrait* / McCann in *Stephen Hero*.

secondary students had no interest in the Irish language which they despised as "the language of the kitchen" (Pašeta 45). However, the first article in Irish appeared in the periodical *Clongownian* in 1904, reflecting the mood of the Irish Cultural Revival or the Gaelic Revival (Pašeta 45). Joyce briefly learned the Irish language from Patrick Pearse who had studied it at the Christian Brothers because Joyce's close friend George Clancy, a great friend of Michael Cusack (model of "the citizen" of "Cyclops"), the founder of the Gaelic Athlete Association, helped form a branch of the Gaelic League at University College Dublin and persuaded his friends including Joyce to take Irish lessons (Ellmann 61). However, Joyce stopped learning the Irish language after he heard Pearse's radical opinion on exalting Irish by denigrating English, and of all things, Pearse condemned Joyce's favorite word "Thunder" as an example of verbal inadequacy (Ellmann 61). Joyce had his British passport issued later and earned his living by teaching English in the European continent. The Irish Jesuit schools never encouraged their students to become Irish nationalists, although some graduates became so voluntarily in the Irish Revolutionary Period. It is considered that the Jesuit education set Joyce free from delusional nationalism.

III. James Joyce and Giambattista Vico

Joyce lived in Trieste for about ten years in total. John McCourt notes that Trieste was in two crucial ways an Oriental workshop for Joyce: "Firstly, it genuinely contained aspects of Eastern countries, in its population, its culture and its architecture; and secondly, it actively partook in the creation and maintenance of standard Western stereotypical visions of the East" (41). Joyce found numerous Eastern elements in Trieste: the most prominent one is the

Jewish element that historically divided the world into the West and the East, by creating Christianity, the fundamental border of Europe and Asia. The characterization of Leopold Bloom and Molly Bloom is the most distinguished accomplishment of what Joyce learned in Trieste, as well as that of other Irish Jews described in *Ulysses*.

Joyce may have read Giambattista Vico as early as 1905 in Trieste, or even earlier (Verene 221). Between 1911 and 1913, Joyce privately taught Paolo Cuzzi, an eminent Triestine lawyer who was studying Vico in school. Cuzzi was reading Sigmund Freud's *Five Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, and talked with Joyce about it. Joyce remarked that Freud had been anticipated by Vico (Ellmann 340). The first reference to Vico in Richard Ellmann's biography can be found in the passage of the Clifton School, Dalkey, a private school at Summerfield Lodge where Francis Irwin (model of Mr. Deasy) hired Joyce as a teacher in 1904 for only a few weeks. It was once the residence of the poet Denis Florence McCarthy whose name appears in *Finnegans Wake* as "Tennis Flonnels Mac Courther" (*FW* 452.9) (153). In "Nestor," Armstrong the figroll-eater, one of Stephen's students from a wealthy (Protestant) family, lives on Vico Road with a brother in the Navy (*U* 2.25). Armstrong cannot identify Pyrrhus (a Greek king and statesman of the Hellenistic period, 318-272 B.C.) and confuses him with a pier: "A pier, sir. Armstrong said. A thing out in the water. A kind of a bridge. Kingstown pier, sir" (*U* 2.18-33). Actually, Vico Road, 10-mile-long road linking Kingstown pier (now Dún Laoghaire) and Killiney, is named after the Italian philosopher because the land/seascape of the area resembles his birthplace, Naples. Stephen's designation of the pier as "a disappointed bridge" (*U* 2.39) is the logical extension of a "vicus of recirculation" (*FW* 3.2) (Benstock 60). Joyce might have forgotten the road until he lived at the second floor of the apartment Via Donato Bramante, 4 from September 1912 to June 28, 1915. This is where he

started writing *Ulysses* until he and his family were forced to leave for Zürich due to the First World War. He wrote the first two episodes "Telemachus" and "Nestor" and the early part of the third episode "Proteus." From his apartment window, Piazza Giambattista Vico can be seen eastward. Joyce used to go up and down stairs from the second-floor apartment watching and going across Piazza Vico. It would have given him some opportunities to consider Vico's cyclical theory of history.


Sign of Vico Road, and its coastal view from Victoria Hill

Via Donato Bramante 4 where Joyce lived from Sep. 1912 to June 1915

Piazza Giambattista Vico

Trieste seems to have guided Joyce to find Giambattista Vico, the Jesuit omniscientific philosopher. Vico Road (R119), Dalkey is a linear coastline road from Coliemore Road, the original location of Clifton House (No. 64 Coliemore Road) to Killiney Hill Park, dedicated to public use in 1887 by Prince Albert Victor of Wales, in memory of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, and also called Victoria Hill. Vico Road, Dalkey, just leads you to Victoria Hill

where you can command a beautiful view of the Irish Sea and the mountains of Wales on a clear day to the east and southeast, and the Wicklow Mountains to the south.[3] This geography seems to imply some postcolonial connotations of Irish and British history.

In Bognor Regis, West Sussex between June 29 and August 15, 1923, Joyce passionately worked for "*Work in Progress*" (*Finnegans Wake*) and restudied Vico. Ellmann remarked that Joyce "admired also Vico's positive division of human history into recurring cycles, each set off by a thunderclap, of theocratic, aristocratic, and democratic ages, followed by a *ricorso* or return" (554). Joyce told Padraic Colum later that "I use his cycles as a trellis" (Ellmann 554). In addition, Joyce and Vico shared a fear of thunderstorms (Ellmann 554). After sending a draft of *Anna Livia Plurabelle* to his generous patroness Harriet Shaw Weaver in March 1924, Joyce urged her to read Vico's *Scienza Nuova* (*The New Science*) as with *Ulysses* he had urged her to read the *Odyssey* (Ellmann 564). However, Joyce said to the Swiss writer Jacques Mercanton, "I don't know whether Vico's theory is true; it doesn't matter. It's useful to me; that's what counts" (207). Later in Copenhagen in August 1936, when Joyce met the distinguished Danish writer Tom Kristensen, he was asked: "But do you believe in the *Scienza Nuova*?" Joyce answered: "I don't believe in any science, but my imagination grows when I read Vico as it doesn't when I read Freud or Jung" (Ellmann 693). It is very interesting that Joyce's first and probably last comments on Vico are similar in that he compared Vico with his contemporary psychologists Freud and Jung.

3) Cf. the official website "Killiney Hill Park."

6 Alexandra Terrace, Clarence Road, Bognor Regis, Arun District, West Sussex, England

Gordon Bowker notes that the three-part structure of *Ulysses* can also be seen as following the three-phase historicist cycle described by Vico—the divine, the heroic, and the human—and mirrored in the triptych of Dante's Inferno, Purgatorio and Paradiso (217). Bowker also recounts that in his final days in early January 1941, Joyce told others that reading Vico on the social dimension of cultures, not local knowledge of Dublin, would help understand *Finnegans Wake* (529).

In 1929, Samuel Beckett, fresh from Trinity College Dublin, teaching English at École normale supérieure, wrote the ambitious, abstruse, introductory and inconclusive article "Dante... Bruno. Vico.. Joyce." Here, he explained the importance of Giambattista Vico's *La Scienza Nuova*, especially "his division of the development of human society into three ages: Theocratic, Heroic, Human (civilized), with a corresponding classification of language: Hieroglyphic (sacred), Metaphorical (poetic), Philosophical (cable of abstraction and generalization)" (Beckett 4), to read and understand "*Work in Progress*" [*Finnegans Wake*] when the novel was literally "work in progress" and as Northrop Frye argued, when "the entire structure of *Finnegans Wake* was not yet visible" (4). Beckett argued that readers find frequent expressions of Vico's insistence on the inevitable nature of every progression or

retrogression: “The Vico road goes round and round to meet where terms begin” (*FW* 452.21-22) (8). Beckett probably knew the real Vico Road, Dalkey. However, he did not pay much attention to the common denominator between Joyce and Vico: the Jesuit education.

IV. Jesuit Missionaries Connecting Vico, Joyce and East Asia

Vico went to one or two Jesuit schools for short terms. He wrote in his autobiography that at the age of seven he fell from the top of the ladder, probably in his father’s bookshop, and seriously injured his head, from which it took him three years to recover (*Autobiography* 111). This episode would have encouraged Joyce to use Vico’s historical theory for *Finnegans Wake* whose main character Tim Finnegan also fell from a ladder, died and was resuscitated when whiskey, “uisce beatha” (*Ir.* water of life), accidentally scattered over him. After recovery, Vico studied at home with a number of Jesuit tutors, and as he grew older, he taught himself (*Autobiography* 118). Vico was a poet by nature, probably not so interested in science in the modern sense, but he must have confronted the Neapolitan atmosphere that valued the cold science of mathematical logic, and passionately involved with Dante, he produced his own vision of history (Reynolds 111). In the words of Max Fisch, “The ontogenetic pattern exhibited by each nation in its origin, development, maturity, decline, and fall” (xx). In Italian, “scienz*a*” also means knowledge. *La Scienza Nuova* is full of Vico’s knowledge reflecting his reading history.

In his early Triestine years, Joyce became interested in Vico who also received a Jesuit education and read many records of the Jesuit missionaries in East Asia. Vico was fascinated by China and Japan where the Jesuits had

been engaged in missionary activities since St. Francis Xavier. Reading the Jesuit missionary reports of the Far East enabled Vico to develop his idea of cyclical history, comparing the rise and fall of the Roman Empire and ancient Greek empires with those of ancient Egypt, China and Japan. He was particularly familiar with the fall of the Ming dynasty and the rise of Qing dynasty through the early Jesuit books on China, which would have greatly reinforced his cyclical view of history.

Vico was a professor of rhetoric (Latin eloquence) of Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II where he graduated. Joyce told Frank Budgen, "Imagination is memory" (Ellmann 661), which probably followed Vico's saying, "la memoria è la stessa che la fantasia" ("memory is the same as imagination") (*NS* par. 819). In *Ulysses*, Joyce used the stream of consciousness, and in *Finnegans Wake*, following the Vichian law, he used the stream of unconsciousness to express HCE's dream more freely. Vico believed that *La Scienza Nuova* would supply the master key to transform the old philological art of reading mythologies as fabulous legends into a new science of understanding mythologies as true histories, as Joseph Malli argues (36).

As Peter Burke mentions, Vico frequently adverted to Japan and China in *La Scienza Nuova*, and his main information sources are some records (books) of Jesuit missionaries (Burke 70). The Japanese, he cited, still retained "much of heroic nature" (*NS* par. 1091; Burke 70). Vico argued that the Japanese language resembles Latin in its manner of speaking (*FNS* par. 211). The impressive compound word "Japlatin" appears in Joyce's letter to Miss Weaver (*Letters* I 242) and in *FW* 467.14. Vico alluded to China more often than to Japan. He mentioned Confucius, and repeatedly showed his interest in Chinese ideograms, sometimes comparing them with Egyptian hieroglyphs. Joyce described Japan and China more in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*. Joyce was very interested in China, especially Confucius or "Kung fu-Tze," as Joyce

often spelled after Ezra Pound's spelling according to James S. Atherton's *The Books at the Wake*: "folk who may not have had many momentums to master Kung's doctrine of the meang" (*FW* 108.11-12) (Atherton 227). Joyce often spelled his name amusingly, purposely mixing it up with the English word "confusion" in *Finnegans Wake*: "confusium" (*FW* 15.12), "confucion" (*FW* 417.15), "Hell's Confucium and the Elements!" (*FW* 485.35), etc. Vico thought that China closed its door to other countries like Japan (*NS* par. 48). He also thought that it was Confucius who made philosophical and religious "confusion." Joyce seems to have alluded to Vico's opinion about Confucius. In addition, another important Confucian philosopher Mencius (*or* Mengzi; 孟子; 372–289 BC) is referred to in *Finnegans Wake* 486.13: "Minucius Mandrake") (McHugh 486).

Vico was interested in both Japanese and Chinese languages. He once mentioned Chinese letters as ideograms and hieroglyphics (*NS* par. 32). Vico showed curiosity about the Chinese language using ideograms, comparing it with the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics (*NS* par. 32). He claimed that the Chinese ideograms prove that "the Egyptians' presumption of their own remote antiquity is groundless" (*NS* par. 32).

Vico explained how Confucius influenced Chinese people for spreading atheism [Confucianism as popular morals] five hundred years before Christ, using some Jesuit missionary reports and books (*NS* par. 50): Michele Ruggiero (b. Italy; 罗明坚 1543-1607): *Nuovi avvisi del Giappone con alcuni altri della Cina* [*New Notices from Japan with Some Others from China*) (Venice 1586), Martino Martini (b. Italy; 卫匡國 1614-1661): *Sinicae historiae deca prima* [*A History of China in Ten Parts*] (Munich 1658), Nicolas Trigault (b. France; 金尼阁 1577-1628): *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu* [*Concerning the Christian expedition to China undertaken by the Society of Jesus*] (Augsburg 1615). Vico vaunted his

knowledge of the Chinese philosopher Confucius in *La Scienza Nuova*, which presumably inspired Joyce to write about him in *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake*.

Vico showed his interest in the Chinese language: "We find that the Chinese also write using hieroglyphics, as did the ancient Egyptians, to say nothing of the Scythians, who in fact were ignorant of writing! For many thousands of years, these three peoples had no contact with any other nations that could have taught them the true antiquity of the world" (*NS* par. 50). Then Vico urged readers to "imagine someone sleeping who awakes to find himself locked in a tiny dark chamber" (*NS* par. 50) as if Joyce had encouraged his readers to do so in *Finnegans Wake*: "Terrified by the darkness, he will believe that the room is much larger than what he can touch with his hands. In the obscurity of their chronology, this is just what has happened to the Chinese, the Egyptians, and the Chaldaeans as well" (*NS* par. 50). This is the moment when the three peoples united in Vico's imagination as if Joyce had been anticipated by Vico. Here Vico referred to some books on China written by early Jesuit missionaries between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries: "the Jesuit father Michele Ruggieri asserts that he has seen Chinese books that were printed before the coming of Jesus Christ. And the *History of China*, by Father Martini, another Jesuit, places Confucius in remotest antiquity" (*NS* par. 50). He continued his argument in relation to another Jesuit China Missionary: "But Nicolas Trigault is better informed than either Ruggieri or Martini. In his *Christian Mission to China*, he writes that the Chinese invented printing not more than two centuries before the Europeans, and that Confucius lived not more than 500 years before Christ" (*NS* par. 50). Then Vico mentioned Confucius: "Indeed, like the Egyptians' priestly books, the philosophy of Confucius is crude and inept, and almost entirely concerned with popular morality, meaning the morality imposed on the people by their laws" (*NS* par. 50).

Vico wondered about a curious similarity between the dragons of ancient Greece and modern China: "(Today, the dragon is likewise the emblem of civil rule among the Chinese, who still write in hieroglyphics. That two nations so distant in time and place should share this poetic mode of thought and expression is truly amazing.) And this is all that Greek history records about this poetic Dragon" (*NS* par. 423).

Vico remarked on the use of the dragon as the royal emblem in China, Egypt, Athens and Japan, referring to Silvester Petra Sancta (1590-1647), a Jesuit from Rome: *De symbolis heroicis libri IX* [*The Symbols of the Epic Book 9*] (Antwerp 1638): "The Chinese charge their royal arms with a dragon, and they carry a dragon as an emblem of their civil authority. This dragon is clearly identical with the Draco, or Dragon, who wrote the Athenian laws in blood. ... And the emperor of Japan created an order of knights who bear the dragon as their device" (*NS* par. 542).

In *Finnegans Wake*, Joyce mentioned China's dragon snapping japet [Japan]: "It will be known through all Urania soon. Like jealousjoy titaning fear; like rumour rhean round the planets; like china's dragon snapping japets; like rhodagrey up the east (*FW* 583.16-18). Congrong Dai argues that Joyce seems to have foreseen that China would beat Japan in "like china's dragon snapping japets; like rhodagrey up the east" (*FW* 583.18) as also seen in "you know what happens when chine throws over jupan" (*FW* 435.26-27) (17).

Tadao Uemura, a Japanese Vichian scholar and translator, presumes that when Vico wrote the following section, he also consulted the following Jesuit reports: Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix (1682-1761): *Histoire de l'Établissement, des Progrès, et de la Décadence du Christianisme dans l'Empire du Japon, ou l'On Voit les Différentes Révolutions qui Ont Agité Cette Monarchie Pendant plus d'un Siècle* [*History of the Establishment, Progress, and Decadence of Christianity in the Empire of Japan, Showing the*

Various Revolutions that Shaken This Monarchy For More Than a Century] (Rouen 1715), Jean Crasset de Dieppe (1618-1692): *Histoire de l'eglise du Japon* [*History of the Church of Japan*] (Paris 1689).[4] Vico wrote: "By contrast, the Emperor of China rules with a mild religion, is devoted to literary studies, and is very humane. The Emperor of the Indies is generally humane, and on the whole cultivates the arts of peace. The Persians and the Turks combine the luxury of their Asian domains with the harsh doctrine of their religion. The Turks in particular temper their pride with magnificence, pomp, liberality, and gratitude" (*NS* par. 1091). Unlike nationalism in a narrow sense, Vico's argument is not limited to one country: it opens to various countries around the world. Vico was free from nationalism, and he encompassed everywhere transcending time and space, like HCE's dream in *Finnegans Wake*.

As already discussed, when Vico referred to China and Japan, he consulted many Jesuit missionary books on China and Japan. Joyce also learned China and Japan through the early Jesuit missionary works in East Asia between 1542-1742, which probably produced the primary images of East Asia in Joyce's mind. The early Jesuit missionaries were not only engaged in Christianity missionary work, but also learned about Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and other elements of East Asian cultures as well as Japanese and Chinese languages and histories and introduced what they saw and learned in their missionary areas to the Holy See and Europe. It was St. Xavier who started the attempts of missionaries to adapt themselves to local customs in Japan. Since then, all Jesuit missionaries were encouraged to master the local language and respect the local customs as possible in East Asia. This was called the Jesuit adaptation method and was later severely criticized by Dominicans and Franciscans who successfully manipulated their adaptation

4) Cf. Tadao Uemura, *Atarashii Gaku* (*Ge*), translator's note for 1091 (1), p. 566.

policies to relegate the Jesuits from the Curia Romana. However, the Jesuit books on East Asia would have enriched the imagination of Vico and Joyce transcending the boundaries from Europe to East Asia. There is not a large amount of information about East Asia in the whole book of *La Scienza Nuova*, but it would definitely have inspired Joyce, who frequently described the East Asian pair of China and Japan throughout *Finnegans Wake* and the pidgin-English conversation between the Chinese Archdruid and the Japanese St. Patrick (*FW* 611-13) in the final chapter (Book IV) reflecting the Second Sino-Japanese War around 1938. The pair is a contrastive metaphor of the long struggle between Ireland and the British Empire.

Naomi S. Baron and Nikhil Bhattacharya argue: "Trained by Jesuits in Ireland, Joyce never accepted the Victorian construct of a "Western civilization" that began in ancient Greece, to resurface after millennia in northern Europe (183). In "Nestor" of *Ulysses*: "—History, Stephen said, is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake" (*U* 2.377). His monologue continues: "What if that nightmare gave you a back kick?" (*U* 2.379). It implies the recurrence or circulation of history reflecting Vico's cyclical view of history. In contrast, Mr Deasy, very pro-British, shows his conventional linear view of history: "—The ways of the Creator are not our ways, Mr Deasy said. All human history moves towards one great goal, the manifestation of God" (*U* 2.380-1). This is a very significant scene setting at Clifton School, Dalkey near Vico Road. Joyce wrote the first two episodes and a few pages of the third episode in the apartment via Donato Bramante 4, Trieste, from which he could see Piazza Giambattista Vico. Deasy's historical perspective seems to be based on a conventional linear perspective of the Christian doctrines that Joyce refused to follow. Joyce found Vico's cyclical idea of history, *corsi e ricorsi* (cycles and counter cycles of growth and decay) in Trieste. He would have believed that Vico enabled him to be set free from

the history of Ireland. In *Finnegans Wake*, HCE (Joyce) remembers the days of teaching at Clifton School, originally built as a cottage of the Irish poet Denis Florence MacCarthy: "Sissibis dearest, as I was reading to myself not very long ago in Tennis Flonnels Mac Courther, his correspondance, besated upon my tripos, and just thinking like thauthor how long I'd like myself to be continued at Hothelizod" (*FW* 452.8-11).


Clifton School (now Summerfield Lodge), Dalkey, Co. Dublin:
no "lions couchant on the pillars" (*U* 2.429) of the gate!

HCE dreams of the land/seascape of Dublin—from Howth, the head of the sleeping giant Finn McCool, whose body stretches across central Dublin north of River Liffey to his toes, to Chapelizod where Humphrey Chimpden Earwicker runs the Mullingar Inn, beyond Phoenix Park in which the Wellington Monument is considered to be a phallic symbol. HCE tells that he has to leave tonight, saying, "but it is historically the most glorious mission, secret or profund" (*FW* 452.17-18) "in beautific repose, upon the silence of the dead, from pharoph the nextfirst down to rameschecklesthe last bust thing" (*FW* 452.19-21). "The Vico road goes round and round to meet where terms begin. Still onappealed to by the cycles and unappalled by the recoursers we feel all serene, never you fret, as regards our dutyful cask (*FW* 452.21-24). Here the Egyptian image of the *Book of the Dead* is implied: the book title

can also be translated as *Book of Coming Forth by Day* suggesting the resurrection of the dead. The real Vico Road, Dalkey, is not a circular road but in HCE's dream it is a ring road: "Still onappealed to by the cycles and unappalled by the recoursers we feel all serene, never you fret, as regards our dutyful cask (*FW* 452.21-24). Jonathan Swift described Japan in *Gulliver's Travels* ("Bollivar's troubles," *FW* 453.13), Part III as the only real location visited by the fictional protagonist/narrator.

Vico appears in *Finnegans Wake* as "the producer (Mr. John Baptister Vickar)" or the God of creation, and makes HCE dream of Adam's rib in which Eve or ALP is born (*FW* 255.27-256.10). It might be "Old Vico Roundpoint" (*FW* 260.14-15). The Gracehoper "promptly tossed himself in the vico" (*FW* 417.3-6). In the Joycean fairyland, everything is recirculatable: "Then all that was was fair. Tys Elvenland! Teems of times and happy returns. The seim anew. Ordovico or viricordo. Anna was, Livia is, Plurabelle's to be" (*FW* 215.22-24). The keys to *Finnegans Wake* were given by Vico: "The keys to. Given! A way a lone a last a loved a long the riverrun, past Eve and Adam's, from swerve of shore to bend of bay, brings us by a commodius vicus of recirculation back to Howth Castle and Environs" (*FW* 628.15-3.3).

V. Conclusion

Mauro Scalercio argues that nationalism essentializes "culture" by making it a totality within which any kind of oppression can be potentially justified. Moreover, this kind of culturalism can justify exclusions of any social group assumed not sharing the same cultural background while universalism, reducing human to a "standard set" of features, may justify any sort of imperialist pedagogy aimed to convert "them" into "us" (94).

The Jesuit strategy of adaptation was severely criticized by Franciscans and Dominicans in the Catholic Church, which caused the suppression of the Jesuits after Pope Clement XIV dismissed the Society of Jesus in July 1773. The Jesuit suppression continued until Pope Pius VII issued a papal bull called "Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum" (The Care of All Churches) to reestablish the Society of Jesus on August 7, 1814. From the modern perspective of Globalism, the Jesuit adaptation must be highly evaluated, especially by East Asians.

Vico's *La Scienza Nuova* is very difficult to understand because it is not written systematically. However, the book, mostly based on Vico's record of reading including many Jesuit books on China and Japan, certainly inspired Joyce to add some Chinese and Japanese elements to *Ulysses* and *Finnegans Wake* with his imagination free from the real Dublin. It greatly helps to make his novels universal and cosmopolitan in contexts of postnationalism and postcolonialism. Vico inspired Joyce to metamorphose the real Dublin into the fictional Dublin with international and universal flavors, Irish nationalism into transnationalism, Orientalism, and finally globalism.

(Iwate Prefectural University**)**

Works Cited

Atherton, James S. *The Books at the Wake: A Study of Literary Allusions in James Joyce's* Finnegans Wake. Southern Illinois UP, 1959.

Baron, Naomi S. and Nikhil Bhattacharya. "Vico and Joyce: The Limits of Language." *Vico and Joyce*, edited by Donald Philip Verene, State U of New York P, 1987, pp. 175-95.

Beckett, Samuel, et al. *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress*. New Direction Books, 1972.

Benstock, Bernard. "Vico... Joyce. Triv.. Quad." *Vico and Joyce*, edited by Donald Philip Verene, State U of New York P, 1987, pp. 59-67.

Bowker, Gordon. *James Joyce: A Biography*. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2011.

Bowman, John and Ronan O'Donoghue, editors. *Portraits: Belvedere College 1832-1982*. Gill and Macmillan, 1982.

Bradley, Bruce S. J. *James Joyce's Schooldays*. St. Martin's Press, 1982.

Burke, Peter. *Vico.* Oxford UP, 1985.

Dai, Congrong. "James Joyce's Frangmentary History: A Case Study on the Chinese Images in *Finnegans Wake*." *The 10th International James Joyce Conference in Korea: "Joyce, Postnationalism and Beyond" Proceedings*, 2023, pp. 5-21.

Ellmann, Richard. *James Joyce*. Oxford UP, 1982.

Frye, Northrop. "Cycle and Apocalypse in *Finnegans Wake*." *Vico and Joyce*, edited by Donald Philip Verene, State U of New York P, 1987, pp. 3-19.

Joyce, James. *Finnegans Wake*. The Viking Press, 1987.

---. *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Context, Criticism*. Edited by John Paul Riquelme, Norton, 2007.

---. *Ulysses*. Edited by Hans Walter Gabler. The Bodley Head, 1986.

Joyce, Stanislaus. *My Brother's Keeper: James Joyce's Early Years*. The Viking Press, 1958. Abbreviated as *MBK*.

"Killiney Hill Park." dlrcoco.ie/en/parks-outdoors/parks/killiney-hill-park. Accessed 10 Nov. 2023.

Ledden, Patrick J. "Education and Social Class in Joyce's Dublin." *Joyce and the Joyceans*, edited by Morton P. Levitt, Syracuse UP, 2002, pp. 126-33.

McCourt, John. *The Years of Bloom: James Joyce in Trieste 1904-1920*. The Lilliput Press, 2000.

McHugh, Roland. *Annotations to* Finnegans Wake. 4th ed. Johns Hopkins UP, 2016.

McMahon, Timothy G. "Irish Jesuit Education and Imperial Ideals." *Irish Classrooms and British Empire: Imperial Contexts in the Origins of Modern Education*, edited by David Dickson, Justyna Pyz and Christopher Shepard, Four Courts Press, 2012, pp. 111-23.

Mercanton, Jacques. "The Hours of James Joyce." *Portraits of the Artist in Exile: Recollections of James Joyce by Europeans*, edited by Willard Potts, A Harvest/HBJ Book, 1979, pp. 205-52.

Nolan, Emer. *James Joyce and Nationalism*. Routledge, 1995.

Pašeta, Senia. *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholi Elite, 1879-1922*. Cork UP, 1999.

Reynolds, Mary T. "The City in Vico, Dante, and Joyce." *Vico and Joyce*, edited by Donald Philip Verene, State U of New York P, 1987, pp. 110-22.

Scalercio, Mauro. "The Italian Job: Giambattista Vico at the Origin of Edward Said's Humanism." *Sanglap: Journal of Literary and Cultural Inquiry*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2021, pp. 82-96. sanglap-journal.in/index.php/sanglap/article/view/67. Accessed 10 Nov.

2023.

Sullivan, Kevin. *Joyce among the Jesuits*. Greenwood Press, 1957.

Verene, Donald Phillip. *James Joyce and the Philosophers at* Finnegans Wake. Northwestern UP, 2016.

---, ed. *Vico and Joyce*. State U of New York P, 1987.

Vico, Giambattista. *The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico*. Translated by Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin, Cornell UP, 1944.

---. *The First New Science* (the first complete translation of the 1725 text). Edited and translated by Leon Pompa, Cambridge UP, 2002. Abbreviated as *FNS*.

---. *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*. Revised Translation of the Third Edition (1744). Translated by Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin, Cornell UP, 1948.

---. *New Science*. Translated by David Marsh with an introduction by Anthony Grafton. 3rd ed. Penguin Books, 1999. Abbreviated as *NS*.

---. *Atarashii Gaku* (*La Scienza Nuova*). Japanese translation with annotations by Tadao Uemura. 2 vols. Chuo-Koron-shinsha, 2018.

Abstract

"But I Say: Let My Country Die for Me" (*U* 15.4473): Postnationalism and the Jesuit Adaptation of Joyce and Vico

Eishiro Ito

Can James Joyce be regarded as an Irish nationalist? He was almost thoroughly educated at Jesuit schools, where students did not learn the Irish language and sports like the Irish Christian Brothers, which produced many Irish nationalists. Living far away from his native country, he continued to describe the old Dublin with which he was familiar in his novels. On the other hand, he never went back home in the Irish Revolutionary Period.

Trieste was an Oriental workshop for Joyce. Joyce probably read Giambattista Vico around 1905. In 1923 when Joyce started writing *Finnegans Wake*, he reread Vico, admiring his positive division of human history into recurring cycles. Vico also went to one or two Jesuit schools for short periods. He was familiar with some Jesuit books on China and Japan and could thus include some knowledge of China (especially Confucius) and Japan in *La Scienza Nuova*, comparing them with ancient Egypt and Other countries. Although basically set in Dublin, Joyce would have been encouraged by Vico to describe China and Japan transcending time and space in *Finnegans Wake*. From the modern perspective of Globalism, the Jesuit adaptation must be highly evaluated.

■ Key words : (post-)nationalism, Jesuit adaptation, Jesuit schools, Christian Brothers, Giambattista Vico, China, Japan
((탈)민족주의, 예수회 적응주의, 예수회 학교, 크리스천 브라더스,

비코, 중국, 일본)

논문접수: 2023년 11월 26일
논문심사: 2023년 11월 26일
게재확정: 2023년 12월 18일